L2 Investment in African languages:

a multiple case study of successful white learners of African languages in post-apartheid South Africa

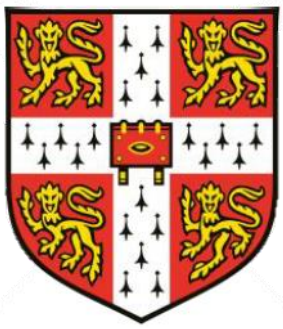
By

Michael William James

St John's College

Faculty of Education

Supervisor: Yongcan Liu



UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

This thesis is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

December 2022

Declaration

This thesis is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my thesis has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the Education Degree Committee.

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Michael William James

Abstract

Thesis Title: **L2 Investment in African languages: a multiple case study of successful white learners of African languages in post-apartheid South Africa**

Author: **Michael William James**

Informed by a critical realist perspective and using a multiple case study methodology, this PhD study recruited, interviewed and analysed 12 cases of white South African (wSAn) learners in the post-apartheid era who reached a high proficiency in an indigenous African language (AfL) as a second or additional language (L2). The phenomenon of study, L2 AfL learning (L2AfLL) by wSAns, was characterised as a form of L2 indigenous language learning (L2ILL) by settler-descendants occurring in other post-colonial contexts like New Zealand and Kenya, among others. As an overall framing device, an investment metaphor was reconceptualised for the purposes of this study as the 'L2 Investment' framework – inspired, but divergent, from Norton's (1995) construct of investment and later investment model (with Darvin, 2015).

Six core cases were selected and analysed in depth; in the cross-case analysis, these were complemented by a further six peripheral cases, in order to achieve a measure of analytic generalisation from the inclusion of limit cases (Campbell & Yin, 2018). Viewed through an L2 Investment frame, it was found that *successful* investment in L2AfLL occurred in cases with nominal access to AfLs in high school; ideal neurophysiology and prior human capital; and intrinsic motivation. For those who lacked such ideal personal conditions, guardian investment by parents was sufficient to catalyse investment behaviour, or the introduction of circumstantial necessity through moving to an AfL-dominant, rural area. All successful cases were found to have committed to a 'transgressive modality' of L2AfLL, in which class and spatial boundaries were overcome. This was undertaken either in isolation, or in addition to an academic modality (high school or university). Beyond a narrow focus on the conditions for and development of linguistic capital, fluency in an AfL was *typically* found to be leverageable for further social and symbolic capital, limited occupational gain, as well as what was termed *zookairotic* capital – e.g. emergent senses of rootedness, legitimacy, physical and psychological security, and joy. This emerged primarily for investors themselves, but also for most AfL-speaking interlocutors. Evidence was thus found for the value of multiple instances of symmetrical multilingualism (Orman, 2007), with implications for broader social welfare and nation-building.

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Acknowledgements

I acknowledge the generosity of the Bradlow Foundation, for enabling this PhD.

I acknowledge Prof Liu Yongcan, who supervised my PhD; his support and encouragement were highly appreciated, as were his excellent supervision and guidance for my research.

I acknowledge Cathryn for her love, support and patience; my father Patrick, who survived my erratic PhD behaviour; my friends Hentie, Shane, Tim, Jean, and Nick for their support. Thank you all.

Mark and Peter at the St Ed's Scriptorium; many thanks for providing a homely space in amongst a sea of transience. *Soli Deo Gloria.*

Foreword

While the research undertaken, reported and discussed in this thesis was certainly not experimental, this thesis has nonetheless been an experiment *in* research. The title – L2 Investment in African languages – suggests as much. For better or for worse, an investment metaphor *in* language learning was employed, and it took on a life of its own. The use of the metaphor may be understood as the culmination of my initially-naïve desire to find the right words to describe something hard to encapsulate; a metaphor that I wrestled with for more than four years, in order to create a mostly-coherent framework for approaching the phenomenon of successful skill or knowledge acquisition – specifically linguistic in this case, but clearly applicable beyond language learning. In the process of applying the metaphor to analysis of the multiple cases of this study, the nature of what I call 'L2 investment' clarified itself in ever-increasing detail. I request the reader to approach the product of my metaphorical wrestling with good humour and – if it appears over-wrought – to look past it, into the underlying topic of African language learning, which for all my cosmetic endeavour, is ultimately why I wrote this thesis .

One final word. Based on feedback from several readers and confirmation from my examiners, I *highly* recommend printing out the 'Abbreviations & Acronyms' section (2 pages) below for easy reference. In my writing, I have used several abbreviated terms extensively, particularly relating to the research phenomenon and investment framework, to condense concepts that are 'dense' – but only dense in terms of words required to be expressed, not necessarily the underlying concept.

Abbreviations and acronyms

Common language-related

L2	Second language	Synonymous, taken to mean any language additional to the L1; 'L2' is preferred over 'AL'
AL	Additional language	
TL	Target language	
L1	First language; includes the sense of 'home language' and 'mother tongue'	
SLA	Second Language Acquisition	
SLL	Second Language Learning	
LOTE	Language other than English	
MoI	medium of instruction	
LiEP	Language-in-Education Policy	

Language-related, specific to research phenomenon

IL	Indigenous language
ILL	Indigenous language learning
L1IL	L1 indigenous language
L1ILL	L1 indigenous language learning (i.e. IL learning *qua* L1)
L2ILL	L2 indigenous language learning (i.e. IL learning *qua* L2)
L2IL	L2 indigenous language (i.e. IL *qua* L2)
AfL(s)	African Language(s)
AfLL	African Language Learning
L1E | L2E	L1 English | L2 English
L1A | L2A	L1 Afrikaans | L2 Afrikaans
L1E/A	A qualifier meaning *either* L1 English *or* L1 Afrikaans
L1E&A	A qualifier meaning *both* L1 English *and* L1 Afrikaans (i.e. bilingual)
L1X | L2X	L1 isiXhosa | L2 isiXhosa
L1Z | L2Z	L1 isiZulu | L2 isiZulu
L1AfL	L1 African language (i.e. the language *qua* L1)
L2AfL	L2 African language (i.e. the language *qua* L2)
L2AfLL	L2 African language learning (i.e. the language is learned *qua* L2)
FAL | SAL	First AL | Second AL

Geography

EC	Eastern Cape
WC	Western Cape
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
SA	South Africa
NI	Northern Ireland
NZ	New Zealand

Race-related (see Racial terminology in South Africa for more)

wSAn	white South African
bSAn	black South African
wK	white Kenyan

Framework and methodology

CR	Critical realism/critical realist
LP&P	Language planning and policy
CS	Case study
L2MSS	L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2009)
IL2S	Ideal L2 Self (from L2MSS)
OL2S	Ought-to L2 Self (from L2MSS)

Chapter 1
Introduction

(A)symmetrical multilingualism in South Africa

> *[L]et us consider the potential attractions of a situation of symmetrical multilingualism in South African society, that is, an ideal-type situation whereby every South African citizen had a useful knowledge of English, Afrikaans and one or more African language.* Jon Orman (2007: 218)

A casual search for language learning quotes online would yield this somewhat cliché, even banal truism, allegedly uttered by Nelson Mandela: "[i]f you talk to a man in a language he understands, that goes to his head. If you talk to him in *his* language, that goes to his heart." While it appears Mandela never said these exact words,[1] the idea expressed here is a fundamental working assumption and argument of the thesis that follows – a "situation of symmetrical multilingualism" in South Africa (SA), in which citizens ably switch between interlocutor-dependent languages of the "heart," is – as expressed by Orman – the "ideal-type" situation.

During apartheid, many indigenous black South Africans[2] (bSAns) were forced to learn elite, colonial languages like Afrikaans and English. In contrast, *asymmetrical* multilingualism – i.e. English/Afrikaans bilingualism – became the norm for the vast majority of white South Africans (wSAns) who did not learn indigenous African languages[3] (AfLs). The official end of the apartheid state in 1994 was the intended juncture for a shift towards a new paradigm of socioeconomic relations in multiracial SA, including intentions to renew sociolinguistic relations between citizens of different races. The socio-structural conditions for such a renewal in post-apartheid SA were, at least theoretically, significantly different to

[1] McIntosh (2018), who pursued the quote's origin, believes it may have emerged from a statement Mandela made to Richard Stengel in December 1992: "Because when you speak a language, English, well many people understand you, including Afrikaners, but when you speak Afrikaans, you know you go straight to their hearts" (Stengel, 2009: 135, as cited in McIntosh, 2014: 494, fn. 30). In context, Mandela is highlighting the symbolic value of the Afrikaans language to Afrikaners, which became central to their identity-building efforts in the aftermath of the British empire's annexation of the Cape colony and the later Anglo-Boer wars. With the advent of the National Party's victory in 1948 and the subsequent political promotion of Afrikaner interests, Afrikaans became beneficiary of huge investment via language planning and policy; this unsurprisingly co-occurred with an explosion of cultural production and pride in the language. In Mandela's mastery and use of *suiwer Afrikaans* ('pure Afrikaans'), he tapped into a reservoir of linguacultural (Risager, 2019) pride that – given his leadership of a movement *against* white Afrikaner rule – recognisably affected Afrikaner interlocutors at a deep level, interrupting the usual habitus of interracial suspicion.

[2] This assignment of nationality would have been contested by the apartheid government, who by fiat ruled that black indigenes did not belong to the white ethno-state of the Republic of South Africa – instead, they were classified as citizens of so-called Bantustans or tribal homelands – territories given nominal independence within or adjacent to South Africa.

[3] See Definitions and Terminology.

the conditions that obtained during the apartheid era. Although there has been considerable post-apartheid language policy and planning (LP&P) with the aim to remedy this sociolinguistic asymmetry and promote the use and learning of AfLs – it is clear that this planning has largely failed, even for first language (L1) AfL learning (L1AfLL) and use, for reasons discussed below.[4] While instantiation of symmetrical multilingualism has accelerated for urban and urbanising bSAns, to the point of becoming AfL-subtractive,[5] for their wSAn counterparts, the situation has altered little. As Orman (2007) wrote thirteen years after 1994, "[k]nowledge of the African languages outside of the black population is miniscule" (160); there is no evidence of change in the subsequent 15 years to the present.

Those few who can speak an AfL fluently typically learnt it in their youth as an L1, alongside English or Afrikaans, in rural areas, principally farms (Sweetnam Evans, 2015; Botha, 2015).[6] One prominent example would be the former mayor of Gqeberha (Port Elizabeth), Athol Trollip, who learned isiXhosa *qua* L1 while growing up on a farm in the Eastern Cape.[7] Regarding L2 learners of AfLs, however, it is *extremely* unusual to find wSAns who can communicate *fluently* in an AfL. Given the fact of a predominantly urban and urbanising wSAn population, L2 AfL learning (L2AfLL) is the kind of AfL learning most relevant and plausible, educationally-speaking, for the development of "symmetrical multilingualism." Perhaps the most well-known example of this – during the apartheid era – was the anthropologist and musician Johnny Clegg, who as a teenager learned isiZulu to a point of high fluency alongside an immersion in Zulu music and dance.

The research topic and aims

Although difficult to find, there is anecdotal evidence of 'sociolinguistic vigilantism' whereby a few individuals, without following the typical farm upbringing script, have achieved the same as Clegg in more recent times – in McIntosh's (2018) words, "an exceptional person able to speak with great ease and in a 'less one-sided' fashion than was typical some decades ago" (482). Herein lies the topic of this doctoral study: *why and how such individuals achieve AfL fluency as L2 learners, and what follows from the acquisition of*

[4] In brief, these would include (*inter alia*) a lack of elite political will, unrealisable language policy interventions, and strong tendencies (both locally and globally) towards English as the dominant language. Moreover, conflicted and negative attitudes to 'mother-tongue' AfL education are normal, for both L1AfL and non-AfL speakers.

[5]Notwithstanding the class-mediated movement towards subtractive AfL-English bilingualism and thus elite multilingualism.

[6] It is not clear whether this phenomenon still occurs in contemporary farming communities. See fn 132.

[7] See "Athol Trollip and the language of politics | IOL News, 6 July 2016" URL: https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/athol-trollip-and-the-language-of-politics-2043509

such scarce[8] *linguistic capital*. Phrased densely, the research topic concerns the instantiation of successful, post-apartheid wSAn L2AfLL and its consequences. It seems reasonable to assume that understanding the myriad of factors underlying L2AfLL success can shed light on how to reproduce this phenomenon – and also confirmation as to whether linguistic symmetry is actually any *good*, given the contemporary sociopolitical realities of South Africa. Can the idealism of the Mandela quote, as McIntosh raises, "be challenged on grounds of its presumption of good will"? For as she expands, "[i]f whites speaking African languages are to 'reach someone's heart,' this hinges on an exceedingly gracious and politically forgiving response" (2018: 498).[9]

Considering the above topic, the dual aims of the study are, firstly, to explore what is required to achieve contemporary, post-apartheid success in L2AfLL, particularly as relevant to the target population (wSAns)[10] and secondly, to theorise L2AfLL success on the basis of qualitative insights across multiple cases of the phenomenon – enabling a subsequent discussion of realistic interventions and strategies for its promotion on this basis. The study's three research questions (presented in Chapter 3 Section 3.3) follow directly from the first aim, and may be paraphrased as follows:

1. What are the factors that conditioned and catalysed wSAns to become committed L2 learners of AfLs within the post-apartheid era?
2. How do such learners commit to L2AfLL? How do they discipline their allocation of time, energy and other capital towards the practice of AfLL?
3. What kinds of capital do successful L2AfL learners gain, linguistic or otherwise, and to what extent does their newly-acquired capital promote the welfare of contemporary South African society?

It is evident, therefore, that the topic and research is primarily exploratory, aimed at uncovering the essence of a scarce phenomenon. For this reason, qualitative research methods have been applied within a multiple case study design. According to a critical realist perspective underpinning this thesis, the "key strength" of such qualitative methods is their open-endedness – which can "allow themes to emerge during the course of an inquiry that could not have been anticipated in advance" (McEvoy & Richards, 2006: 71).

[8] Relative to L1E/A ethnic minorities in general, but in particular wSAns.
[9] This is for rhetorical purposes a misquote, by omission: based on her findings, McIntosh concluded that such a response is one that "clearly, some people are prepared to offer, but others are not" (*ibid*). It has been an aim of this research to establish and problematise the prevalence of such a binary response – or indeed, the underlying anthropological/religious framing McIntosh uses of political "grace", "forgiveness" and "atonement".
[10] Also more broadly L1E and L1A-speaking South Africans (of whichever race/ethnicity).

Disciplinary perspective

Under the broad disciplinary umbrella of applied linguistics, the perspective of this research is best situated in relation to two 'turns' in the field of Second Language Acquisition (henceforth SLA): The first is found in scholarship resulting from the **social turn in SLA** (Block, 2003). Emerging in the 1990s, this turn in the scholarship established a greater recognition of the complex social factors involved in SLA. The social turn in SLA had the knock-on effect of catalysing a departure beyond cognitivist and social-psychological theories of L2 Motivation – primarily a psychological construct for understanding the antecedents and meta-processes of SLA – to a more sociological construct of "investment" in SLL introduced by Norton (1995), undergirded by post-structuralist assumptions. Norton's investment construct, which initiated an interdisciplinary subfield of 'investment in language-related fields' that is still growing almost 30 years later, occurred alongside unrelated use of the metaphor in the psychological subfield of creativity research – namely by Sternberg & Lubart (1991) and Rubenson & Runco (1992), whose respective applications of the metaphor were markedly different from the other. As a product of my own wide engagement with the investment metaphor both in and beyond Norton's version, it has been reconceptualised in this thesis as 'L2 Investment'. It has a broader phenomenological remit (i.e. the whole of SLA) than found in Norton's usage of the metaphor, which focuses on the sociological analogues to motivation. Reasons for this are provided in Chapter 2.

Given that from the initial outset of this PhD research, I had a general interest in using the investment metaphor as a frame, the fact that it arose independently and unbidden from participants in both pilot and main studies was a tacit confirmation of its aptness.[11] The choice of the framing investment metaphor stemmed both from relevant literature, but also from the retroductive question: "what must be possible for L2AfLL success to obtain for wSAn learners?" – if they are to succeed, it seems there must be comprehensive and directed *investment* in AfLL, rather than merely sequential L2AfLL *behaviour* of one sort or another. By this usage, investment implies a characteristic form of behaviour that is *inter alia* discerning, committed, disciplined, intentional, potentially transformative, and that takes on objective, concrete forms.[12]

[11] For example, when prompted with the idea of reading a famous isiXhosa novel, a participant in this study (Peter) articulates the following interior dialogue: "*Yho*... I'm gonna put in a million hours to read this book? I'm not sure where I'll ever see the returns on that investment!"

[12] Consider how some (Graham, 1973) have differentiated financial investment over against another species of financial behaviour, namely, speculation: which explicitly lacks discernment, commitment, and objectivity. Admittedly, some (professional) speculators balance their risks in ways non-professionals are ill-equipped to do.

The second disciplinary tradition relates to the **multilingual turn in SLA** (May, 2013), or the field of multilingualism more generically**,** specifically its development (as opposed to its sociolinguistic features/language policy concerns). I thus am aligned with "SLA researchers [who] conduct systematic study of individual and societal multilingualism, with particular attention to the relations between multilingualism and education" (Kramsch, 2000: 314).[13] The specific focus is on the kind of multilingualism arising from non-heritage, **L2 indigenous language learning (L2ILL)**, which presupposes a colonial or postcolonial context. Orman's concept of "symmetrical multilingualism" in SA may be understood as emerging from the 'wSAn L2AfLL' species of the 'non-heritage L2ILL' genus. As stated, this is hypothesised from the outset to be, *in the main*, a social good, and the disciplinary focus remains on understanding the genera and species of SLA that produce symmetrical multilingualism – in order that it might be replicated.

This differs from analyses of the research phenomenon which primarily aim for problematisation. Anthropological, sociological, race-theoretical or decolonial critiques of the topic are plausible and arguably necessary – for relevant and recent examples, see Botha (2015) and McIntosh (2018). Whereas McIntosh states that "moralizing proclamations about [African] language learning" (479) were her intended topic of study, such a focus is less relevant given the present research aim – to help understand, and increase, the successful uptake of wSAn AfLL.

Background of researcher

I am a L1E South African with predominantly British ancestry, born in the early 1990s, and grew up in a major inland city during the post-apartheid era. I am typically identified as a white South African (wSAn) given historical and contemporary conventions. I attended a public primary school and private high school, neither of which offered AfLs as a subject of study. At university, I discovered an interest in (foreign) language learning; it took several further years of being oblivious to the possibility of learning an AfL – until my mid-20s – that I became fascinated by the phenomenon of wSAns who could speak an AfL fluently. This belatedly manifested in a decision to learn isiXhosa intensely in 2018, partially in preparation for this PhD thesis. My 'modality' of learning was highly bookish self-tuition; I thus gained decent literacy skills in isiXhosa, but failed to develop fluency or easily

[13]Kramsch takes this definition of SLA research from a proposal for developing a Ph.D. program in SLA at the University of Wisconsin–Madison (University of Wisconsin–Madison, Committee on Second Language Acquisition, 1999: 2).

understand the spoken language. Further attempts at progress were put on hold, pending the results of this PhD. My personal investment in this topic, therefore, is relevant to interpreting my own characterisation and interpretation of this research.

Racial terminology in South Africa

Carter (2002) wryly notes that "[u]niquely in the pantheon of social scientific terms, 'race' is rarely allowed a public appearance without its minders, represented by the accompanying collar of inverted commas" (3). In the following thesis, I have no intention to "collar" race with everything this implies. While recognising the largely-socially constructed nature of race, its ongoing relevance as a *real* marker of difference in post-apartheid South Africa is incontestable and a "fact of life" (Webb, 1994: 261).[14] Although the topic concerns white South Africans (wSAns) in particular, race *per se* is not the intended focus of this research; it is rather an important identity variable that correlates highly with being L1E or L1A and having a middle-class socioeconomic status: characteristics which are arguably more determinative of the shape of SLA and multilingualism in SA.

Referring to the seemingly innocuous 'rainbow nation' metaphor for post-apartheid South Africa, linguist and anti-apartheid activist Neville Alexander (2013) held that "[t]he emphasis on coexisting colour groups that it calls up in the minds of people *reinforces beliefs in racial categories*, and it is high time that those of us who take the commitment ... to the principle of 'non-racialism' seriously say this as loudly as possible" (130, italics mine). It is thus not an aim of this research to reinforce beliefs in racial categories, something that Alexander claimed the current ANC-led government, which effectively uses the same racial classifications that the apartheid state used, is doing through its affirmative action and 'racial redress' policies: "this approach will inevitably lead to the [...] entrenchment of [apartheid era] racialised identities in a situation where and in a period when precisely this eventuality might be avoided" (*ibid*).

There is a need whether in policy or research, therefore, "to move away from the nominalisation of the world that is favoured by [those] who prefer a universe that is perceived to be stable and static" (*ibid*), in other words, to avoid essentialising race. Following Alexander's views and others like the American linguist, John McWhorter,[15] I have decided

[14] I fully concur with Webb, who at the beginning of the post-apartheid era stated the following: "[f]or obvious reasons one would prefer not to use race terms like 'black,' 'white,' and 'coloured,' but given the political situation of the past 300 years, race has become a fact of life in South Africa" (Webb, 1994: 261).

[15] As evidenced here in Loury's (2022) introduction to a conversation with McWhorter:
"The capitalization issue is about more than just style. An entire set of arguments and countervailing ideological

not to capitalise racial terms, a practice which, in my view, falls afoul (whether intentionally or not) of "reinforcing beliefs in racial categories". Thus white, not 'White'; black, not 'Black'; coloured, not 'Coloured'.[16] Both for brevity's sake and to avoid emphasising racial terminology, the acronyms 'wSAn' and 'bSAn' are used extensively in this thesis to replace racial qualifiers. In light of the questionable ontology of race above, neither are inverted commas used, except when referring to racial terms *qua* referents (as in the next sentence). For those unfamiliar with historic and contemporary South African racial terms, the elsewhere-offensive term 'coloured' is contextually acceptable.[17] Ethnicity and nationality, as proxies for race, are capitalised as per convention (as with the term 'Indian').

Definitions and Terminology

Before continuing, an elaboration of several core terms used in this thesis is required:

L1 English or L1 Afrikaans (L1E/A): A (bi)linguistic qualifier which specifies almost all non-L1AfL, non-black minorities in South Africa (principally classified as coloured, Indian, or white South Africans).

African language (AfL): For the purposes of this study, an 'African language' refers specifically to any of the nine official languages[18] of SA from the Bantu/siNtu language group that are indigenous to the region, representing the largest and most frequently spoken indigenous languages (ILs) within SA. That languages are porous is indisputable and discussed in this thesis,[19] however, I follow Edwards (2012) in

positions have attached themselves to a single letter ... the choice between "black" and "Black" will be read as a signal announcing the writer's alignment with one of two hazily defined but still distinguishable political positions regarding the coherence of racial identity. The letter B is a surrogate, then, in a much a more consequential debate about the future of race as we know it, or about whether race as we know it has a future at all. For example, capitalizing the B in "black" leads to the question of why we see the W in "white" capitalized much less frequently. As I say below, capitalizing "white" treats whites as a coherent, unified people, an idea that has its roots, to my mind, in white identity politics of the most virulent kind. But if all the disparate groups that constitute "whites" don't comprise a single people, why should all the disparate groups that constitute "blacks" do so? ... I don't think they do. I would probably have a hard time seeing the sociological similarities between, say, a wealthy member of Lagos's business class and a man on Chicago's South Side working three part-time jobs just to pay his rent. Learning that both are black would tell me precisely nothing."

[16] Exceptions to this would be direct quotations, in which capitalised racial terminology is preserved.

[17] Coloured South Africans are a distinct, historical mixed-race community that is considered neither white, black, nor Indian.

[18] Afrikaans, although a product of the South African context and on that basis indigenous, is in linguistic terms best classified as a Germanic language, and thus excluded. The exclusion of Afrikaans, SA Sign Language, non-official African (Bantu/siNtu) languages of South Africa, as well as Khoi and San languages, is purely ad-hoc given the research topic, and ought not to be read as making a conceptual point about what constitutes an indigenous African language, or what does not.

[19] To think that one can 'disinvent' a 'socially-constructed' language in order to reinvent it on more equitable terms is to ignore that "language shift is a *symptom* of larger social movements" (Edwards, 2012: 36). Academic renaming of linguistic phenomena achieves very little of substance.

accepting that for "all ordinary intents and purposes, there *are* separate languages, and there *are* distinct varieties within them" (36).

post-apartheid: This refers to the time period beginning in the early 1990s (with De Klerk's speech unbanning the ANC and announcing the release of Mandela) up until the present time of writing (~30 years).

successful AfLL: Success is taken to mean achieving a high level of spoken proficiency/fluency in the target AfL. It is defined in this study as having developed speaking/listening abilities in one of the nine official indigenous AfLs of SA that corresponds to a B2 or higher level of the CEFRL.

South African: this denotes someone who can reasonably claim a South African identity – whether by passport, birth, naturalisation, ancestry, or otherwise.

white South African (wSAn): This refers to South African citizens of predominantly British and Western European ancestry, usually with settler/colonial heritage.

black South African (bSAn): This refers to South African citizens with indigenous African ancestry alongside a Bantu/siNtu "linguacultural" (Risager, 2019) affiliation.[20]

Thesis synopsis and structure

This introductory chapter has presented the research focus – in brief, post-apartheid wSAn L2AfLL – as well as the specific topic: understanding successful cases thereof. This was presented as being related to a broader aim of widespread symmetrical multilingualism in South Africa. The disciplinary perspectives and framework used were introduced in order to signal the contents of Chapter 2 and conceptual heuristics used in the review of literature, research analysis, reporting and discussion of results. In conjunction with a description of my personal background as a researcher, the disciplinary and conceptual framing sought to contextualise why and how the threads of this thesis have been woven into a coherent whole.

Beyond this first chapter, the thesis is composed of eight further chapters. **Chapter 2** presents the conceptual framework of L2 investment that is used in the literature review in **Chapter 3**, which examines several instances of contextual SLA – specifically L2 indigenous language learning, which is arguably analogous to wSAn L2AfLL; this is subsequently reviewed in some detail. The chapter concludes with the study's research questions. **Chapter 4** introduces the methodological design employed – a multiple case study – in preparation for

[20] I.e. it excludes those with Khoi or San linguacultural affiliations, despite their indigeneity. Although Black Consciousness definitions of 'black' would also include coloured and Indian South Africans, for the purposes of this study, 'bSAn' retains a narrow mono-ethnic meaning.

the three results chapters, each of which focus on a specific element of L2 investment to frame the phenomenon of successful wSAn L2AfLL: **Chapter 5** (Conditions), **Chapter 6** (Commitment), and **Chapter 7** (Capital Gains). The findings are discussed and further contextualised in **Chapter 8**, where theories of successful wSAn L2AfL investment for individuals and guardians are provided. **Chapter 9** concludes, summarising the contribution and limitations of this study as well as opportunities for future research into L2 investment, L2ILL and (wSAn) L2AfLL. The **Bibliography** and **Appendices** are found thereafter.

Chapter 2
Investment in SLA

Chapter synopsis

In the chapter that follows, the phenomenon of second language acquisition (SLA) is characterised in terms of an 'arc' – and an elaborated investment metaphor for SLA is proposed as an interdisciplinary, multifocal framework for understanding it better, particularly with regard to *successful* SLA. The metaphor, introduced into the field and applied linguistics more generally by Norton (1995), is critiqued: namely, that it overtheorises certain aspects of SLA due to a commitment to post-structuralism, and possibly because of this, tends to underutilise aspects of the metaphor's economic source. A reconceptualisation of the metaphor is then developed, arguably incorporating the entire SLA arc, which will act as the central framework for approaching SLA and L2 education in the remainder of this study.

Section 2.1 - Investment: a metaphor for SLA

2.1.1 The arc of SLA

Second language acquisition or learning (SLA) is by nature a temporal, longitudinal, developmental phenomenon. It is for this reason that the terms 'arc' or 'trajectory' are often used in relation to SLA, as if it were a projectile flying parabolically through the air, suggesting that there are (at minimum) three conceptual stages in its course: the initiation of movement, flight, and arrival.

Beyond SLA's longitudinal nature, the fact that it is a *human* phenomenon implies that diverse approaches might be taken to understand it, depending on the aspects of human beings which are emphasised. Beyond biological and cognitive theories of SLA (e.g. innatist, essentialist views like those of Chomsky, Krashen *et al*), the main candidates which view SLA within a broader social context are Schumann's acculturation model (1978), the social context model (Wong Fillmore, 1991), and the intergroup model (Giles & Byrne, 1982), all of which "focused on L2 learning and use in situations of interethnic contact in multilingual settings" (Ushioda, 2012: 60). To these, one may also add Vygotskian sociocultural theories of SLA (cf. Lantolf and Pavlenko, 2008), and, more recently, ecological (van Lier, 2004; Atkinson, 2011) and complex dynamic system (Larson-Freeman, 1997) approaches. All such theories and approaches emphasise social/sociolinguistic norms in understanding how and

why L2 mastery obtains (or not), each with a different conceptual toolkit and meta-theoretical paradigm.

Research in SLA has also occurred in a more concentrated fashion, not necessarily seeking to develop grand theories, but partitioning off the SLA phenomenon into more manageable pieces. A highly relevant partition to this study's topic is L2 Motivation. Dörnyei (2001) tentatively submits that "the only thing about motivation most researchers would agree on is that it, by definition, concerns the *direction* and *magnitude* of human behaviour" which is said to involve "the *choice* of a particular action; the *persistence* with it; the *effort* expended on it" (8). Or, put differently, "motivation is responsible for *why* people decide to do something; *how long* they are willing to sustain the activity; *how hard* they are going to pursue it" (Dörnyei & Skehan, 2003: 61). L2 motivation is by this definition lacking with regard to the socially-contextualised 'how?'[21] and 'with what result?' of SLA: the mechanisms of learning and using the L2. A criticism of L2 Motivation, levelled by Norton (1995), was that it examined these aspects of SLA with too great a focus on the microcosm of a learner, disconnected from the social world. In response, she proposed an adjunct to motivation: investment. This sought to describe the initiation and perseverance aspects of SLA behaviour in more sociological terms.[22] Investment has far more metaphorical potential, however, than motivation's inherent movement-related metaphor. Any attempt to characterise the arc of SLA arguably should take into account the conditions catalysing the initiation of SLA, the contextualised forms of commitment required by SLA, and the product thereof: this is because the SLA arc is dynamic and recursive.[23] Having argued for the phenomenological remit of SLA, the investment metaphor, as a means of encapsulating it, is discussed in turn.

[21] How SLA is best engendered has been the mainstay of applied linguistic and SLA research, and while detailed methodologies for instructed and self-taught SLA have been theorised and researched, these are seldom related to the motivational profiles of learners who must follow some path or other amongst the plethora thereof: SLA modality research is focused on the kind of language (sub)skills produced by respective L2 learning behaviours – assuming engagement in learning. Beyond this, the borders of SLA are transgressed.

[22] Sociology, in particular, has theorised SLA's product: language skill is a form of capital, an assumption that both Language Economics and LP&P assume, largely in terms of the socioeconomic implications of proficiency in certain languages, dialects or registers.

[23] Learning continues even once marginal gains appear negligible. An L2 learner's experience of the capital gained from SLA culmination – in both narrow linguistic and broader sociolinguistic terms – affects the motivational and methodological elements of the arc.

2.1.2 Investment as metaphor

In a recent overview of L2 motivation research, Dörnyei and Ushioda (2021) pinpoint Bonny Norton as a "key critical voice" in "taking into account [motivation's] deeply socially-embedded nature" (55). Norton's (1995) research on immigrant learners of English in Canada led her to employ the term 'investment' as a "sociological construct" to augment the incomplete but necessary role of motivation in language learning. Despite being termed a "construct" or "model" in SLA literature, investment is fundamentally a metaphor. A fuller account of the dynamics of metaphor in relation to theory is provided in Appendix C1, but the following abbreviated summary will suffice.

Sidestepping its ecclesial semantic origins and evolution (Appendix C2), the normalisation of investment as a description of financial or *economic* activity[24] has meant that its status *as metaphor* is now largely forgotten or ignored. Now a *de facto* economic metaphor, investment is typically applied to commitment of time, energy, or money where these are scarce. Beyond the broadly-economic connotation of scarcity, the narrower economic connotations of commodification, capitalism and hyper-rational cost/benefit analysis can render the metaphor vulnerable to criticism.

For a metaphor to be used at all, it must have a degree of congruence with its object. Metaphors are epistemically useful when they aid one to conceptualise relatively unknown phenomena in ways congruent with what is already known . Put in more scientific terms, metaphor can catalyse the development and refinement of theoretical models. Lewis, writing from a critical realist perspective, cites Schön (1963) when he applies metaphor generally to the scientific expansion of knowledge:

> Through metaphor, scientists' conceptual grasp of subject matter is enhanced by means of the displacement of a term from a well-established context of use in order to structure a different, less well-understood domain of inquiry. (Lewis, 1999: 94)

2.1.3 Investment in SLA

By relating the metaphor of investment suggestively to motivation and SLL, Norton likely hoped that her subject matter (language learning) could be perceived in ways that "were unknown until the metaphor pointed them out" (Lewis, 1999: 88). Yet investment, as per

[24] Yet, one may argue, even in the original sense of ecclesial investment, economics is at play: bishops are always scarce in relation to priests, and even more so to laity (compounded further by extreme scarcity in the West's "secular age", as per Charles Taylor). A bishop's role entails a heightened degree of commitment, responsibility and oversight for the church; bishops are to be the shepherds of the shepherds, and some have better pastoral values than others: there is the potential for substitution.

Norton's usage, is a *constrained* metaphor; while it secures a measure of extensibility and 'interanimation' of concepts, involving the core notion of commitment of resources, Norton's construct does not elaborate the basic dynamics of its economic source (i.e. alternate uses of scarce resources), that is, beyond the narrow economics of social identity and power.

In relation to L2 motivation, Norton's investment construct "provides for a different set of questions associated with a learner's commitment to learning the target language" (Norton, 2013: 6). This different set of questions was built upon "the social factors contribution of Schumann, and the issues of power and legitimacy raised by Bourdieu" (Pittaway, 2004: 215). Initially it was formulated as a "sociological construct" (Norton, 2016: 476) to the L2 motivation construct. Darvin, Norton's co-author of the investment model (2015), contends that both these constructs "complement and enrich each other" as they perform the shared task of "examin[ing] how language learners commit to L2 learning" – that is, they "illuminate the conditions of this commitment in congruent ways" (2020: 260). Using the investment-motivation distinction, Norton showed that asymmetry between the two can develop; language learners are sometimes ambivalent, or inconsistent, in their desire to speak a language: "a learner may be a highly motivated language learner, but may nevertheless have little investment in the language practices of a given community" (Toohey & Norton, 2010: 421). High motivation might be defeated through exclusionary social practices that serve to cause the learner to disinvest over time (cf. Norton and Toohey, 2001). Norton's deployment of 'investment' thus emphasises investing in (or divesting from) language as an intangible "marker of identity or expression of group solidarity" (Grin, 1994: 33).

As Norton states directly in her 1995 article introducing the construct, investment "is best understood with reference to the economic metaphors that Bourdieu (1977) uses in his work – in particular, the notion of cultural capital" (17). Thus,

> if learners invest in a second language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital. Learners will expect or hope to have a good return on that investment – a return that will give them access to hitherto unattainable resources ... this return on investment must be seen as commensurate with the effort expended on learning the [L2]. (*ibid*)

Bourdieu's sociological theorisation of the linguistic economy to which Norton explicitly alludes is more concerned with language as an index of identity and sociopolitical power, e.g. "the power to impose reception" (Bourdieu, 1977: 75) – and thus the scarcity of empowered identity (possessing "the right to speak") is primarily interrogated in the construct, rather than

other scarcities (time, energy, access to L2 education, speakers or resources), and this is often done using concepts drawn from post-structuralist and feminist theory (especially Weedon, 1987). To *this* limited extent, the metaphorical source is drawn upon.

Other scholars' reading and employment of the investment construct/model vary in emphasis. Duff (2012) characterises investment as "the degree to which people actively put symbolic, material and other resources into their language learning based on a kind of cost-benefit assessment, and in light of their desires and hopes" (Duff, 2012: 8). Kramsch (2013), noting the economic connotations, claims that investment "accentuates the role of human agency and identity in engaging with the task at hand, in accumulating economic and symbolic capital, in having stakes in the endeavor and in persevering in that endeavor" (195). Kramsch's summary emphasises the teleological element of investment: the accumulation of "economic and symbolic" capital. As Pavlenko (2002) states, learners hope that their "investment may yield a return and give them access, not only to material resources ... but also to symbolic resources such as education, literature, media or friendships" (294). The quality and quantity of their engagement, however, might result in what Pittaway (2004) calls "the condition of not realizing a return on investment" (208). Given the Bourdieusian emphasis on language practices, it follows that Norton's conception of investment occurs not at the level of language as a unit[25] but at the level of context-specific language practices. For this reason, "different learners invest selectively in different [language] skills" (Pavlenko, 2002: 293; McKay and Wong, 1996; Chang, 2011; Darvin & Norton, 2015: 47; Wu, 2017).[26] Commitment of resources occurs to the extent that becoming skilled in certain language practices buffers or augments one's identity and realistic hope of future identification, belonging, and/or empowerment.

A quarter-century after the publication of her original article, Norton summarised the construct as "signal[ing] a learner's commitment to learn a language, given their changing identities and their hopes for the future, in frequently inequitable social contexts" (Norton, 2020: 161-162). Given such emphases, investment has primarily been used in contexts of immigrant SLA (i.e. Canada) and English as a foreign language / L2 more generally. The 'construct' status of investment was loosely systematised with Darvin and Norton's explicit

[25] Which critical or post-structuralist approaches, like Norton's, often call into question ontologically.

[26] Cf. "both Brie's and Alicia's investment toward English learning was therefore directed to and restricted to improving those skills that were emphasized and tested at school, such as grammatical knowledge and reading ability. They put little or no effort on working on other language skills such as speaking or listening and did not see much value in investing in English learning outside of the educational context" (Wu, 2017: 112).

model of investment (2015; 2016), in which it was presented as the nexus of three super-constructs: capital, ideology and identity. Whether viewed from the perspective of those sympathetic to her post-structuralist emphases (e.g. Duff, Kramsch) or from those in the more 'structuralist' L2 motivation camp (e.g. Dörnyei), Norton's use of investment has been widely recognised as rebalancing attention away from individual, decontextualised L2 learners – an oft-cited critique of L2 Motivation and SLA prior to the "social turn" of the mid-1990s (Block, 2003) – towards L2 learners as social creatures with "skin in the game" (Taleb, 2018). Norton's investment, therefore, partially utilises the source concepts of the investment metaphor. Scholars who have used it subsequently vary in the extent to which they rely on its economic-metaphorical source: most reproduce the construct/model as concerned with social identity and Bourdieusian themes (i.e. the linguistic economy of symbolic/cultural capital). Other elements in the SLA arc, as outlined in the first section, are seldom in focus.

Section 2.2 - A paradigmatic critique of investment

2.2.1 Concerns with post-structuralism

For the remainder of this section, two particular aspects of Norton's investment – referred to as post-structuralist investment – are critiqued: its construal of human agency, and its tendency toward power-reductionism/a hermeneutic of suspicion.

2.2.1.1 Agency

While Kramsch asserts that Norton's construct of investment helps to "accentuate the role of human agency" in SLL, it does this in a limited – and arguably insufficient – manner. There are a few reasons why agency appears impoverished in a post-structuralist framework: the first is that it does not approach the human self as a fundamental unity. Rather, it consists of

> [i]dentities [which] are seen as constructed by and in discourses that supply the terms by which identities are expressed (identity performance) and assign differential values to different identities or subject positions [...] The subject position is not a stable entity [...]. (Pavlenko, 2002: 284, citing Davies & Harre, 1990)

This echoes Norton's more general anti-humanist assertion that "one of the more enduring meanings to be destabilized via post-structuralism – and through the construct of 'investment' – is that there is an identity, a definable, universal essence shared by all humanity" (Norton & Morgan, 2012: 5). In the context of such identity flux and lack of an essential nature, the self is predominantly determined by external forces. In Darvin and Norton's model of investment (2015), a learner is *structured* by the *a)* extant discourse of the learner's competing

identities[27] *b)* the received ideology through which s/he was made to interpret the world, and *c)* habitus.[28] Darvin and Norton (2016) contend that worldviews "construct" learner desires, and identities are "continually buffeted" by habitus, desire, dominant ideologies and so forth. Descriptions of this sort suggest that learners who invest are determined by the ideological world or discourse into which the 'agent' is thrown,[29] a view congruent with Foucault's claim regarding society's "fabrication" of individuals (i.e. agents).[30] This view, central to Norton's post-structuralist perspective, undermines human agency: the potential for self-reflexivity and the production of novel social conditions and relations (rather than the reproduction of old ones).

2.2.1.2 Context and Power

Pavlenko claims that a post-structuralist approach to SLA provides explanatory resources for "all language users, especially disempowered and minority members who may be struggling for access to discourses of power and legitimacy" (2002: 296). In the case of this research study, the emphasis is inverted, with an aim to explain the dynamics of *empowered* yet still minority members of a society, who are struggling to access and develop proficiency in languages that have been historically *disempowered* and *illegitimised*. Norton's investment was developed as a means of understanding immigrants learning English in an Anglophone-majority context, with established patterns of socioeconomic inequality. While emphatically minorities, white learners of AfLs in the post-apartheid era are no longer an 'immigrant' population; their ancestors have, in some cases, been in SA since the mid-17th century. Moreover, their L1s, and often their accents/dialects, have a far higher status or "symbolic capital" (Bourdieu, 1986) relative to AfLs or varieties of Black South African English (BSAE). As such, it might be claimed that when wSAns learn an AfL, this represents an

[27] These are considered to consequently influence imagination/desire.
[28] Or enduring behavioural dispositions, that are derived from the cultural and institutional forces which have formed the learner. Investment behaviour is at the nexus of these ultimately external, shaping forces: it is not analysed as the product of conscious deliberation, self-reflexivity, or rational cost-benefit analysis.
[29] The investment model "requires an examination of how worldviews *construct* learner desires and imagined identities that can be complicit with reproducing social inequalities. In this sense, identity remains a site of struggle, as it is *continually buffeted* by the contradictions of habitus and desire, of dominant ideologies and alternative futures, of a limited sense of one's place and a boundless imagination of new possibilities" (Darvin & Norton, 2016: 26, italics mine).
[30] Cf. Foucault: "... it is not that the beautiful totality of the individual is amputated, repressed, altered by our social order, it is rather that the individual is carefully fabricated in it, according to a whole technique of forces and bodies" (1995: 217).

inversion of the power relations that obtain in immigrant-language learner situations for the Global North.[31]

According to Duff (2012), a post-structuralist approach would examine "learners in terms of larger social issues related to power, oppression, and discrimination" (98). A focus on power and inequality is important, but can also be overemphasised to the point of improper reductionism, in which analytical moves showing how entity X exerts power over entity Y predominate. Take the express aim of Darvin and Norton's investment model, for instance, which is "designed to examine how specific communicative events are indexical of the macrostructures of power ..." (2016: 24). The heuristic potential of 'power', in Foucauldian terms, is all-encompassing: all social phenomena can be explained through it.[32] Arguably, an approach which sees the macrostructures of power (rather than macrostructures *per se*) as central lacks the conceptual room to theorise behaviour in which the deepest motive is *not* for empowerment relative to others. How would it interpret prosocial motivations for language learning by those already empowered relative to the TL speakers? How would it interpret motivations for psychological integrity or authenticity (as proposed by Noels, 2009) – except insofar as it deconstructs these as outwardly-virtuous, but unconscious, struggles for social dominance? The *will to power*, a hallmark concern of the genealogical method pioneered by Nietzsche, taken up in Foucault's writing, and central to post-structuralist theory, becomes an improper analytical heuristic for human behaviour when absolutized: it leads to what Ricoeur (1970) called a "hermeneutic of suspicion" that is unable to conceptualise authentic, well-intentioned behaviour, but only behaviour that is aimed at legitimate or illegitimate empowerment.

2.2.2 Critical realism as an alternative

Having argued that Norton's employment of post-structuralism is problematic in certain important respects – affecting Norton's conceptualisation of investment – the question is raised: if not post-structuralism as the underlying research paradigm, then what? Following Cruikshank (2002), Scott (2007) claims that

[31] It is clear, however, that the emphasis on identity and power relations is appropriate in South Africa, in which the powerful linguistic status of wSAns might ironically be said to position them *negatively* for 'engaging' investment in AfLL.

[32] While post-structuralist theory is principally concerned with how agents may be empowered to challenge and overturn inequality (educationally, politically, *etc*), the issue here is certainly not found in their deference to agency *per se*, which is laudable from the CR perspective. The problem is that, given the theoretical presuppositions, the deference to agency (if not carefully elaborated) tends towards incoherence when considered alongside the 'hard core' of post-structuralist theorisation.

> all empirical researchers or observers of the world make ontological assumptions and thus it is incumbent on those researchers […] to foreground such issues so that they can choose the most appropriate methods for their enquiry. (14-15)

Post-structuralism, as a rejection/reaction of what it considers 'structuralism', typically affirms an interpretivist paradigm of epistemology and is in principle sceptical of ontological claims, which it sees as a form of "Truth" discourse aiming to justify systems of control and oppression. Yet any nominal aversion to ontology is undermined by the objectivity which post-structuralists necessarily attribute to power, inequalities, and identity groups[33] – the ontological and theoretical basis for the norm of economic and socio-political equity. As such, post-structuralism has firm moral-ontological commitments which inform research and theorising conducted through its lens. The ontological and epistemological assumptions of critical realism (CR) provide an alternative means for conceptualising investment. Its distinctive presuppositions undergird the conceptual framing of this study, the methodological decisions taken, and the analysis and discussion of the data collected; CR is crucial for understanding why this research takes the form it does.

A CR approach aligns with critical approaches like post-structuralism by being post-positivist and emancipatory in its goals (Collier, 1994) and by seeking to 'peel back' surface phenomena in order to discover the underlying mechanisms and structures from which they arise. However, CR ought not be seen as in opposition to post-structuralist theory, but rather as theory-agnostic.[34] In Porpora's words, "CR is not a theory that directly explains anything, but a metatheory [sic] that establishes the boundaries between good and bad theorizing" (2015: 6). It takes seriously epistemological issues surrounding human perception of reality, and accepts a weak form of epistemological relativism: there is no final epistemic arbiter of truth. Yet unlike interpretivist-leaning paradigms[35] like post-structuralism, it retains a realist position regarding ontology: there *is* an objective reality beyond human perception, social discourse, and knowledge construction (i.e. ontological objectivism) – and any

[33] In brief, these may be summarised thus: different identities objectively exist; inequalities objectively exist; objective mechanisms exist to ameliorate or exacerbate these inequalities.

[34] What does a meta-theory entail? Lawson, in the context of economics, claims that the aim of CR is "to *facilitate* successful substantive theories" (*1999:* 15) rather than constitute substantive theory *per se*. For this reason, "there can be no expectation that scientists acting on the basis of this perspective will always reach the same conclusions. Given the openness of social reality in particular, researchers may even entertain a range of explanatory theories" (Lawson 1999: 14). CR as meta-theory can thus be seen as an 'underlabourer' for substantive theory. It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that metaphor plays an important role in CR's analytic toolbox.

[35] "For critical realists, the ultimate goal of research is not to identify generalisable laws (positivism) or to identify the lived experience or beliefs of social actors (interpretivism); it is to develop deeper levels of explanation and understanding" (McEvoy and Richards, 2006: 69).

approximations of real ontological structures are not mere "discourse" serving competing groups, but exist outside of human ideology and ideation. CR's commitment to *judgemental rationality* (Collier, 1994) – logical criteria for arbitrating between differing accounts of truth – reconciles its commitments to ontological objectivism and epistemological relativism.[36] In other words, CR allows one to positively affirm an imperfect account of reality as being true enough. As a vehicle for this, CR pays particular attention to "the important role that the 'logic of analogy and metaphor' plays in [the] knowledge production process" (Lewis, 1999: 84-85; Bhaskar 1989: 12).

While discussing the use of CR in research, Porpora (2015) thinks it important to question "whether theoretical repair is to be part of the work ... or whether the prospective work will just entail a philosophical assumption different from that perspective's [e.g. post-structuralism's] philosophical mainstream" (213). In this case, it is largely the latter, with CR rather than post-structuralist assumptions being made – though given the issues highlighted above, some "theoretical repair" is pursued insofar as agency, context and power are being resituated. This allows for an emphasis on power as *part* of the explanatory toolbox for characterising investment in SLA, but refuses any reduction (or specification) of social structure as *just* a cover for assertions of power.[37] CR, as a meta-theory rather than theory, is better able to resist reductionism regarding agency and the underlying motives of human behaviour.

An element of CR meta-theory is in relating structures with the reality of human agency. Although sympathetic with the Marxist tradition of social theorising (Collier, 1994), CR rejects any reductions of agency to structure, found, for example, in Marx's class-based economic reductionism, in which economic substructures ultimately determine the superstructures of society and the ideology and behaviours of those who inhabit it. This is done even when agency is rhetorically prioritised over structure, particularly in terms of outcomes. Consider Han's (2016) comments about the Douglas Fir Group's (2016) (arguably) post-structuralist framework for SLA: "in the main, [it] casts learners as passive recipients of social influences" (Han, 2016: 737). Ensuring that agents are not seen as

[36] CR is realist and critical insofar as it recognises that "objects in the world, and in particular social objects, exist whether the observer or researcher is able to know them or not; and secondly, knowledge of these objects is always fallible because any attempts at describing them needs to take account of the transitive nature of knowledge" (Scott, 2007: 14).

[37] The reconceptualisation soon proposed is thus *open* to power-analysis in the Foulcaudian sense, but would reject that idea that structures are always 'oppressive'; some are quite possibly *enabling* – and ought to be interpreted carefully for this reason.

"passive recipients", for example when in a structurally-disadvantaged position, is an important meta-theoretical assumption of CR. It takes pains to recognise that agents are *partially* determined by social structure, but not fully. Bhaskar (1979), speaking of 'society' instead of 'structure', sums up the structure-agency dialectic thus:

> [s]ociety is both the ever-present condition (material cause) and the continually reproduced outcome of human agency. And [human] praxis is both work, that is, conscious production, and (normally unconscious) reproduction of the conditions of production, that is society. (34-5)

As applied in concrete terms to the topic, wSAns who have learnt AfLs as an L2 successfully are certainly not 'mere' products of the structures of post-apartheid SA, although these have conditioned the research population indelibly. For they have also undertaken the "conscious work" of learning an AfL: a highly contingent commitment of time/energy which may in turn produce new social conditions and possibilities for human agency in SA. As a meta-theoretical parameter for research, therefore, CR focuses on the synthesis between agency and structure, for "accounts which focus on either structures or agents to the exclusion of the other cannot account for the totality of the social experience" (Scott, 2013: 34).

Section 2.3 - 'L2 Investment': a reconceptualisation

What, then, is L2 Investment? As should become apparent in the following sections, this is a (re)conceptualisation and metaphorical elaboration. It results from a creative engagement with SLA literature and notions of linguistic, economic, financial, and creative investment. As with all academic work, it reflects my own philosophical presuppositions and academic background; it *could* have taken on different emphases while adhering to investment's inherent metaphorical parameters. What is important, however, is that the elements below recognisably correspond to the core features of the SLA arc *and* investment in general, and thus are rooted in objective phenomena.

In this section, I outline two prerequisite and three core aspects of the metaphor as applied to SLA. The prerequisite aspects are a) characterising investors' agency in terms of selfhood, and b) outlining the forms of capital – the resources used, leveraged, and gained during investment. The core elements of L2 Investment, building on the above, include 1), the initial stage of the L2 Investment arc, referring to the conditions of investment; 2), the commitment stage of the investment arc, in which capital is actually invested; finally 3), the culmination stage, which deals with the capital gained from investment in a L2.

2.3.1 Why reconceptualise?

Norton's (1995) investment construct partially combines elements of the SLA arc. However, the post-structuralist assumptions underlying her instantiation of the investment metaphor affect the scope and emphases of its elaboration. While not detracting from the explanatory power of the metaphor, such emphases fail to leverage its inherent economic logic. It has been argued that critical realism (CR) provides a better meta-theory than post-structuralism, enabling investment *qua* metaphor to be elaborated with fewer restrictions. One might argue, however, that given the extensive literature on investment in SLA since the mid-90s, it is imprudent to attempt a rehabilitation of the investment metaphor for similar purposes. There are several reasons why re-engagement with the investment metaphor for SLA might be desirable. It provides an opportunity to investigate the *full* extent to which the (economic) metaphor is apt, and whether it can yield any additional insight into the phenomenon.

There are three main reasons why reconceptualising the metaphor is desirable. The first, already discussed above, concerns the need for a post-post-structuralist elaboration of the metaphor. The second involves the applicability of the economic source of investment. The third and final reason is the plausibility of an integration of macro (collective) and micro (individual) investment in SLA.

2.3.1.1 Investment's economic source

Investment is generally accepted to be an economic phenomenon; an economic frame – broad or narrow – is therefore crucial for understanding the metaphorical source, given its strength and relevance to the research topic.

Economics is fundamentally concerned with value, but has no inherent values itself (Sowell, 2010). It is "only a way of weighing one value against another" (Sowell, 2010: 591) in the context of value scarcity. Put differently, the classic definition by the British economist Lionel Robbins was that economics is "the study of the use of scarce resources which have alternative uses" (Backhouse & Medema, 2009) or "the allocation of scarce means to satisfy competing ends" as per Becker (1971; see Backhouse & Medema, 2009; Grin, 2003). The fact of scarcity and the potential for substitution ('optionality'), vis-à-vis things of putative value, are the essence of economic science. Given the human tendency to project into the future (what Sartre calls "transcendence"), economics both approximates and discounts the

present value of an asset, which is "nothing more than its anticipated future benefits, added up and discounted for the fact that they are delayed" (Sowell, 2010: 317).[38]

Economics also attempts to take 'externalities' into account, i.e. side-effects that emerge from the prioritisation of one set of values over others, for example those of a certain demographic or policy at the expense of others. *Inter alia,* this is one reason why it has been termed the 'dismal' science, and in Sowell's words often "seen as a needlessly narrow, if not morally warped, way of looking at the world" (2010: 592): in economics, there are no absolute values. This is echoed by Francois Grin in his discussion of language economics: "what certainly *is* true is that economics constantly reminds us of *limitations* – more precisely, of the fact that resources are limited, and that this imposes constraints on human action" (2003: 6). He goes on to defend economics against the 'dismal science' moniker, saying that it "does not merely (and negatively) confine us to a depressing world of scarcity and frustration – it also stresses (positively) the role of choice, in which actors have a not insignificant degree of personal freedom" (8). [39] Economics thus "contains a full-blown theory of agency" (8), something which, as argued above, is at odds with aspects of post-structuralist theory, which tends to treat choice as an 'idea' that is propagated by neoliberal economics (cf. Barakos & Selleck, 2019[40]). Finally, economics is often seen in so-called "narrow" terms because it has come to be fixated on trade-offs in *quantifiable* or *tangible* value: the kind articulated in business quarterly reports, wages/employment data, and the financial markets. This, however, is only *part* of economics as a discipline, which Grin contends is "fundamentally a *way* of looking at human experience as a tension between ends and means" (2003: 6) and falsely characterised as solely dealing with narrowly 'economic' subject matter.[41] Nonetheless, economics in narrow terms offers the main conceptual sources

[38] Thomas Sowell provides a helpful example of investment: "[p]resent value links the future to the present in many ways. It makes sense for a ninety-year-old man to begin planting fruit trees that will take 20 years before they reach their maturity because his land will *immediately* be worth more as a result of those trees" (2010: 317).

[39] He also repeats Becker's "famous" observation: "when there are no alternatives, there is no choice, and where there is no choice, there is no economic problem" (Grin, 2003: 8).

[40] Barakos & Selleck (2019) argue that "the 'idea' of choice is fundamentally entrenched with a neoliberal rationality that propagates the idea that we are all free to choose our course in life. Choice is also linked to an idea of human capital, which seeks to recognise the 'knowledge, skills, competencies and attributes embodied in individuals that facilitate the creation of personal, social and economic well-being' (OECD 2001)" (367).

[41] A point well-made by Sowell: "The principles of investment are involved in activities that do not pass through the marketplace, and are not normally thought of as economic. Putting things away after you use them is an investment of time in the present to reduce the time required to find them in the future. Explaining yourself to others can be a time-consuming, and even unpleasant, activity but it is engaged in as an investment to prevent greater unhappiness in the future from misunderstandings" (2010: 296).

for interanimation with the subject matter of a metaphor – the 'real' economy[42] and the financial economy.[43]

2.3.1.2 Success and scarcity

In light of a broad economic frame, a compelling reason for reconceptualising investment is the scarcity of the research phenomenon, which is concerned specifically with instances of SLA success. The logic of the investment metaphor points toward (though does not guarantee) a successful return (a 'capital gain'), whereas 'language education' or 'language learning' do not; neither do these latter terms specify any kind of committed behavioural constraints in the way that investment does. As Kinginger states in the context of study abroad, "for the monolingual elite and middle class" to successfully learn languages with lower status or utility than English, "unusual perspicacity and commitment are required to construct a rationale for foreign language learning beyond the basics" (2008: 62). The question "what must be possible for *successful* SLA to obtain?" is answered by use of the metaphor: if learners are to succeed, they must *invest* in SLL, rather than mere SLA *behaviour*, which, as Dörnyei (2019) notes, often ends in failure. More specific to the research topic, L2AfL mastery (by wSAns or non-L1AfL speakers more generally) is rare, which *ipso facto* implies an underlying scarcity of the appropriate conditions and catalysts required for its instantiation.

2.3.1.3 Linking micro and macro

Finally, a reconceptualisation can provide a common set of concepts linking the subject matter of *individual* investment in SLA with instances of what will be referred to as *collective*

[42] Investment in the 'real' economy refers to the kind of investment that businesses and organisations, whether for-profit or not, engage in: "the process of adding to stocks of real productive assets" (Black, 1997: 251). Such entities invest in improving their means of production: technology, land or infrastructure with which they produce something of value. In more recent discourse, companies invest in the intellectual capital of their employees/labour. Indeed, following the inadvertantly original monetary sense of 'talent', corporate entities may be said to invest in "talent" (specialised or highly productive labour) and thus speak of "talent acquisition", and actively seek to increase the "human capital" or technical skillset of their employees and executives. Corporates may invest in innovation – often in terms of research and development ("R&D") – in order to stay ahead of competitors, to increase their scale of operations, or to increase the functionality of their service/product (Black, 1997).

[43] In the financial economy, securities (e.g. bonds, equity/stocks, future contracts etc) are issued by companies during fundraising, and where they are traded by brokers on behalf of investors and speculators. Black (1997) elaborates as follows: "Investments in the financial sense are often used to fund investment in the [real economic] sense, for example when companies sell new shares to finance the building of new factories. The two senses of investment are not invariably linked, however: real investment can be paid for from retained profits without the use of financial intermediaries; and firms can use the proceeds of share issuances to pay off debt or to finance the acquisition of other firms, rather than spending money on physical investment" (251). It becomes apparent, therefore, that the financial economy is secondary to the real economy, from which it is derived: thus investment in the financial economy can both enable, and benefit from, investment in the real economy.

investment – typically found in Language Policy & Planning (LP&P) and Language Economics (LE).[44] Reconciling the micro and the macro of investment has been recommended by others, for instance (from the perspective of LE), Duchêne (2016) attempts to "make the case for a re-interpretation of [Norton's notion of] language investment in terms of political economy" (20).[45] In the final analysis, for L2 Investment to succeed at macro and meso levels of human society, it must have been successfully instantiated at the micro level: the lives of individuals who choose to personally invest in SLA. This is the level at which Norton (1995) situates her use of the investment metaphor. Researching L2 Investment at *only* a macro level is evident in much of the language policy and planning (LP&P) literature relevant to post-apartheid South Africa. But when combined with actual data on the 'microeconomics' of individual L2 Investment, LP&P has far greater potential to both identify and respond to macro-level language issues. An ideal reconceptualisation, therefore, would describe and theorise the relation between collective and individual L2 Investment: this may be found in Appendix C7.

2.3.2 The L2 investor: an ontology

Investors are agents who engage in the process of investment. They are influenced, though not determined, by the structures that have informed them (and through which they are identified). This raises the question: before elaborating an ontology of L2 Investment, how is one to understand the ontology of L2 investors?

2.3.2.1 'Selfhood' includes 'identity'

The post-structuralist focus on power and oppression is particularly relevant to a construal of agency as identities in competition and flux.[46] However, this focus on identity alone is not *deep* enough: the question 'who am I?' – which can have political, social and economic

[44] This ought to be possible, given the meta-theoretical presuppositions of CR: there is an objective reality that words, concepts, theories and so on aim at, refer to – *even* if they do so imperfectly. If a post-structuralist, therefore, used the word "investment" and agrees on most of its core conceptual features – e.g. commitment, scarcity, returns on capital – then the "investment" they are talking about *must* ultimately by reconcilable with the "investment" one encounters in (post-)positivist Language Economics research, or LP&P.

[45] She claims that: "[s]uch reinterpretation seems necessary inasmuch as it would force us to think about learning processes in the context of the conditions of the production, distribution, and circulation of resources and legitimations that enable—or prevent—investment, or even create the illusion that investment will necessarily be followed by a return on investment. Thinking about language investment in terms of political economy invites us to ask who decides what constitutes a good investment and for whom, following which criteria, and according to which interpretive rationales, and which resources are made available to whom in order to legitimize which forms of investment" (Duchêne, 2016: 20-21).

[46] Identities are in flux and compete, because they are discursively assigned from the outside: agents are subjected to external discourse (a person is identified as being *such and such*). Social attributions of identity can be unfair and oppressive, but only if measured against *something*, a deeper, unifying essence of personhood and agency, which contradicts external imputations.

answers – will always lead to a deeper psychological and philosophical question of 'who am I ultimately?'. In the context of *this* question, the sole focus on *social* identity in language learning, or any human domain of activity, is too shallow. Arguably, a sense of *selfhood* (or at minimum the prospect thereof) is required to stitch together the flailing, contradicting strands of one's social identities into a coherent unit. Being an investor presupposes (a measure of) selfhood: a committed shaping together of identities into something coherent and long-term. One therefore does not have an 'investor' identity, as one might have a 'learner' identity.[47] An L2 investor is an agent, a self, who is approaching him/herself *as a task*. Such a conception is informed by Kierkegaard's conception of the self: "to be a self is to be assigned a task" (Evans, 2012: 51), something to forge out of disparate, competing elements; something that requires discipline and patience, and the conscious exercise of free choice. This conscious exercise of choice follows from critical realist presuppositions regarding agency and structure. It is also echoed in Grin's (2003) assertion that a broadly economic perspective requires that agents have the capacity to *choose*, genuinely and consciously, among potential substitutes. In the case of non-necessitated SLL,[48] there is *always* a substitute, even in cases of nominal compulsion: a learner can 'go through the motions' and remain unengaged while learning.[49]

2.3.2.2 Future L2 selfhood as a task

The conception of investor-as-a-self has *prima facie* kinship with Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System (henceforth, L2MSS), discussed in greater detail below. The L2MSS conceptualises motivation for SLL as being deeply connected to the "future orientated dimensions of the self-concept" (Ushioda, 2012: 65). Dörnyei draws on Markus and Nurius's (1986) conception of 'possible selves' and gives the system a tripartite structure: the Ideal L2 Self (IL2S), the Ought-to L2 Self (OL2S), and the L2 Learning Experience. L2 selves are domain-specific constructs relating to at least two 'possible selves': firstly, the ideal self, which "refers to the representation of the attributes that one would ideally like to possess (i.e. representation of hopes, aspirations, or wishes)" and secondly, the ought-to self, which "refers to the representation of attributes that one believes one ought to possess (i.e.

[47] Consider Price (1996) in response to Norton (1995): "investment does seem to be a function of a dominant and enduring identity ... rather than of prevailing practices" (Price, 1996: 333). Although Price uses the term 'identity', the qualifiers and example he gives (the identity of being "a mother") align best with the meaning attributed here to selfhood – a "dominant and enduring" identity, one that is fundamental to the self-project.
[48] By this, I mean instances of SLL where there is no alternative, no choice *but* to learn in order to survive.
[49] Going through the motions is antithetical to actual investment, because it is a form of capital destruction (at minimum, of biochronic capital).

representation of someone else's sense of duties, obligations or moral responsibilities)" (Dörnyei, 2009: 13).[50]

Unlike previous theories of L2 motivation, use of the self-concept in the L2MSS explicitly affirms the irreducible complexity of learners' agency and consciousness – through processes of self-projection and identification. Jean-Paul Sartre characterised the human condition in terms of an inexorable drive to transcend facticity, or in terms resonant with an 'arc', to *project* the self into a different set of future possibilities and constraints (Flynn, 2004). Dörnyei asserts that "possible selves are 'self states' that people experience as reality" (2009: 16) – not merely a set of discursive propositions beginning with 'I want to be...'. As per Markus and Ruvolo (1989: 217), a sense of who one *could* be is "psychologically experienced" and serves as "a *durable* aspect of consciousness" (italics mine). Selfhood, whether actual or possible, is *experienced* – and, arguably, experienced as a *unity in diversity*.[51] The fact of diversity in the self is to say that self-discrepancy (Higgins, 1987) always exists, some of which might be desirable, some not. The diversity/discrepancy may be understood as occurring in two primary domains: *identity*[52] and *temporality*.[53] The future L2 self, in Kierkegaardian terms a *task* to be achieved, represents the integration of new or modified modes of self- and social identification derived from the process of, and capital gained from, L2 learning.

2.3.2.3 Guardian investors and dependents

The conscious exercise of choice and committed behaviour towards the task of future L2 selfhood is usually the case for independent, adult language learners. The same cannot always be said for dependent children and adolescents, whose L2 Investment might be a product of negotiation with (or even compulsion by) guardians and schools; their L2 selves might be vague or non-existent, as they do not 'belong' properly to the dependents. Unconscious or unwilling L2 Investment by children and youth is *still* investment – but the 'investor' status of such learners is partial or dependent, as it is the agency of others – guardian investors –

[50] It is important to recognise that "the pool of possible selves derives from the categories made salient by the individual's particular sociocultural and historical context" (Markus & Nurius, 1986: 954).
[51] Except in the case of those with mental disorders (for whom an experience of unity might be absent).
[52] There is the current 'imperfect' self in contradistinction to the future 'perfect' self, and there is the multiplicity of desired or imposed identities, all competing for a more dominant share of the future self. The unity of selfhood is a product of the relationship between one's (vividly felt) current self and desired future self, as well as a stable (but inevitable) tension between one's various socially-introjected identities.
[53] The temporal trajectory, directed by an implicit self-guide, provides the unifying thread for all the diverse elements within the human person. Dörnyei implies as much when he states that "an important condition for effective desired possible selves is that they should feel congruent with important social identities, that is, that the ideal and the ought selves should be in harmony" (2009: 20).

who make facilitating investments *on the learners' behalf* (i.e. relating to the conditions and catalysts for sustained SLL). Citing Bailey and Osipova (2016), Ryan (2020) asserts that it "makes sense to extend the framework of investment to parents, given that their own motivations fuel their commitment to raising their children bilingually" (4). Children, as dependent investors, may or may not become independent in due course; the success of their L2 Investment is often a function of their transition to independence. As children become adolescents, guardians' own use of time and energy to facilitate a dependent's investment becomes less impactful, as "[a]ctions by the adolescents themselves in terms of the allocation of their time have implications for the acquisition of human capital" (Cardoso *et al*., 2010: 500).

2.3.3 The genera of capital

An investment metaphor needs a definition and elaboration of capital. In a broadly economic sense, it is argued that there is no fundamental difference between, for example, mental energy, money, or human skills: all are *categorically* "productive resources" (Rubenson and Runco, 1992: 134), i.e. forms of *capital*, irrespective of how tangible they are. A full account of the genera of capital is provided in Appendix C6: an overview is provided here. The genera are argued as being fundamentally *four* in nature. Of these, the first three are relatively unremarkable; the fourth, zookairotic capital, might require further explanation (see Appendix C6.4):

> biochronic capital: the finite amounts of time ('chronic') and energy ('bio', i.e. life) available to potential investors.
>
> human capital: the stock of knowledge and skills accumulated (and leverageable) by an investor
>
> socioeconomic capital: the resources emergent from an investor's social relations and leveraging of human capital (for economic gain).
>
> zookairotic capital: epiphenomenal, immaterial goods – e.g. a sense joy, purpose, belonging, security – that *may* arise from the leverage or use of other forms of capital. Absence of zookairotic capital is just as relevant as its presence.

These genera need brief elaboration. *Human capital* may be further divided into several relevant species: **occupational capital** is largely self-explanatory[54] and most associated with human capital (Becker, 1975; see Appendix C4). **Character capital** refers to the enduring

[54] This refers to the ability to command increased economic capital[59] for any given amount of biochronic capital that is expended within a certain occupation requiring training/developed skills.

dispositions, or meta-skills, of human beings that are cultivated in and by agents, often due to guardian investment (often prompted by cultural and religious worldviews).[55] **Linguistic capital** is considered to be a central species of human capital; it refers to the evolving ability to communicate the human condition semiotically across time, enabling complex socioeconomic relations. Having introduced both linguistic capital and zookairotic capital, the quote attributed to Mandela above may be reframed as suggesting that leverage of linguistic capital associated with the Other enables an investor to "speak to their heart" – asserting the presence of zookairotic capital in such situations.

The genus of socioeconomic capital may be subdivided into several species. **Cultural capital[56]** is included here, although it is not to be read in a Bourdieusian sense, as his employment of the term 'culture' is broader in meaning[57] than how it is applied within the L2 Investment frame; here it refers only to knowledge of traditional customs and cultural practices. It does not extend to culturally-inflected, developed skills/practices that could be culture-independent, which are considered to be human capital. Central further species are **social capital –** referring to the strength and range of one's social network – and **symbolic capital**, which denotes the relative prestige and status causal or derivative of one's social capital, as well as species of human capital (e.g. linguistic or occupational capital). Other forms of socioeconomic capital could be included,[58] although tend not to be directly relevant for L2 Investment, beyond the use of economic capital[59] to access certain modalities (discussed below) of SLL.

Finally, a comment on biochronic capital. While its objective *quantity* cannot increase, the subjective market and personal *valuation* of an investor's biochronic capital will increase as a result of gaining one or more species of human and socioeconomic capital. It becomes more costly/valuable, due to the expansion of human capital-mediated

[55] Character, as defined here, is distinct from personality in that character may be viewed as an overlay, a refinement or impairment, of a given personality: it is not something an investor is born with.
[56] As per Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), cultural capital refers to the *traditions of knowledge and practice* within human social units.
[57] "One of the central ideas of Bourdieu 's work, for which he is well known among sociologists of education, is the idea that there are different forms of capital: not only 'economic capital' in the strict sense (i.e. material wealth in the form of money. stocks and shares, property, etc.), but also 'cultural capital' (i.e. knowledge, skills and other cultural acquisitions, as exemplified by educational or technical qualifications), 'symbolic capital' (i.e. accumulated prestige or honour), and so on. One of the most important properties of fields is the way in which they allow one form of capital to be converted into another – in the way, for example, that certain educational qualifications can be cashed in for lucrative jobs" (Thompson, in Bourdieu, 1991: 12).
[58] Another example might be **political capital**: an admixture of social, cultural, and symbolic – and usually economic – capital, referring to the extent to which one can plausibly represent a polity or political structure.
[59] **Economic capital** refers to wealth, both tangible and intangible. This might include physical and intellectual property, financial assets (bonds, equities, etc), precious metals and money.

socioeconomic opportunities to which it can be applied, and the extent to which zookairotic capital is returned as a by-product.[60]

2.3.4 The elements of L2 investment

Having delineated an ontology of investors and the genera of capital, a definition of L2 Investment is now possible: it occurs when investors commit their biochronic and socioeconomic capital to produce new human-linguistic capital. A basic conceptual analysis of investment yields a roughly tripartite, arc-like metaphorical structure, one implicit within the literature (e.g. Norton, 1995; Pittaway, 2004; Pavlenko, 2002). At its initiation, there is a set of primary conditions and catalysts causing L2 Investment behaviour. At the height of the arc – the going-out or commitment phase – disciplined allocation of scarce (largely biochronic) capital occurs, in accordance with one or more modalities and via certain TL intermediaries. L2 Investment culminates with capital gains: linguistic or otherwise.

2.3.4.1 Investment conditions

> *... while it is reasonable to assume that some psychological traits or internal characteristics of learners will make them potentially good language learners, they will have to choose whether or not to fulfill that potential. Learners' choice will be influenced by the teaching environment, by the larger sociopolitical environment and by random life events ...*
>
> Jean-Marc Dewaele (2013: 179).

Dewaele's characterisation of the factors involved in the initiation of SLA may be divided into three main elements: 1) socio-structural (i.e. external) conditions, 2) personal conditions (i.e. of the agent-learner), and 3) catalytic conditions. Socio-structural conditions promote and/or constrain the nature of potential L2 Investment by individuals. Within this external backdrop, the personal conditions of an individual investor directly potentiate L2 Investment commitment; in particular, the presence of compelling motivation for L2 Investment (in the absence of any felt socio-structural condition of compulsion) is *the* necessary condition for a learner to commit – to become an L2 investor, successful or not. In conjunction with socio-structural and personal conditions, catalytic conditions are the "random life events" which catalyse "learners' choice[s]" to concretely invest in (or divest from) SLL.[61]

[60] The scarcity and costliness of biochronic capital have implications for investors' willingness to commit it towards new investments in human or socioeconomic capital.
[61] Catalytic conditions are not *always* random or accidental, however – some are the product of intention, whether by investors themselves or their guardians.

Socio-structural conditions

These are the (usually antecedent) political, social, cultural, and institutional factors that promote, constrain, or even necessitate investment in SLL.[62] They may be understood as *structuring* the physical, institutional, and ideational environment for potential L2 investors. A number of language-related fields and subfields provide findings relevant to L2 Investment's socio-structural conditions. Beyond SLA proper, these would predominantly be sociolinguistics, Language Economics (LE), and language policy and planning (LP&P). One example of this – family-level LP&P, or its absence – creates crucial socio-structural conditions for L2 Investment, derived from guardians' worldviews and investments on behalf of their wards. Bailey and Osipova (2016), as summarised by Ryan (2020), show how guardian investors (specifically parents) make "commitments" on behalf of their children's SLA, including

> ... financial (e.g., trips to L2 country), familial (e.g., visiting L2 speaking grandparents), and emotional (e.g., being a very disciplined parent) commitments, as well as investment of time (e.g., spending hours teaching children) and investment in future mastery (e.g., giving up complete understanding of what your child says). (Ryan, 2020: 4)

Beyond intentional LP&P, whether at the family or state level, [63] socio-structural conditions are largely confined to extant sociolinguistic facts – L1 & TL attitudes, the quality/quantity of contact with TL speakers, and access to TL educational opportunities. Optimal conditions would include, *inter alia*, potential for a high frequency of TL-mediated encounters due to local/demographic factors; existential necessity, i.e. for immigrants/refugees; positive TL speaker reception; access to TL-mediated social institutions and activities; the TL possessing a high status relative to a learner's current language repertoire; access to education in the TL from a beginner to advanced level. Where conditions are not *supportive*, they are deemed *restrictive*. These tend to be scarcities of some sort: inversions of the conditions above.[64]

[62] These factors may be expressed in terms of the sociocultural capital available to be leveraged for potential L2 investment.
[63] See Appendix C7, Collective L2 investment.
[64] For example, there may be scarcity of accessible TL intermediaries, due to the dynamics of class and racial divides; there may be a scarcity of effective contextualised modes of learning, with few schools offering the TL. Moreover, countervailing sociolinguistic trends in the "linguistic market" are potential constraining factors, e.g. scarce demand for genuine TL proficiency within occupational (business/work) contexts, thus making the relevant linguistic capital superfluous. International language trends due to globalisation (e.g. English-as-lingua-franca) may negatively affect an investment case for the TL.

Personal conditions

Socio-structural conditions *indirectly* support or constrain L2 Investment. As per CR assumptions (that agents having genuine freedom to choose), these conditions do not *determine* agents' decisions and behaviour. Rather, ***personal conditions*** are the direct causal factors that support or obstruct investment, consciously or unconsciously. Three kinds of non-SLA-specific personal conditions appear relevant, although this list is not necessarily exhaustive:

1) the investor's biochronic qualities[65]
2) extent of cognate human capital (prior creative, linguistic, or character capital),
3) presence/absence of zookairotic capital[66]

While the second and third may be accumulated through other (non-SLA) investment, the first is genetic in nature, and has SLA-specific implications. There are certain neurological and fetal-hormonal traits that have been linked to an exceptional ability to learn languages (as an L2, post-puberty).[67] The relevance of these three conditions becomes clear in Chapter 5 Conditions for L2AfLL .

While the first three kinds of personal conditions act as general scaffolding for the SLL project, the final, and most directly relevant personal condition to SLA, is **the quality and quantity of L2 Motivation**. L2 investors will likely have at least one initial motivation to increase their human, socioeconomic or zookairotic capital. McEown, Noels and Chaffee (2014) state that "researchers need to identify what aspect of L2 motivation they want to look at – that is, which theory or theories work best based on their respective research contexts, targeted populations and outcome variables of interest" (35-36). As Ushioda (2012) highlights in the context of motivation, one must "consider processes of human agency, intentionality and reflexivity that are fundamental to the interactions between self and context" (66).

[65] These would be neurophysiological or personality affordances or inhibitors that magnify/inhibit the value of biochronic capital expended over time.
[66] E.g. a sense of meaning, security, love, joy *etc* – whether independent of, or in relation to, the TL community.
[67] For example, those of the Geschwind cluster (Geschwind & Galaburda, 1985; Schneiderman and Desmarais, 1988; Obler, 1989) which include being left-handed, homosexual, a twin, having allergies, and so on. More general, however, are findings regarding the psychological profiles or aptitude of exceptional language learners, for example the polyglot CJ in Obler's (1989) study who scored highly in IQ subtests on "vocabulary and code-learning and retention ... pattern matching and decoding", and who had outstanding verbal memory in particular (Duff, 2007: 74). Several of Ioup's studies (1989; 2005; also Ioup, *et al*, 1994) confirm this, finding that L1-like success by L2 learners is not *necessarily* a function of high motivation, conscious awareness of the SLA process, lengthy periods of learning, or external sociolinguistic factors; there is a definite neuropsychological profile which can make a difference between good and excellent learners (Duff, 2007: 76).

Beyond its wide acceptance and uptake, given the investor ontology outlined above, Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System (2005; 2009) appears to be most apposite motivation theory due to its emphasis on the 'self' or the 'self-concept'. This was suggested by early L2 motivation constructs like "integrativeness" (Gardner, 2001), something which Dörnyei (2020) described as fundamental to understanding motivation and self-identification. As Claro (2019) claims:

> Integrativeness (Gardner) and the ideal L2 self (Dörnyei) are complementary forms of identification that differ in locus of identification. Integrativeness represents identification with an external locus (role-models and reference groups), while the ideal L2 self represents identification with an internal locus. (Claro, 2019, cited in Dörnyei, 2019: xx)

The L2MSS remains the dominant theory of motivation in SLA, though not without modification or critique (e.g. Lamb, 2009; Henry, 2017). Numerous studies have used the L2MSS and established its overall coherence (Taguchi et al., 2009; Papi, 2010; Islam, Lamb, Chambers, 2013; Boo, Dörnyei and Ryan, 2015, You and Dörnyei, 2016) and in particular confirmed the validity of the Ideal L2 Self construct as highly predictive of L2 persistence and learning success (James, 2017). The Ought-to L2 Self construct appears less coherent or predictive of motivated SLL behaviour (Kormos and Csizer, 2008; Csizer & Lukacs, 2010; Lamb, 2012).[68] Expanding on Higgin's (1987) self-discrepancy theory, the L2 selves are not merely possible selves, but self-guides, "which postulates that people are motivated to reach a condition where their self-concept matches their personally relevant self-guides" (Dörnyei, 2009: 18).[69]

Independent investors are likely to have a more vivid, highly motivating IL2S guides,[70] whereas dependent investors might experience a more vivid OL2S, likely with

[68] This indicates "a potential weakness either in the construct or current methods of elicitation" (Lamb, 2012: 1014). Ushioda (2012) elaborates that the OL2S is "less internally driven" and "more externally regulated" (65). The externality of the 'self-that-others-want-me-to-be' is perhaps why the OL2S fails as a motivational subconstruct: it is not an expression of the L2 *learner's* selfhood, but that of *others*. As such, OL2S may be understood as an expression of the self 'in sync' with socio-structural conditions for or against SLA, whether negative pressure or positive encouragement, at the familial, communal, societal levels or otherwise.

[69] The experienced psychological reality (cf. Dörnyei, 2009: 16) of these self-guides is theorised to correspond to the learner's degree of motivation: future selves are less a propositional goal ("I am motivated because...") and more of a vision with a strong, sensory component ("I can see myself doing X...") (Dörnyei and Kubanyiova, 2014). A vision can be defined as "a mental representation that occurs without the need for external sensory input" (Stopa, 2009, qtd. in Dörnyei and Chan, 2013: 440). Dörnyei explains that vision, oft-cited in motivational and sports psychology, "represents one of the highest-order motivational forces, one that is particularly fitting to explain the long-term, and often lifelong, process of mastering a second language" (Dörnyei and Kubanyiova, 2014: 11).

[70] Or, at the very least, a clearer sense of their self-task and the commitments needed to attain it.

ambivalent motivational power.[71] L2 selves other than the IL2S and OL2S have been proposed, for example the rooted L2 self (MacIntyre *et al*, 2017), and the "anti-ought-to self (Thompson, 2017; 2019; Thompson & Vásquez, 2015), both of which express an explicit relation between the self and L2 *in context* (either to belong or repudiate belonging via SLA).

Catalytic conditions

Within a broader backdrop of socio-structural conditions, but more directly due to personal conditions, **catalytic conditions** emerge – in brief, **catalysts**. These are the mechanisms or circumstantial changes that cause an investor to commit his or her capital towards SLL, and may be considered as being on a continuum of catalytic force.[72] While many things may be described as catalytic in L2 Investment, at least three kinds of catalyst emerge as relevant to this study: guardian investment in ideal socio-structural conditions for a dependent's L2 Investment (medium catalytic force); circumstantial accidents that promote learning (low catalytic force); and circumstantial necessities that necessitate learning (high catalytic force).[73] Catalysts are antecedent to commitment, discussed below, unless there are distinct stages thereof, in which case subsequent catalysts (e.g. moving long-term to a new geographic area) would have implications for the extent and form of each commitment stage. Once commitment has been catalysed, it is likely that new motivations result from experiences of L2 learning and use.[74]

2.3.4.2 Investment commitment

Investment commitment – the going-out or movement phase of the SLA arc – involves three main elements: (1) discipline, (2) modality, and (3) intermediation, and these are all aimed towards a set of specific L2 skill domains (best described via several SLA continua: passive/active, listening/speaking, reading/writing, colloquial/standard, basic/intermediate/advanced).

[71] Some L2 Investors may not envision a future L2 self, particularly where investment is a product of necessity.
[72] Using the philosophical language of 'necessary' and 'sufficient' conditions will clarify the nature of catalysts for L2 Investment vis-à-vis personal and socio-structural conditions. A catalyst is a special kind of condition from which sufficiency, and potentially necessity, emerges. In the context of insufficient non-catalytic conditions (described henceforth merely as 'conditions'), a catalyst *makes up the gap* between insufficiency and sufficiency. It may also induce degrees of necessity to engage in L2 learning, referred to as catalytic necessity or force. In cases with non-ideal personal conditions – but still sufficient motivation – higher catalytic force may be required to initiate commitment to L2 learning.
[73] See section 5.3.3 for cross-case findings that elaborate these three catalytic conditions.
[74] Such emergent motivations would influence learner's persistence and engagement in L2 learning, e.g. TL-speaking romantic partner; a vivid sense of the utility of the TL with increasing use; joyful reception by TL speakers; discovery of intrinsic language interest – and so on. The inverse to all these examples may also obtain, causing L2 divestment/disinvestment.

In the course of analysis and writing up the findings, it became apparent that discipline, as the *sine qua non* of investment, was the meta-factor of commitment and derivative of conditions in aggregate, which influenced the efficacy of chosen modalities and intermediaries for the SLL process. While 'intermediation' focused on access to and interaction with the TL, 'modality' emphasised the context and structures within which TL interaction occurred.

Discipline

The distinguishing factor between other modes of committed human endeavour and investment is **discipline**. Speculation and addiction – both to which one can commit huge amounts of biochronic and economic capital – do not require discipline.[75] Relative to all other aspects outlined in this section, discipline is concerned with the 'form' that commitment of capital can take: the routines of capital allocation and leveraging, posing questions like 'how often', 'how much', and 'by whom' capital is allocated. These questions follow directly from the *strength* of conditions for L2 Investment (in particular, biochronic qualities and L2 motivation). Discipline seeks to incorporate constructs like L2 persistence and engagement, which are discussed in turn.

Feng and Papi (2020) claim that learners' persistence in SLL, what they call "the other dimension of motivation ... has not been received much attention in the field" (1) and this is because it would require longitudinal research designs, given the long term nature of SLL.[76] A survey of literature reveals that achieving conceptual parsimony regarding this "other dimension of motivation" is difficult. Grit is a conceptually 'thicker' concept than persistence or simply that of "intention to persist" in SLL, which in my MPhil thesis (James, 2017) correlated highly with participants' IL2S scores. Proposed by Duckworth *et al* (2007), the grit construct itself "comprises two lower-order constructs: perseverance of effort and consistency of interest". The former refers to "a person's inclination to invest durable energy over a long period of time", while the latter attempts to capture "a person's consistency of

[75] Where there is an addiction to accumulating capital in a certain domain, where investment (and thus discipline) would otherwise be the norm, this would likely result in spectacular domain-specific gains (or losses) but have deleterious effects on broader domains of human endeavour/life. It is better to be invested in a relationship, or a language, or the stock market, than to be addicted to any of these domains.

[76] They spell out the issue with cross-sectional research on L2 persistence, i.e. "one's invested effort at a certain point in time may not necessarily represent how long the learners will be invested in the goal pursuit" (Feng and Papi, 2020: 1).

passion for a higher-order goal, even when encountering challenges, obstacles, or failures" (Teimouri *et al,* 2020: 4).[77]

Secondly, a theorised notion of "engagement" in *actual* SLL has been proposed in more recent scholarship. Dörnyei (2019) states that "motivation only indicates a student's potential for actively pursuing learning (rather than how this potential is actually realized)" (25) and then quotes (Henry & Thorsen, 2018a) who differentiate L2 motivation *vis a vis* engagement: "since motivation rarely flows completely unhindered into action, it is the behavioral outworkings of various motivational sources that are captured in the engagement construct" (458). Engagement thus complements both motivation and persistence, as it links the 'why?' and 'to what extent?' to the 'how?'. Yet this is no straightforward matter, as apparent learning can always be faked: the phenomenon of 'going through the motions.' While "the notion of engagement is straightforward", Mercer & Dörnyei (2020) note that

> what complicates things is the fact that student involvement has both external and internal dimensions ... Indeed, it is possible for someone to merely "go through the motions," that is, to exhibit seemingly active participation in a task without involving themselves at the level of thought or affect. (24)

Discipline therefore concerns the regularity and extent of biochronic capital[78] committed to SLL, and whether this is done by an independent investor, by a guardian/collective investor on behalf of a dependent, or both. Some degree of investment discipline is necessary, or else success is impossible.[79] Good investment discipline, in terms of the SLA literature, would conform with findings from memory studies that parameterise the ideal time-lengths and regularity of explicit TL learning (e.g. class time); consistent review mechanisms for grammatical and lexical learning (e.g. using spaced repetition systems like Anki); the intentional use of strategies to maximise contact with TL mediators and media (i.e. implicit learning) in the confines of school/work/everyday life. Previous investment literature describing findings regarding power dynamics in learning situations (Norton, 1995), provides

[77] The composite nature of grit means that much literature has been concerned (perhaps unhelpfully) with reconciling the precise differences between "inclination" or "intention" to persist, how these relate to persistent L2 learning behaviour, and how exactly "consistency of passion" fits in to the mix (both cognitive and affective in nature). Feng and Papi's (2020) findings, for instance, "cast doubt on the validity of Grit as a unitary construct" (1). Nevertheless, it is interesting to note the ubiquitous presence of an investment metaphor in describing L2 perseverance and grit.

[78] Beyond mere time-on-task, I would emphasise that mental energy is included in the biochronic capital construct: mental 'energy-on-task' approximates the construct of engagement in learning (Mercer & Dörnyei, 2020), which is *prima facie* an element of investment discipline.

[79] With possible exceptions of savants/geniuses, but even in their case, a minimum of biochronic capital must be spent in order to acquire a TL.

some insight into the nature of discipline (which, as with Norton's construct, is conceptualised as wholly independent of the presence or strength of L2 motivation).

Modality

The engagement construct naturally raises an obvious question: engagement in *what*? Going through *what* motions? The term **modality** is intended to capture a set of particular, contextualised mode(s) or procedures of SLL behaviour, which require differing kinds/degrees of capital and discipline to achieve success. These might include early childhood modalities,[80] academic modalities (e.g. schooling, universities, formal tuition via teachers or language institutes), or transgressive modalities (e.g. distant immersion like study abroad/immersion camps). L2 learners inevitably follow specific learning behaviours, whether consciously chosen or not, and this occurs simultaneously at varying degrees of abstraction (in terms of behaviour and place).[81] Anthony's (1963) classifications – approaches, methods, and techniques – may be understood as describing the modal range of formal academic learning behaviour – but these divisions can be applied equally well when learning occurs outside of academic environments. Ideal modalities are dependent on the socio-structural and personal conditions of investors – but at least one modality must be 'engaged' in or 'undertaken', with sufficient discipline, if a measure of linguistic capital is to be gained.

Each modality of SLL would have its own discipline parameters. For example, conventional academic schooling would necessitate going through regular motions of learning, irrespective of engagement level. [82] Likewise, modalities of distant immersion – like study abroad for SLL purposes (Kinginger, 2008) – usually introduces a degree of circumstantial necessity for SLL, a kind of extrinsic discipline.

Intermediation

Thirdly and closely connected to the chosen modality, **intermediation** refers to the process by which intermediaries facilitate a learner's access to the L2 *per se* and its various skill

[80] I.e. modalities of L1-like socialisation – thus more aligned with L1 acquisition than SLA *per se*.
[81] A similar abstract-concrete range applies to context: e.g. macro (within a nation/society); meso (at private or public schools and universities; in a village, suburb, or township); micro (at home, the classroom, on the street, or in the office): all these contexts entail specific socio-structural conditions and potential catalysts, at different levels of analysis (Bronfenbrenner, 1988).
[82] *Ceteris paribus*, secondary school provides a highly regimented modality of learning, structuring the extent and regularity of investors' biochronic allocations toward AfLL, and providing formalised interactions with TL mediators and media. Genuine biochronic *engagement* – more than just time-on-task – is *not*, however, guaranteed within a formal educational modality. Within the SA context, only Grades 10-12 of high school would require a major and regular biochronic capital commitment, and given the difficulty of AfL subjects, a certain amount of engagement is necessary to pass the school-leaving certificate ('Matric').

domains. Language contact must come from somewhere, as must opportunities for practice – and some sources are better than others. In the L2 Investment frame, this would correspond to good intermediation. To use sociocultural, Vygotskian terminology, it would position L2 investors within the zone of proximal development for the development of TL skills (Lantolf & Aljaafreh, 1995). Intermediaries are the direct providers of comprehensible input, in Krashen's (1981) terms – necessary for L2 acquisition. Intermediaries may be subcategorised as involving either TL **mediators** or **media**: the go-betweens through which biochronic capital is expended, as they *directly* facilitate the acquisition of linguistic capital. Intermediation is necessary, irrespective of the modality of investment: but the *quality* of intermediation encountered/sought out is a definitive factor in success.

Mediators are people proficient in the TL, e.g. neighbours, co-workers, friends, security guards, nannies, teachers, language exchange partners. The SLA literature on L2 teaching provides findings specific to teacher-mediators whose students tend to succeed.[83] Beyond teacher-mediators, there is some evidence of the ideal qualities in L2 mediators generally, whether in terms of personality traits, use of affirming conversation strategies, their gender, age, and/or occupation. L2 Mediators can also occupy two key roles: they may act as role-models, representing a possible self (and thus relevant to L2 motivation). They can also act as mentors, who (beyond modelling a possible L2 self) commit biochronic capital towards actualising an L2 self in the L2 investor. Mentors provide bespoke, personalised TL mediation over a lengthy period of time, usually in the context of teaching, collaboration, friendship, or romance. Media, in contrast to mediators, are the ephemera (the 'leavings-behind') or products of mediators, which would include *inter alia* textbooks (i.e. *pedagogical* media), audio-visual media (radio/TV/film), dictionaries (reference media) and interactive media (computer, internet & app-based).[84]

[83] They typically use certain context/culture-dependent pedagogical practices (e.g. error correction techniques, means of eliciting language), fostering discipline (requiring, and engaging with, regular assessment/submission of students). It might be said that good teachers *co-invest* with students, whereas poor teachers can lead to student disinvestment or learning inertia, especially in the case of dependent (child/teen) L2 investors.
[84] Certain media have features that encourage or nudge investor's discipline, for example gamification in computer assisted language learning (e.g. Duolingo). There are certain kinds of dictionaries (e.g. usage-based, with example sentences) that foster increased use by learners, and there are audiovisual/written media that corresponds to investor-specific passions or interest, thus increasing engagement – e.g. favourite books or films in TL translation/dubbing.

2.3.4.3 Investment capital gains

"Measuring dividends is the challenge to the investment metaphor"

Daryl Chubin (1986: 159). *On the topic of 'Science as investment'*

To quibble about metaphorical terminology at the 'capital gains' phase is unnecessary, e.g. dividends, capital gains, returns: all are broadly synonymous when the capital concerned is intangible. What matters is that something of value must be gained by the investor. L2 Investment results in the investor acquiring new human capital, specifically linguistic capital.

Regarding the nature of linguistic capital, there are a cluster of similar concepts relating to success in SLA that seek to answer the question, 'What constitutes a high L2 proficiency?' 'Success' may be understood as a high, or expert level, of procedural L2 knowledge, in which the grammar and lexis may be drawn upon without thinking, automatically: the declarative knowledge has become automatised, procedural. In essence, this corresponds to the concept of fluency.[85] What counts as *fluency* is conditional, however, upon the nature of an investor's goals, the contexts of TL use, and (perhaps) the relative difficulty/complexity of the TL. High/advanced proficiency [procedural L2 knowledge]' is itself ambiguous insofar as it could specify advanced skills in *all* L2 skill domains or only in *some*, for example, advanced literacy skills (reading and writing), oral fluency (speaking/listening), or perhaps other combinations (e.g. productive vs receptive L2 skills).[86]

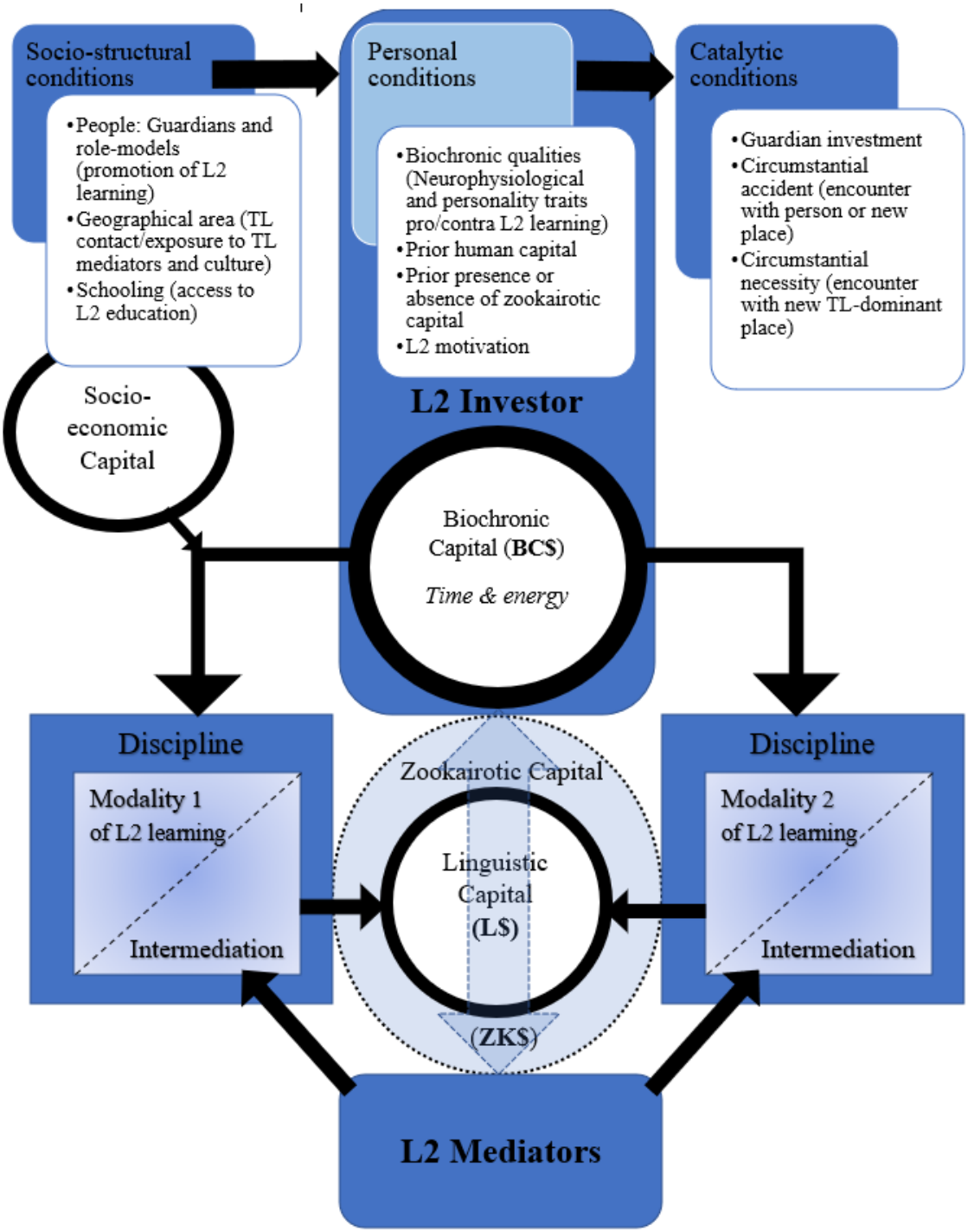
Alongside narrowly-linguistic returns on investment in the specific TL, there are also potentially gains in **metalinguistic capital** (interest and increased facility at the general

[85] The term 'fluency' raises a problem of definition, for its meaning can range from overall linguistic proficiency to a narrow focus on flow and speed of speech. Following Chambers' (1997) analysis of the term, fluency necessitates having the automatised knowledge of when, and how, it is grammatically or syntactically appropriate to pause during speech (Riggenbach, 1991; Chambers, 1997), along with a base level of accuracy in grammatical and lexical knowledge (implying minimal pauses for recall of core vocabulary) (Riggenbach, 1991). These factors give the impression of "smooth … effortless use of language" (Crystal, 1987: 421). Impressions of fluency can be strengthened by a number of additional factors: increased use of syntactically complex 'lexical phrases' (Towell *et al*, 1996); increased mean length of runs in speech (Towell *et al*, 1996); similarity of accent/intonation to L1 speakers (Freed, 1995); and more rapid rates of speech (although this does not appear to be a necessary element of fluency) (Chambers, 1997). Possession of fluency – the automatised knowledge of appropriate pauses and core grammar/lexis – almost certainly implies proficiency in processing the language of others, i.e. listening skills.

[86] Unlike the possibility of negative investment returns in the real economy and financial markets (i.e. a net loss/indebtedness), it does not appear that linguistic capital returns can be negative: even the worst possible investment modality, if followed with some degree of discipline, entails a *minimal* level of L2 skills that could be leveraged towards other socioeconomic aims. Although absolute returns cannot be negative, nonetheless they can be *relatively* negative compared with the foregone opportunities to invest biochronic and other capital elsewhere in non-linguistic investment (i.e. the opportunity cost may retrospectively turn out to be too high to justify the allocation of resources towards L2 learning). The latter point is arguably important in explaining the paucity of L2AfL investment in South Africa: all things being equal, scarce capital gains on offer engender scarce L2 investment.

language learning level), **crosslinguistic capital** (positive language transfer, due to similarity of between TL learnt and cognate languages) and **multilingual capital** (further L2 Investment in ALs resulting from the initial L2 Investment experience), *etc*. Linguistic capital can be leveraged to gain further socioeconomic capital, in particular social and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1977).

Figure 1: L2 Investment Framework



Chapter conclusion

An interdisciplinary analysis of a phenomenon like Second Language Acquisition (SLA) can fall into the trap of being too superficial – i.e. insufficient at specifying the mechanisms causing events that produce empirical phenomena. In such a situation, "substantive theory" (Hatch, 2002) or a "conceptual framework" (Miles & Huberman, 1994) in light of broader scholarship can be applied – for good or ill – to make the phenomenon explicable.[87]

At this stage, the reconceptualisation of L2 Investment, both individual and collective,[88] is *not* to be understood as *substantive* theory with a number of tentatively-confirmed hypotheses, but is better described as a conceptual framework for SLA derived from a broadly-economic metaphorical source that emphasises the disciplined allocation of scarce (mostly intangible) resources toward SLL. L2 Investment *qua* framework is best seen as maieutic, a 'midwife' for theorising SLA in context.[89] The (hopefully) substantive theory of successful L2AfLL in post-apartheid South Africa, developed later in this study, uses L2 Investment for reasons discussed above, but it *could* be reframed in wholly different terms that do not involve L2 Investment as presented. The use of frame for approaching post-apartheid wSAn L2AfLL is intended to enable the retroductive task of discerning relations and connections "not otherwise evident or obvious" (Meyer & Lunnay, 2012: §2.5); a task attempted in the literature review that follows.

[87] Some theory is more substantive (i.e. rigid in specifying ontology and relations), some less substantive. It follows, therefore, that there is no clean distinction between a framing metaphor, a conceptual framework, and substantive theory in approaching research of a topic.
[88] Collective investment is discussed in Appendix C7: it is not the direct focus of this study, although highly relevant to the topic more broadly.
[89] Because metaphors like investment are maieutic, they serve the goals of abduction and theory building – the identification of core causal features explaining a phenomenon.

Chapter 3
Investment in L2 Indigenous and African language learning

Chapter synopsis

L2 Investment is used to frame a review of a specific kind of SLA – L2 indigenous language learning (L2ILL) – which is arguably the kind of SLL exhibited in the research phenomenon. In Section 3.1, L2ILL is defined and reviewed across several different contexts. In Section 3.2, L2 African language learning (L2AfLL) in SA – as a species of L2ILL – is reviewed in some depth, also using the L2 Investment frame. Following this, the research questions are presented in Section 3.3.

Section 3.1 - Investment in L2ILL (ex SA)

3.1.1 Situating L2ILL within SLA

The following section defines the semantic range and reference of 'L2 indigenous language learning', and discusses the extent to which it is a phenomenon.

3.1.1.1 The emergence of non-heritage L2ILL

When using the term *indigenous language learning* (ILL), the qualifier 'heritage' or 'L1' is usually implied.[90] In many contexts of ILL, however, there remains a significant number of racially-homogenous settler-colonial descendants, whether a majority or minority. They typically lack high (or often any) proficiency in an indigenous language (IL). The advent of post-coloniality in the 20th century gradually catalysed a sociopolitical movement towards the decolonisation not only of the structures, but also collective and individual agency of those living within post-colonies. This decolonial movement (whether or not termed as such) has led to the emergence of a qualitatively different form of ILL: one which must be qualified with 'L2' and 'non-heritage' instead.[91]

[90] Indigenous languages were either actively stamped out through legislation and government policy (in linguicidal, assimilationist colonial paradigms) or, when not actively suppressed, *de facto* relegated to the social, political, and economic margins of the relevant territory. It is thus indigenous peoples who, in a postcolonial frame (at least in the case of former European colonies), *lack* the language of their heritage and for whom indigenous language learning is a form of sociocultural revival and reclamation. The implied 'L1' and 'heritage' qualifiers follow naturally.

[91] The latter qualifier, 'non-heritage', could in many of the contexts below be referred to as 'settler' L2ILL, however – as per critiques of settler-colonial theory, to do so would reify colonial-era polarities which simply do not account for the complexity of population groups in former colonies, e.g. where postcolonial immigration has occurred (e.g. by neighbouring indigenous peoples, in the case of southern Africa), or where intermarriage between settlers and indigenous peoples has occurred creating distinct racial and cultural groups legitimately claiming both settler and indigenous heritage – and so on.

3.1.1.2 Defining non-heritage L2ILL

Two axes or continuums are required when discussing ILL: firstly, L1–L2 (or AL) and secondly, heritage–non-heritage. In a fantasy world where one's ethnicity determined one's L1, these axes would map exactly onto each other: L1/heritage, and L2/non-heritage. But in reality, these polarities are better viewed as continuums. Glossing over the difficulties of differentiating SLA along the L1-L2 continuum,[92] and forms of L2ILL that complicate the 'heritage–non-heritage' continuum (see Appendix D2 for an overview), the kind of ILL in focus here – as analogous/most relevant to the research topic concerning wSAns – is *non-heritage L2ILL*. For the sake of brevity, *non-heritage L2ILL* will be referred to simply as **L2ILL**, with 'non-heritage' qualified only when necessary. There are at least two species of non-heritage L2ILL: 1) settler-descendant and 2) expatriate L2ILL. While the first species is the main target of this chapter and the next, there is literature relating to L2ILL by different sorts of *expatriates*, who would include: researchers (e.g. anthropologists or linguists),[93] missionaries (e.g. Roberts, 1979), recent immigrants, and seasonal/long-term visitors. Expatriate L2ILL lacks many of the socio-structural and personal conditions involved in settler-descendent–indigenous relations: one assumes that for many expatriates in Africa or elsewhere, there is a degree of contingency regarding *which post-colony* they come to inhabit – and this contingency likely alters the arc of their ILL.

3.1.1.3 L2ILL and symmetrical multilingualism

Orman's (2007) construct of "symmetrical multilingualism" – applied beyond South Africa – would result from *successful*, collective L2ILL. This is something that may be initiated from above (state) and/or below (grassroots), in the context of sociolinguistic conditions, and which leads to individual attempts at SLA.[94] Given the demographic and ideological dynamics of some post-colonies considered in Appendix D1, this has not occurred and is unlikely to occur.[95] In some postcolonial contexts, however, there is fertile ground for

[92] In a South Africa context, terms for L1 like 'mother tongue' or 'home language' are often preferred, but these can equally be conceptually unhelpful, as they make unwarranted assumptions of ethnolinguistic homogeneity (cf. Dlamini, 2017). What is best termed *L1* ILL (i.e. AfLL) by wSAns is a well-attested phenomenon (Botha, 2015).

[93] Lily: the foreign researcher, a peripheral limit case of this study, exhibits expatriate L2ILL in her learning of isiXhosa.

[94] See Appendix C7, Collective L2 investment.

[95] This is due to the ineluctable pull of what Barakos & Selleck (2019) and others call elite multilingualism: "a phenomenon that brings social and/or material capital, a sense of belonging, prestige, excellence, privilege, and access through the use of specific linguistic resources for certain social groups and individuals" (362). In most postcolonial contexts, elite forms of multilingualism typically centre around high proficiency in a colonial language like English (cf. Piller and Cho, 2013). The commodification of languages with the "politico-economic

developing greater linguistic symmetry through L2ILL, *countering* elite multilingualism, in order to bridge (or at least obscure[96]) historic settler-indigenous linguistic divisions. The reasons for this are diverse and will not be reviewed: but, at the most abstract level, it requires that broad consensus (and concomitant discourse) emerges that ILL by settler-descendant L2 learners is a beneficial and/or appropriate thing due to, or in spite of, the postcolonial situation.

3.1.1.4 Evidence of individual L2IL investment

While in some postcolonial contexts, L2ILL is largely absent or yet in its infancy,[97] in others it has become sufficiently established; research literature on the topic is beginning to emerge. In McIntosh's recent (2018) study of the phenomenon of post-apartheid wSAn learners of AfLs, she claims that "other whites in postcolonial contexts – from Kenya and Zimbabwe to Bolivia and Peru – have been reaching to learn [ILs]" (501), alluding to evidence from her own ethnographic research in Kenya (2014; 2016) and personal attestations of this fact from other scholars of postcolonial contexts. A survey of potential post-colonial contexts revealed the emergence of scholarship from several territories. In **New Zealand** (henceforth NZ)**,** "significant numbers of non-indigenous English speakers are voluntarily deciding to learn an indigenous language [i.e. Maori] that is not associated with strong communicative or academic needs" (Berardi-Wiltshire *et al*, 2020: 9). This is a trend that some find problematic (cf. Ngaha, 2011), as given the demographic dynamics, it might come to threaten the exclusive status of the language to Maori ethnic identity. However, others like Te Huia (2020) broach the idea that such non-heritage uptake would help revitalise the Maori language's prospects for use "in dominant culture domains" (12). As briefly mentioned by McIntosh (2018), there is evidence of L2ILL in **Zimbabwe**, although limited: McIntosh cites personal communication (see relevant footnotes in 2014: 1193 and 2018: 464) with the Zimbabwean historian Rory Pilossof, in which he attests that "nearly all of my [white]

conditions of globalized, neoliberal late capitalism" (Brennan, 2018: 160; Heller and Duchêne, 2016) has reinforced the dominance of elite languages. If in addition to elite language hegemony, there has been extreme assimilation, genocide, and/or overwhelming settler immigration in the relevant territory, ILL may be wholly unrealistic – indigenous peoples likely have far more pressing concerns than regaining or maintaining their 'parochial' indigenous language(s) – and non-indigenous people have few reasons or realistic paths to investing in L2ILL.

[96] It depends whether one uses a hermeneutic of suspicion or not in framing L2ILL – it is either an overture of goodwill and humility – or it is a means of buffering one's already-privileged, 'elite multilingualism' with the ability to cynically (and perhaps subconsciously) reproduce colonial power relations with indigenous peoples (particularly of a lower socioeconomic status to oneself). See McIntosh (2014) for an analysis regarding white Kenyan ILL that tends towards suspicion, and then her analysis of wSAn ILL (2018) that remains open to the possibility of genuine *bona fide* L2ILL.

[97] See Appendix D1.

friends/acquaintances are taking or have taken Shona lessons". In **Tanzania**, Higgins (2011) provides anecdotal evidence of expatriate L2ILL, examining three female learners/users of Kiswahili, two of whom were white, thus non-heritage L2 learners.[98] Higgins herself notes that very little research has examined how "expatriate populations in developing nations like Tanzania ... learn new languages or use them in their daily lives" (170).[99] In **Northern Ireland,** a territory with arguably post-colony status (along with the Republic of Ireland), recent scholarship has focused on how some settler-descendants[100] originating from Britain (whether English or Scottish) have begun learning Irish.[101]

3.1.2 Conditions for L2ILL

Relative to other elements of the L2 Investment arc, extant literature gives evidence primarily of the conditions for (or against) L2ILL. Catalytic conditions have not been discussed, as they refer primarily to individual instantiations of L2 Investment.

3.1.2.1 Socio-structural conditions

Multiple socio-structural conditions emerge as being relevant to L2IL within the territories reviewed, each of which are reviewed briefly in turn.

3.1.2.1.1 Anglophone majority

New Zealand

As an L1E majority country, **New Zealand** almost uniquely[102] has a *large minority* of L1IL speakers, and L2ILL appears increasingly normative. A product of British settler-colonialism, NZ is unlike Australia in that its settler-descendant versus indigenous population ratio is far less skewed: while 70% are of European descent, 16.5% are of indigenous Maori descent.[103] Naturalistic opportunities for Maori language contact are severely constrained for non-Maori

[98] The third is black, Tanzania-born but raised in Canada, for whom Kiswahili constitutes a heritage language somewhere between L1 and L2 – illustrating some of the complexities of defining identity-framed forms of SLA – like L2ILL – in a transnational, globalised world.

[99] Higgins, as researcher, fits a similar profile to the first two participants, and thus acts as a mediator of emic knowledge regarding white expatriate L2ILL. Her research focus is on identity formation and 'slippage', however – essentially, the myriad of ways in which complex transnational, postcolonial identities can be formed. Little is discussed regarding how the participants learned Kiswahili, but there is data suggestive of motivation for learning, as well as the reception to such learning.

[100] Usually identified in either religious or political terms, i.e. Protestants or Unionists, respectively.

[101] The review of these specific territories must not be viewed as exhaustive: such a project goes beyond the scope of this section and this thesis.

[102] A similar case is Hawaii, which has not been discussed due to word limitations.

[103] *Initial Report of the 2018 Census External Data Quality Panel | Stats NZ*. (n.d.). Retrieved December 22, 2022, from https://www.stats.govt.nz/reports/initial-report-of-the-2018-census-external-data-quality-panel.

learners[104] – even more so in an English-dominant society, where many Maori do not speak their heritage language (Ngaha, 2011). Two main socio-structural conditions are operative. The first is moderately successful, *state-led collective L1/L2IL investment*. Since the establishment of the first bilingual Maori-English school in the late 1970s, NZ's government and civil society collectively invested in Maori (cf. Grin & Vaillancourt, 1998). The second relates to a trend of *indigenous linguaculture being representative of the nation-state*. In the intervening decades since major L1/L2IL investment began, Maori linguaculture increasingly represents NZ globally – with a significant number of settler-descendants supporting the preservation and promotion of Maori culture and language[105] as part of a shared national heritage.[106]

Northern Ireland

Northern Ireland has a tiny minority of L1IL speakers, and *non-heritage* L2ILL is strongly non-normative. Two socio-structural conditions appear to have led to growing L2ILL: firstly, *contestation regarding state-led L2IL investment*. In the aftermath of the Irish Troubles and the Good Friday agreement, the plausibility of non-heritage Irish SLL in Northern Ireland (NI) has been a contested topic of public discourse due to the pending Irish Language Act, a stumbling block for the politically-divided Northern Irish legislature (Dunlevy, 2020; Nic Craith & McDermott, 2022). In this discursive context, a second (though limited) socio-structural condition has emerged: a *public L2ILL role-model***.** A widely-cited example is found in Mitchell & Miller (2019), who present the case of Linda Ervine, a woman with Protestant heritage whose compellingly-non-sectarian passion for the Irish language had led to her teaching Irish *qua* L2. Given the history of division in NI and Irish as a proxy for Irish Catholicism/Republicanism, "[Ervine's] outspoken, apolitical stance on language issues"

[104] "[T]he domains in which te reo is most extensive are Māori cultural contexts such as hui [traditional meetings] and marae [Māori meeting houses] (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2006), and it is likely that such contexts might be more accessible to those with a Māori family background than to non-HL learners with no such background" (Olsen, 2017: 292).

[105] In 1991, Nicholson and Garland reported on Maori language attitudes across a sample of 225 NZ adults, including both Maori and non-Maori. Within that sample, twenty-five percent (25%) of non-Maori declared their willingness to "make a personal effort" for the survival of the Maori language (as cited in Grin & Vaillancourt 1998: 198-9).

[106] This may be seen in a notable use of Maori endonyms in academic, official, and broadcasting discourse – or even use of the *haka* war dance by the All Blacks, NZ's rugby team, performed by Maori and non-Maori alike. As a recent example, consider Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern's Maori-inspired academic gown, worn at the reception of an honorary doctorate at Harvard University in May 2022. A licit 'appropriation' of indigenous culture by someone of settler-descendant heritage is unlikely in a context like Canada, where L2ILL appears to be non-existent, as reviewed in Appendix D3.6.

(Dunlevy, 2020: 9) and an "ability to 'get away with teaching Irish'" (*ibid*) has positioned her as a relatively legitimate, non-contentious role-model for L2ILL and teaching..[107]

3.1.2.1.2 Anglophone minority

As African post-colonies, **Kenya** and **Zimbabwe** both have a small Anglophone settler-descendant minority, for whom L2ILL has become normative – though for different reasons.

The language of national unity in its post-colonial era, Kenya has politically and pragmatically embraced *a nationalistic IL ideology* that creates strong *expectations of linguistic citizenship* by all non-L1 Kiswahili Kenyans, including wKs. To not learn Kiswahili is "embarrassing", as one of McIntosh's informants puts it, because it reveals a symbolic lack of empathy with Kenya and its indigenous people(s) (1182).

The simplicity of TL choice and the clear nationalistic status afforded by Kiswahili means that guardian L2IL investment for dependents has normalised and typically leads to independent L2 Investment success – resulting in Orman's (2007) coveted "symmetrical multilingualism."[108]

The relative postcolonial stability of Kenya differs from Zimbabwe; white Zimbabweans have, subsequent to Robert Mugabe and Zanu-PF gaining power in 1980, and the euphemistic 'land reform' programme of the early 2000s, fared far worse in sociopolitical and economic terms than those in Kenya or South Africa. The socio-structural condition of *sociopolitical antipathy towards settler-descendants* has strongly influenced those remaining in Zimbabwe to learn chiShona *qua* L2.[109]

3.1.2.2 Personal conditions

Outside of sociolinguistic and LP&P literature, SLA-emergent discussion of L2ILL is largely confined to discussions of L2 motivation, although some elements of motivation may be reframed in terms of the motivating presence/absence of zookairotic capital.[110] Three main categories emerge as relevant to initiating L2ILL: nation-building and social cohesion,

[107] Dunlevy highlights the importance of "hav[ing] someone to whom the learners can relate" and also how project participants experienced "a sense of security in attending classes in a locality where they feel comfortable" (2020: 9). Nic Craith & McDermott (2022), commenting recently on the project, note that it "continues to attract Irish learners who hitherto would not have engaged with the language" (14).

[108] Although not without critique, as McIntosh (2014) provides without pulling any punches.

[109] As the dominant IL in Zimbabwe. No evidence of L2 isiNdebele learning was found – the other major IL within Zimbabwe, but which lacks any political clout.

[110] Findings regarding biochronic qualities (i.e. SLA-relevant personality & neurophysiological traits) are largely context-independent, except insofar as certain personality traits interact (positively or negatively) with general cultural traits and values; L2ILL-specific scholarship regarding this is absent. In addition, evidence that learners possess L2IL-cognate, prior human capital is lacking – except insofar as the goals of certain occupations (e.g. NGO aid work) contribute to L2 motivation and may provide an alibi for transgressive modalities.

settler-descendant insecurity (both physical and psychological), and occupational/societal benefit – the latter is generic to SLA and thus not reviewed here.[111]

3.1.2.2.1 Nation-building and social cohesion

Nation-building

Berardi-Wiltshire *et al* (2020) mentioned several L2ILL factors that are "motivationally significant in [NZ], and so potentially in analogous contexts", including "nation building" (10). McIntosh (2014) reported that "[y]ounger white Kenyans say they see it as their mission to 'help Kenya develop'", and that they want to act upon their avowed love for the country (1168). This amounts to asserting linguistic citizenship – it was "especially important" to (learn to) speak Kiswahili, "… as a way of being considered a more genuine citizen of Kenya" (1181).

Social cohesion

Motivations aimed at social cohesion were also evident, for example McIntosh (2014) encountered an "aspiration to use Kiswahili to achieve a sort of 'connection' (this is their word), a mutual sympathy of sorts, with Kenya's majority" (1168). This amounts to a kind of postcolonial reconciliation between settler-descendant and indigene, a motivation also apparent in Northern Ireland**:** Mitchell & Miller (2019) offer evidence of "[r]econciliation through language learning" through Ervine's *Turas* project.

3.1.2.2.2 Settler-descendant (in)security

Motivations range from mitigating against insecurity (non-ideal) to gaining security (ideal), operating both on a physical and psychological plane.

Mitigating physical insecurity

In Zimbabwe, according to Pilossof (as cited in McIntosh, 2014 & 2018), proficiency in chiShona has been seen by white farmers "as a defense" against land invasion.[112] For white Zimbabweans, learning chiShona is only peripherally related to something as intangible as

[111] Regarding occupational/societal benefit, Olsen's (2017) study of heritage language [HL] and non-HL learners of Maori found that "non-HL learners scored higher on measures of non-L2 goals" (271) – a finding echoed by Berardi-Wiltshire *et al* (2020), who notes that "learning te reo [i.e. the Maori language] was linked to developing aspects of [the participants'] professional selves" (6). This included being a teacher ("[d]eveloping skills to support Māori students") and mental health practitioner ("to be able to help Māori clients" through familiarity with Maori language and customs) (*ibid*). Furthermore, two of the three participants in Higgins (2011) had worked for an NGO and international aid organisation respectively (170), suggesting a social welfare-motivated interest in L2ILL (Kiswahili specifically).

[112] This is the reason that "[a]nxious whites sometimes ostentatiously assert their fluency in languages such as chiShona, or their 'desperation' to learn it, in the words of one man" (2018: 1194, citing Fisher, 2010: 116).

"belonging", which is a nice-to-have compared to the absence of a sense of security.[113] Pragmatic communication with indigenous elites also needs securing: some whites are motivated to learn chiShona partially in order to deal with "state agents (such as police officers), [who] refuse to converse with them in English" (*ibid*: 1194).

Mitigating psychological insecurity

To mitigate against psychological insecurity, it appears "linguistic atonement" (McIntosh, 2014; 2018) for colonial-era wrongs has motivational relevance. For example, learning Swahili was found to be "a way of overcoming negative stereotypes about white Kenyans" (1181). However, as found in Barr & Seals (2018), some settler-descendants' senses of personal illegitimacy and guilt (in L2 Investment terms representing an absence of zookairotic capital) may initially motivate L2ILL, but may equally *demotivate* it, due to increasing IL-mediated awareness of colonial injustices – factors congruent with those found by Berardi-Wiltshire *et al* (2020), namely "historical knowledge" and "social justice" (10).[114]

Another, more complex response to psychological insecurity is found in reactive L2ILL. Dunlevy (2020) noted how a L2 Irish learner displayed "a clear motivation to reaffirm his sense of identity ... his engagement with the language is an act of defiance against traditional stereotypes and the politicking around the language" (10). This accord with findings from Lanvers and Chambers (2019): there are learners "motivated to react against an environment perceived as linguaphobe" with TL learning amounting to "an act of rebellion" (437).[115]

Securing hybrid identity

Motivation related to gaining security (rather than mitigating against insecurity) would include a desire to embody a shared settler-indigenous national identity. In NZ, given the official language status of Maori and the fact that (in a learner's words) "New Zealand culture is becoming less European, less Western, and is going more towards Māori customs"

[113] Cf. McIntosh's conclusion that (like Kiswahili in Kenya) "Shona, then, carries semiotic weight for whites seeking 'belonging,' but also seems a tool of survival in a climate where indigenization movements threaten to shut them out altogether" (1194).

[114] Consider Te Huia's summary (2020): "A qualitative study of Pākehā teacher's inclusion of te reo Māori in their classes demonstrated that participants expressed feelings of "white guilt" (Barr & Seals, 2018: 444). Feelings of illegitimacy as a "white speaker" of te reo Māori prevented the teacher from frequently using te reo Māori in her classroom. Knowledge about injustices may be a reason for Pākehā experiences of language anxiety when learning te reo Māori" (2).

[115] As Dörnyei & Al Hoorie (2017) speculate, "individuals high in psychological reactance might choose to study an L2 exactly because it goes against the grain of social expectations, a phenomenon which Thompson and Vásquez (2015) have labelled the anti-ought-to L2 self" (465). Similarly, Dörnyei, Henry, and Muir's (2016) study suggest that negative external expectation – or plausibly, the obvious lack of expectation – might be a major factor for motivated uptake of language learning.

(Berardi-Wiltshire *et al*., 2020: 8), some feel a strong norm that "everyone should speak [Maori]" in the same way that English is spoken (*ibid*). Berardi-Wiltshire *et al* remark upon the emergence of something like a "rooted L2 self" (cf. MacIntyre *et al*., 2017) that motivated many learners of Maori, despite their "absence of ethnic identification" (*ibid*: 7). One learner even described feeling "like a white Māori" (*ibid*).

In a similar vein, but for less extrinsic reasons than in NZ, an embrace of ILL may be motivated due to contextualised affordances of an IL-mediated persona. Kiswahili, for instance, was said to open "positive expressive possibilities to [wKs], including stances of warmth, affective candor, and philosophical equanimity that, in their account, are more sealed off to them when they are in a more European (for some, 'English') mode of personhood" (McIntosh, 2014: 1169-70).[116]

3.1.3 Commitment in L2ILL

Although undoubtedly other modalities obtain, in the absence of an explicit research focus on the nature of commitment in L2IL investment, two modalities of ILL make an appearance: academic and early childhood modalities.

3.1.3.1 Academic modalities

A strong state-promoted IL ideology in Kenya has co-occurred with collective L2 Kiswahili investment in schooling; beyond early childhood modalities of ILL discussed below, younger wKs are likely to have learnt Kiswahili formally during primary and secondary school.

Like Kenya, NZ has invested in the providing academic modalities of (L2)ILL. While this was primarily for the benefit of those with Maori heritage, many settler-descendants have had access to Maori education in primary and secondary schools that offer it (either as a subject, or as a MoI). Recent research, likely due to ease of access for researchers, has largely concerned L2 Maori learning in universities, e.g. Olsen (2017) and Berardi-Wiltshire *et al*. (2020). While various motivations for such learners have emerged, the motivational *strength* – impacting discipline as the meta-factor of L2 Investment commitment – was low relative to heritage L2IL learners.[117]

[116] It thus enables the realisation of a hybrid L2 self. McIntosh sums up her informants' views, claiming that Kiswahili helps them to "adopt a casual mode of personhood … an easy, on-the-street sociality" (1185). Beyond what this does for wKs' sense of self, it is (at its most basic) a "a tool that helps to open and facilitate channels of communication" by mitigating (or in McIntosh's view, atoning for) the unequal, hierarchical interactions between wKs and indigenous Kenyans (1185).

[117] Olsen (2017) found that non-heritage learners of Maori possessed (in aggregate) weaker ideal and ought-to L2 selves, and were less likely to indicate any intention to persist learning after achieving a basic (perhaps symbolic) level of proficiency.

3.1.3.2 Early childhood modalities

'Early childhood' modalities of ILL arise from conscious or unconscious guardian investment in early childhood IL socialisation, mediated either via IL-speaking nannies or IL-centric childcare centres. In Kenya, given that wKs are a small minority and typically wealthy enough to employ indigenous Kenyans for domestic work, McIntosh reports that "[m]ost told me that they learned Kiswahili and/or local vernaculars from a very early age, many of them from their *ayas* (nannies) and the domestic staff at their homes" (1184). For this reason, wKs vary on the L1-L2 spectrum of ILL, and seldom conform to a neat L2 classification.

In a socioeconomic context where nannies are the preserve of the very wealthy, a substitute 'early childhood' modality of ILL is anecdotally evident in Northern Ireland. Nic Craith & McDermott (2022) note that the Ervine's Turas project "has been so successful that there are now plans for an Irish-medium nursery school ... situated in protestant East Belfast" (14), providing a context for early childhood IL socialisation.

3.1.4 Capital gains of L2ILL

The literature reviewed placed little emphasis upon the capital gained from L2ILL, except insofar as it discussed motivation to gain certain kinds of social, symbolic and zookairotic capital. Beyond motivating forms of hypothetical capital, some minor evidence of zookairotic capital emerged, mostly with regard to L1IL speakers' reception to settler-indigenous IL use.

In the main, McIntosh (2014) found that her wK participants reported interactions with indigenous Kenyans were "fun" (1189) and led to "mutual pleasure" (1185) – a highly positive reception, in other words. This accorded with Higgins (2011), who found that all three of her expatriate participants experienced Tanzanians/L1 Kiswahili speakers as "warm, welcoming, and open" when using Kiswahili.[118] There is evidence that such positive reception obtained largely when interacting with those of a lower social class. Some urban, well-educated indigenous Kenyans considered being addressed in Kiswahili by wKs as condescending and/or offensive (McIntosh, 2014: 1191), a fact likely correlated with the tendency of wKs "who work in white-collar settings [to] automatically speak English with their colleagues and anyone of high rank" but use Kiswahili with "domestic staff, vendors, and employees with relatively less formal education" (1188).

[118] One participant, Kate, "contrasts her first efforts to speak Swahili with her experiences learning European languages, highlighting Tanzanians' receptiveness towards L2 speakers" (Higgins, 2011: 174)

3.1.5 Section conclusion

Beyond findings relating to motivation and LP&P literature, there is little research covering the full SLA arc of successful L2ILL investment by non-heritage learners – evidence on the dynamics of investment commitment within L2ILL is severely lacking, as is evidence regarding capital gains (as defined in L2 Investment). Having reviewed aspects of the L2ILL phenomenon, an in-depth examination of L2AfLL in South Africa is now pursued.

Section 3.2 - Investment in L2AfLL (SA)

An integral claim of this thesis is that L2AfLL in post-apartheid SA is best understood as a species of non-heritage, L2ILL more generally. It thus shares features from other postcolonial contexts, though given its added *post-apartheid* status, has several unique features. In the review that follows, an attempt has been made to isolate findings relevant to L2AfLL from broader sociolinguistic, LP&P, historical, sociological, and applied linguistic scholarship concerning the apartheid and post-apartheid eras.

3.2.1 The dearth of L2AfLL research

Upon reviewing Mark Sanders' *Learning Zulu* (2016b), the South African academic Thulile Shandu-Phetla (2018), notes that she had expended

> time and energy in the field of English [education], yet ... had not engaged with any literature on how English and Afrikaans speakers were learning the languages spoken by the majority of people in South Africa. (119)

Along with Botha (2015), Sanders (2016b) illustrates a growing but limited interest from South African (and even foreign)[119] scholars regarding the phenomenon that Shandu-Phetla had failed to encounter – a failure that Zotwana remarked upon three decades before (1987: 198).[120] As this review shows, L2AfLL is rare, and thus tends to be a niche concern among the few engaged in teaching L2 learners (e.g. *ibid*; Dugmore, 1991). However, the dearth of research likely obtains because of the educational and economic hegemony of English in SA, which entails that L1E&A speakers[121] – potential L2AfL investors – face fewer educational

[119] The American anthropologist Janet McIntosh (2018) provides the best, potentially sole, example of foreign (i.e. non-expatriate) interest in wSAn L2AfLL.

[120] Cf. Zotwana (1987), referring to African language and linguistics societies in SA, "not much attention has been paid to the problems that have pervaded the second-language teaching of African languages ... Current activities seem to suggest very strong concern with the state of the official languages, especially English, at the Black schools. This is not matched by any concern for Black languages in White institutions" (198-202).

[121] Almost all L1E&A (L1 English and L1 Afrikaans) speakers are non-black racial minorities – many with settler or immigrant ancestry, or mixed settler-indigenous ancestry. As a Germanic language, Afrikaans is much closer to English, making the latter easier to learn for L1A speakers – moreover, Afrikaans still benefits from decades of effective Afrikaans LiEP during apartheid.

problems relative to the black L1AfL majority: the applied-research agenda has been directed towards the problems of the latter. As Barakos and Selleck (2019) contend, scholars in applied linguistics have "tended to [focus] on disadvantage, on those trapped lower down the social ladder" (370). For whatever reason, the lack of research on L2AfLL – i.e. linguistic elites learning non-elite, or even *anti*-elite languages – entails a serious barrier to its promotion, and any potential amelioration of AfLs' status that might accompany it.

3.2.2 The apartheid era

3.2.2.1 L2AfLL in the pre-apartheid (colonial) era

To briefly situate the nature and extent of L2AfL investment in the apartheid era, a summary of colonial-era L2AfLL in SA is warranted. Initially, beyond traders and explorers – who, if they did not learn the languages of their clients, employed translators – there were two main groups of European settlers who invested in L2AfLL during the colonial and apartheid periods: clergy/missionaries[122] (Dugmore, 1991; Gilmour, 2007) and farmers (McIntosh, 2018: 481). In some cases of the former, AfL investment was transmitted intergenerationally: clerical L2AfL investors became guardian investors, facilitating major commitments in AfLL by their children.[123] After the trekking era, and the arrival of significant numbers of farmers (e.g. the 1820 settlers from England), inter-ethnic contact increased – but often in highly asymmetric ways, in which European settlers would typically employ landless, dispossessed members of tribes like the amaXhosa and amaZulu on their farms to scale their farming operations. The dynamics of this inter-ethnic contact created a language socialisation cycle that has persevered until perhaps a generation ago, discussed below.

3.2.2.2 The ideology and policies of ethnolinguistic segregation

Once the Afrikaner nationalist National Party won the national elections in 1948, the previous informal segregation of the colonial era was formalised and legislated.[124] It soon became apparent that the apartheid state was ideologically opposed to the L1 and L2AfL investment displayed by the early European missionaries. Missionaries and clergy, given their primary

[122] European missionaries and clergy, from the 19th century onwards, began translating Christian scriptures into several AfLs following extensive language learning and linguistic analysis. E.g. William Bennie (isiXhosa), Andrew Murray (Setswana) and somewhat later, Bishop John Colenso all remain notable examples of individuals who invested to the point of fluency.

[123] For example, Colenso's daughter followed her father in AfLL and activism. The scholar of isiXhosa grammar, JC Oosthuysen, was the beneficiary of investment by his missionary parents, such that he learned isiXhosa *qua* L1.

[124] As time went on, 'Homelands' or 'Bantustans' were established for black 'citizens', who then needed passports to remain in white-zoned areas of South Africa. Outside of what is now called the Western Cape province, where segregation had its own history, any incidental contact that might previously have occurred prior to apartheid was either rendered illegal or increasingly against the dominant set of social norms.

commitment to a *religious* rather than racialist ideology,[125] could not be relied upon to promote the apartheid agenda. Mission establishments, their Christian ideological aims notwithstanding, had initiated African literary culture and were the site of effective academic schooling for indigenous Africans: a reason why almost all[126] mission schools were strategically defunded/nationalised by 1959 under the push for Verwoerd's vision of (inferior) Bantu Education.[127] In any case, the impetus for white missionary/clergy investment in L2AfL decreased proportionally as the proselytisation of indigenous Africans gained momentum, with concomitant emergence of (often bilingual) indigenous clergy and mission workers (Zotwana, 1987).

3.2.2.3 wSAn exposure to AfLs: urban and rural

In almost all situations, wSAns did not need to learn an AfL. As Fradet stated in 1990, "[o]nly a small minority of whites speak an African language and ... very few bother to learn an African language" (4). In acceptable urban domains of interracial contact – typically through domestic services (cleaning, childcare, gardening), factory work and mining – wSAns could get away with using English or Afrikaans due to bSAn workers' basic knowledge of these languages, or the presence of English/Afrikaans-speaking bSAn intermediaries. In other cases, they used a pidgin like Fanakalo[128] to communicate. At least one notable exception to this did emerge – Johnny Clegg, who in 1967 as a 14-year old, began "learning Zulu guitar" (Clegg, 2021: 67-70) and thus learning isiZulu informally through a catalytic encounter with a Zulu busker on a street corner in Johannesburg. His transgression of cultural and legal apartheid was highly unusual – the product of following his "passion" and "complete identification with a black indigenous culture" (*ibid*: 228).

[125] In the case of some church denominations (e.g. Dutch Reformed), apartheid had been institutionalised within church structures itself, and the policy was that missions and ministry would follow segregationist norms. Others, like the Anglicans (CPSA), became staunch opponents of apartheid.
[126] Catholic mission schools retained their independence.
[127] For a broader discussion of this, cf. Christie & Collins (1982: 60). Almost all the founding members and subsequent leaders of the ANC, for instance, were educated in mission schools (particularly Methodist/Wesleyan) prior to their nationalisation.
[128] 'Fanakalo': following the defeat of Nguni tribes in the various border wars, and subsequent expansion of European colonies – as well as the discovery of gold and diamonds in the Transvaal and Kimberley from the 1850s onwards – indigenous Africans were increasingly employed as migrant labourers, particularly as miners. A simplified version of isiZulu/Nguni speech emerged as a pidgin (Edwards, 2012), called Fanakalo/Funagalo; it also coevolved in situations of domestic work (principally housekeepers, nannies and gardeners). Fanakalo was roughly based on Germanic (English/Afrikaans) syntax, but mostly employed unconjugated Nguni words for its vocabulary, and thus very easy to learn for L2 learners, and comprehensible (though highly demeaning) for L1 Nguni speakers.

Outliers (like Clegg) aside, the typical cases of AfL exposure and learning occurred in AfL-dominant rural areas,[129] where the substance of apartheid policy was enacted at the level of farm ownership (white) and farm labour (black) – but not ethnolinguistic separation. White, L1E/A farmers might initially learn a sufficient amount of the relevant AfL to 'get by' in communicating with black L1AfL labourers. An L1AfL-speaking nanny might care for an owner's children, who would likely socialise with neighbouring L1AfL farmworkers' children – engaging in *de facto* L1 learning alongside either English or Afrikaans (Sweetnam Evans, 2015).[130] Botha's (2015) ethnography of white speakers of isiXhosa illustrates, among other things, the intergenerational though potentially stunted[131] linguistic capital produced by L1/L2AfL investment in rural farm circumstances: a phenomenon arguably less common if not exceptional in contemporary times as urbanisation proceeds apace.[132]

3.2.2.4 LiEP and academic L2AfLL during apartheid

Limited symmetrical multilingualism for bSAns[133] and asymmetrical multilingualism for wSAns was entrenched within the *apartheid* LiEP. The apartheid ideology of 'mother

[129] i.e. not the Western and Northern Cape, where Afrikaans has historically been dominant among both farm owners and (non-white) farm-workers.

[130] In a focus-group survey regarding multilingualism across SA, conducted in 2014, and where many of the participants would have grown up during apartheid times, Sweetnam Evans found that "[c]ommonly the Whites raised on farms have been the only members of that ethnic group able to speak Bantu languages which they have learned/acquired from their nannies and also from their Black playmates – the children of the farm labourers who live on the farms" (2015: 7). Later, in cases where farm owner's children were sent to boarding school, their fluency in an AfL might literally be beaten out of them, causing unnecessary AfL loss or fossilisation. As Edwards (2012) states, "[l]anguages may most effortlessly and unselfconsciously be learned by small children at home ... but the long-term prospects for them will still be dim if their usefulness disappears at the front gate" (91).

[131] Citing Kaschula (1989), McIntosh (2018) cautions that there is reason to believe that "employees on white farms have tended to accommodate the already limited language abilities of their white employers, sometimes resulting in whites learning a more stunted language variety than they realize" (481).

Peter, a participant in this study, gives an anecdotal explanation for this stuntedness: "I've met [white] people who speak, you know, really fluent[ly]. And even the ones that grew up in the villages, they're like, brilliant and amazing. But then at 13, off they went to some white high school where they were told that, you know, 'they won't be friends anymore with the boy back on the farm.' And so as a result, you sometimes find they're incapable of language in a whole bunch of contexts".

[132] No hard evidence of this exists. However, based on personal contact with the children of white farmers born in the 1990s onwards, several factors may be breaking this cycle: urbanisation of both farm owners and farm-workers; the advent of mega-scale, mechanised farming or repurposing farm land for game or wind farming (both reducing the need for farm labour); and unresolved post-apartheid tensions over land rights (with concomitant security concerns for isolated farmers). Farm populations appear to have been hollowed out as a result of these trends, and white farm children are less likely, by this hypothesis, to be socialised into learning AfLs as they were previously.

[133] The Bantu Education Act entailed a curriculum that was intentionally less academic and more functional (a so-called 'dumbing down' of the curriculum): teaching of L2 English/Afrikaans in these schools was emphasised, but only focused on language registers relevant to low-skill labour. Genuine literacy skills, whether in students' L1 or L2, were prevented through underinvestment (in teaching and available media), as books and a thriving black press were recognised as a threat to the apartheid project. Heugh (2002) explains that "the

tongue' education set a precedent of race-differentiated SLL in primary and secondary schooling: for whites, this was either English or Afrikaans (Reagan, 1987); foreign languages were typically offered and learnt in preference to AfLs (Fradet, 1990). There is evidence of state-sanctioned L2AfL curricula for wSAns (Zotwana, 1987), but in the absence of a culture of AfLL, uptake was highly exceptional – perhaps only those from rural/farming backgrounds, and outlier urban cases like Johnny Clegg – who, alongside his informal learning of isiZulu, was able to matriculate with isiZulu as a subject.[134]

If one considers the Cape Province,[135] from the mid-1960s there were instances of secondary schools offering isiXhosa as a non-compulsory subject. Collective investment in schooling was minor, however – by 1991, the transitional period prior to the post-apartheid era, there were only 36 white schools offering L2X as a matric subject (Dugmore, 1991) – two *less* than there had been in 1987 (Zotwana, 1987).[136] This amounted to just over 10% of white-only secondary schools in the province, indicative of the parochial status of AfLL. In the late 1980s, isiXhosa was made compulsory in the Cape's primary schools for Grades 5-7, but this consisted of a mere 45-60 minutes per week (*ibid*; Hendricks, 2007), and there is evidence that it had negligible (even negative) effects on later, secondary-level L3 isiXhosa education (Dugmore, 1991).

Outside of wSAn L2AfLL, there were a few coloured schools in Cape Town that began offering isiXhosa in the late 1980s,[137] which coincided with the introduction of isiXhosa at UWC, the historically coloured-only university (Zotwana, 1987: 115) – prior to this, any L2X learning would have been exclusively a wSAn pursuit.[138] Given the above focus on isiXhosa and the Cape Province, one can surmise that outside of the Cape, there was a similar situation for AfLL, or even worse.[139] While school and community-led collective

development of African languages was only intended to occur for restricted purposes. They were never intended for use in the upper levels of education, the economy or political activity" (450), and they were viewed as "educational cul de sacs" and "economic handicaps" (Kamwangamalu, 2015: 7-8).

[134] It is unlikely he received any formal teaching from his school, however, given that he was the only student who had ever requested to take isiZulu for matric in his entire white-only school – something that "required special permission from the Education Department" (Clegg, 2021: 109).

[135] This included the Western Cape and parts of the Eastern and Northern Cape. Reasons for the focus are provided in footnote 139.

[136] Dugmore's data suggests that net L3 isiXhosa student numbers were beginning to decline at this point.

[137] Based on data from participants in the study.

[138] This trend occurred alongside the establishment (in 1988) of the National Language Project, which aimed to provide adult language classes, including isiXhosa, for L2 learners (Webb, 1994).

[139] Based on greater adherence to apartheid ideology amongst white Afrikanerdom, which likely filtered down into autonomous provincial education departments; given my poor familiarity and ability with academic Afrikaans scholarship, the Cape Province – where English scholarship was extant – received the focus of this review. As it exhibited more liberal/progressive tendencies relative to the rest of South Africa, the trends towards L2AfLL it reveals were arguably the upper limit for apartheid-era L2AfLL.

L2AfL education was not sanctioned by the apartheid government, it nevertheless went against the thrust of apartheid social norms, which may explain why movements towards AfLL by wSAns increased as the apartheid state began to unwind (the mid-late 70s onwards).

Beyond secondary schools, L2AfLL was most easily accessed at the level of tertiary education. Beyond basic introductory courses aimed at communication, the foci of university AfL departments were primarily academic, linguistic, literary, and historical in nature (Zotwana, 1987). AfL departments seldom catered for the development of communicative proficiency in AfL at the post-introductory level for L2 learners: a reinforcement loop of both lack of demand for L2AfLL and lack of supply of well-trained AfL teachers. The basic communicative courses were likely justified, from the perspective of the apartheid state, because, firstly, there was need for (white) governmental representatives with some AfL proficiency to the homelands/Bantustans, due to the administrative and political affordances that AfLs could provide; this was part of the initial impetus for establishing AfL departments (*ibid*). Secondly, it arguably created a release valve for more 'progressive' wSAns who felt a desire to learn about and "connect" (cf. McIntosh, 2014; 2018) with their black, AfL-speaking neighbours.[140] A final purpose for the apartheid state permitting AfLL (or at least *not divesting* from) in tertiary education would be for security purposes, in much the same way that states with enduring ethnolinguistic divides (e.g. Israel; Cyprus) view learning the language of the 'other side' to be strategic, a means of knowing one's enemy (Charalambous, 2012; Tannenbaum & Tahar, 2008).[141]

3.2.3 The post-apartheid era

3.2.3.1 Socio-structural conditions for L2AfL investment

> *... current conditions remove nearly all sources of motivation for English and Afrikaans speakers to learn African languages. As a result, asymmetrical, uneven patterns of individual multilingualism, which reflect the wider power relations in South African society, persist*.
> Jon Orman (2007: 229)

Having briefly outlined the conditions and kinds of (L2)AfL investment during the colonial and apartheid eras, it is necessary to review the ways in which the milieu for L2AfL investment changed as South Africa transitioned to a non-racial, majoritarian democracy. It

[140] It would not be surprising if the apartheid secret police had monitored enrolment in these courses, particularly from the 1970s onwards.
[141] Indeed, by all accounts a perceived need for this is what catalysed the first white secondary school in the Cape Province to introduce isiXhosa as a subject (in 1964), Paarl Gymnasium (Zotwana, 1987). It is likely, however, that the apartheid state seldom relied on personnel who learned AfLs as an L2 – simply because they could recruit wSAns with rural L1AfL backgrounds.

would be foolish to think that there was a distinct break in 1994 from the preceding non-democratic era. As such, while the focus is as near to contemporary as possible, findings from the transitional era are also reviewed here.[142]

3.2.3.1.1 State-led AfL Policy and Planning

The new South African government recognised the importance, as part of nation-building, of pursuing AfL planning and the reformulation of language policy, in order that the state would promote a new multilingualism inclusive of African languages in both education and society (Orman, 2007).[143] In a politically expedient master-stroke, the new, revised South African Constitution (1996) made the eleven most-spoken South African languages into official languages: Sepedi (or Northern Sotho), Sesotho, Setswana, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, siSwati, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu. The following is then stated: "Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages" (Chapter 1.6.2). In summary, all official post-apartheid LP&P putatively sought to promote symmetrical multilingualism.[144]

With such an aim in mind, a "Pan South African Language Board" (PanSALB) was established in 1995 to "promote, and create conditions for, the development and use of … all official languages" (South African Constitution, Chapter 1.6.5.a). PanSALB's mandate as a LP body was to support "development of the previously marginalised languages in South Africa …; the promotion of multilingualism in [SA]" among others purposes.[145] PanSALB has struggled, however, to make headway against the sociolinguistic and political winds, which have been inexorably blowing against the promotion of AfLs. While the board has produced some useful language-related documentation, it has been chronically

[142] The transitional period would cover the late-1980s to 1994. Relevant literature in this period would be Zotwana (1987) and Dugmore (1991).
[143] As per Grin (1999), 'language policy' and 'language planning' are "a systematic, rational, theory-based effort at the societal level to modify the linguistic environment with a view to increasing aggregate welfare" (18)
[144] This refers to "an ideal-type situation whereby every South African citizen had a useful knowledge of English, Afrikaans and one or more African language [sic]" (Orman, 2007: 218). Admittedly, the exclusion/inclusion of Afrikaans in the 'ideal-type' of multilingualism – without further contextualisation – would be highly contested. A discussion of this goes beyond the scope of this thesis; see Orman (2007) for more on Afrikaans.
[145] It has a lexicography and terminology wing, advises organs of state on implementation of language policy, rules on language policy related disputes, and is mandated to perform a number of other LP-related functions. See "History". PanSALB (2015), URL: http://www.pansalb.org/history1.html.

underfunded given its extraordinarily broad remit – 11 official languages – and perhaps more importantly, exhibited poor fiscal responsibility.[146]

Post-apartheid, state-sponsored LP&P for AfLs has largely amounted to a rhetorical investment in AfLs, but not much more, although LiEP efforts are underway (principally the IIAL, see below). When South African linguists and other public commentators assert that AfLs "should be taught to all pupils in the interests of unity and nation building" (Mesthrie, 2008: 18), it seems plausible that such views might filter down through the political, social and educational fabric of the country. Yet rhetorical investment is cheap, and like the political class, it is something which most South Africans in the post-apartheid era, white or black, also exhibit – *even while* a society-wide divestment from AfLs proceeds apace.

3.2.3.1.2 *De facto* L1 & L2AfL divestment

According to a Language Economics view (Grin, 1996), investment in SLL activity tends to be viewed as a function of material cost/benefit analyses: "[i]ndividuals invest in language skills for their children or themselves according to the benefits and costs associated with these investments" (Vaillancourt, 1996: 81), primarily where a promise exists of improved participation in the material economy (Coupland, 2013; Kamwangamalu, 2015). Due to the elite and pragmatic value of English, as well as the diglossic complexity attached to AfLs and low status, there has been net divestment from the preservation and learning of AfLs by the majority of South Africans: irrespective of race.

3.2.3.1.3 The Elite Status of English

While Afrikaans and English occupied positions of political and economic hegemony during apartheid, post-apartheid coincided with the acceleration of English as the undisputed global *lingua franca*. In Reagan's (2001) characterisation of the situation, "[w]hat is constitutionally a multilingual society is in fact a kind of diglossic one in which English is the 'high' variety and other languages are 'low' varieties" (63). Because English was considered the language of liberation during apartheid (Mesthrie, 2002), its status has further increased with the rise of Global English (Slabbert, 1994; Kamwangamalu, 2001), at the expense primarily of AfLs.

The hegemonic status of English has been guaranteed by the post-apartheid political elite – in the main, black bilingual AfL-English speakers – who populate the upper echelons

[146] In 2016, the entire board was sacked due to a damning report by the Auditor-General, in which it was revealed that between 2014 and 2015, PanSALB's administrative costs (staff salaries) ballooned by R3 million, and 'irregular expenditure' (arguably a euphemism for corruption and negligence) was greater than their expenditure on actual language planning projects. See PanSALB Annual Report, 2014-2015. Cf. page 18. URL: http://www.pansalb.org/Annual%20Report-2014-15.pdf

of government and state. They have failed to promote AfLs by investing in AfL media, L1AfL education, or policies to incentivise L1E/A-dominant businesses and citizens towards L2AfL learning and use. Scholars have characterised this as a form of 'elite closure' (Orman, 2007; Kamwangamalu, 2015; Wright, 2002b),[147] for given that the elites of the ANC-led government[148] have reaped the rich rewards of their sufficient proficiency in English and its global applicability (Orman, 2007), they have maintained English as the *status quo* for economic advancement – stymying the prospects of those unable to gain sufficient linguistic capital in English.[149] In Orman's framing, the ANC government has been obedient to the pressures of a "Western-style neo-liberal global capitalist economy …[which] does not support the kind of interventionist language planning necessary for the emergence of a genuinely multilingual political dispensation" (2007: 142-3).[150] Thus, the increasingly hegemonic status of English globally and in SA has profoundly influenced post-apartheid LP&P in a way that is "generally antithetical to multilingualism" (Heugh, 2002: 449) and which serves to reproduce the historically contingent attitude that AfLs are educational or economic '*cul de sacs.*'

3.2.3.1.4 Entrenched AfL diglossia

While the elite status of English has strengthened, this has occurred alongside an expanding divide between standard and colloquial varieties of AfLs.

There is, firstly, the matter of historic dialect variance within each AfL: the establishing of a dialectal centre,[151] implied through standardisation, does not imply that other dialects will shift towards it – and in the case of isiXhosa, they have not, with pedagogical implications (Kaschula and Kretzer, 2019). Secondly, languages have shifted lexically, to incorporating borrowings from English, Afrikaans, and other AfLs (especially in urban townships). Thirdly, grammatical forms found in writing are seldom or never used in contemporary speech: morphemic elisions are commonplace (e.g. isiXhosa *ndiya kubona* becomes *ndobona*). Fourthly, the concentrated African multilingualism of townships and

[147] According to Myers-Scotton (1993), this is when "the elite successfully employ official language policies … to limit access of non-elite groups to political position and socio-economic advancement" (148).

[148] Or more specifically, the tri-partite alliance that stands behind the ANC banner: the ANC proper, trade union COSATU, and the SA Communist Party.

[149] Predominantly these would be L1AfL-speaking bSAns who rely on dysfunctional schools for their access to English language learning.

[150] It is not clear that even were the more left-leaning elements of the ANC in power, genuine (rather than nominal) multilingual interventions would emerge. The nominal investments in AfLs are discussed in greater detail below.

[151] In isiXhosa's case, this would be the dialect of the *amaGcaleka/amaRharhabe*

urban areas has led to a situation in which "the concept of a 'mother-tongue' is essentially vacuous" (Kamwangamalu, 2004: 227): in such contexts, people grow up learning to speak and codeswitch across multiple South African languages (Botha 1994; Webb, 2002; Murray, 2002). Moreover, with the advent of accessible radio, TV and now internet-mediated social media, these (higher status) urban translingual practices likely have an impact upon the weakening vitality of rural AfL varieties.[152]

Urban black L1AfL speakers have for generations experienced alienation from the archaic standardised forms of the 'mother tongues' that have been attributed and taught to them due to apartheid-emphasised tribal affiliation (Reagan, 1987). For such 'L1' AfL speakers, learning their 'own' AfL has often felt like learning an L2 (Dlamini, 2017). The dilemma for teachers, faced with each student's non-standard idiolect of the target AfL, can be just as alienating (Kaschula and Kretzer, 2019). Because most urban L1AfL speakers experience the fluidity of their language, the desire to preserve a fixed standard variety, or indeed any variety, is arguably severely diminished: these are the AfL speakers with whom urban wSAns[153] are most likely to interact. More directly to the research topic, this diglossia – or perhaps more accurately, 'polyglossia' – has severe negative implications for the extramural applicability of school and university L2AfL education, which tends to emphasise instruction in standard AfL varieties.

3.2.3.1.5 bSAns, AfLs, and English

Since the end of apartheid, the class-based homogeneity of SA's black population has decreased; bSAns have become a significant (at least 40%, if not more) subpopulation of the overall middle-class population (Kotze *et al*. 2013; Mattes, 2015). However, as a percentage of the broader bSAn population, the black middle-class is still very small (Mattes, 2015). bSAns who enter the middle-class and formal economy are those with whom wSAns have the most contact – and who have, in post-apartheid SA, keenly embraced English as the language of their elite ambitions and socioeconomic emancipation.[154] Policies seeking to empower the black population economically[155] have been characterised by some scholars as mechanisms of recruitment into usage of English typified by the existing middle-class (Wright, 2002a; Alexander, 2004; Orman, 2007). Underpinned by the symbolic capital of English and its

[152] A decreasing minority of younger, rural AfL speakers continue in the traditions of 'deep' AfL varieties.
[153] The vast majority of wSAns are urbanites.
[154] The 'language of liberation' was a status acquired by English during apartheid as the alternative to the compulsory 'language of the oppressor', namely Afrikaans (Mesthrie, 2002; Heugh, 2002).
[155] i.e. Black Economic Empowerment (BEE), a racial quota-based system of affirmative action.

dominance within wealthy, urban SA society (Heugh, 2002: 451), code-switching into English while speaking AfLs is common in this demographic, as dictated by perceived semiotic and symbolic affordances of each language.[156]

Many bSAns display a contradictory stance regarding AfLs. On the one hand, they are *nominally* cherished as symbolic of cultural heritage.[157] On the other hand, many parents do not want their children to be educated in (or necessarily brought up speaking) AfLs (Desai, 2013) *qua* L1, because this is seen to ruin their chances at success (De Klerk, 2000; McKinney, 2007; Sweetnam Evans, 2015).[158] This form of guardian disinvestment conforms with Canagarajah and Ashraf's (2013) dictum: "if parents and students see little or no functionality for less privileged languages, they will gradually veer toward the languages with more capital" (269).[159] The *de facto* subtractive multilingualism occurring as some bSAns enter the middle-class means that their wSAn counterparts experience no obvious external motivating factors to learn AfLs. In fact, similar to the reasoning behind white Kenyans' asymmetrical, class-based use of Kiswahili with L1 speakers, wSAns attempting to use AfLs with well-educated bSAns[160] may discover their AfL use is unappreciated or resented (McIntosh, 2018).

3.2.3.1.6 wSAns, English *and* AfLs

The majority of the wSAn population in SA live in urban centres (Turok, 2012), and their communities are typically middle-class, bilingual English/Afrikaans. While in recent times many middle-class communities have become multiracial, there are no established AfL-

[156] Even among those in township settings, this is increasingly the case. In the context of tsotsitaals, Brookes (2019) notes: "Using English has become less about betraying one's identity and more associated with being a successful modern South African who is able to draw on and expertly use different languages in different domains. ... While using English in certain ways and contexts can still carry connotations of being elitist, not being able to use it competently – increasingly marks one as a loser" (190).

[157] Consider Johnson's account of the premiere of the film *Yesterday*: "... [t]he producer Anant Singh told a rapturous audience how he had decided to 'dump English' and shoot the film in isiZulu with English subtitles. One Zulu luminary after another, including the provincial premier, followed him to the podium to emphasise this triumph of the isiZulu language and the vital importance of promoting Zulu. They were all applauded to the echo – yet every one spoke in English" (Johnson, 2006).

[158] Sweetnam Evan's research both confirms this broader trend, but also reveals dynamics at work to preserve AfL heritage – namely employing nannies whose role is to socialise children in AfLs, even as the parents use English: "Some Bantu language speaking parents, however, speak English (their own second language with their children), even if neither parent is English speaking. This is done to give the children the perceived advantages associated with fluency in English. In order that these children are still able to speak their heritage language (their parents' language), parents sometimes employ nannies who have that particular language as a first language, to speak the heritage language with the children" (2015: 4).

[159] Herein is exhibited the "absence of popular demand for an enhanced role for the official African languages *from the speakers of these languages themselves*" (Plüddemann, 2013: 1, italics in original).

[160] Whose extent and quality of AfL skills might be highly translingual, passive, or even absent (due to guardian/familial disinvestment on their behalf), all of which could occasion sensitivity regarding incongruity in their ethnolinguistic identity.

inclusive multilingual practices, for reasons discussed above. English *qua* global lingua franca has a serious conditioning effect on L1E speakers, which includes many from the Afrikaans-speaking community in SA who are fully English/Afrikaans bilingual (Webb, Dirven and Kock, 1992; Lanham, 1996). Such learners find it particularly difficult to develop "learner motivation in the face of the [high language status] of their L1" (Lanvers, 2016: 161). Learning languages other than English (LOTEs) contravenes "sociocultural norms of monolingualism" (161) in the Anglophone world – or in the SA context, it contravenes norms of wSAn English/Afrikaans bilingualism, a norm which is itself gradually breaking down in the post-apartheid era towards effective English monolingualism.[161] While there may be evidence of wSAn "lip service" to and "interest in learning a [b]lack language" (Sweetnam Evans, 2015: 8), this co-occurs with a widespread multiracial perception that AfLs lack economic value (Turner 2012; Olivier, 2014). There also appear to be entrenched attitudes regarding AfLs that at least some wSAns have – e.g. AfLs are black languages for black people – and AfLL is unnecessary because bSAns can learn English instead (Painter & Baldwin, 2004).[162]

3.2.3.2 Investment in academic L2AfLL

The constitutional provisions on language, expanded in PanSALB mission, filtered into the official Language in Education policy (LiEP) of the Department of Education (1997), which states that multilingualism ought to be a "defining characteristic of being South African." This is intended, as it states further, "to counter any particularistic ethnic chauvinism or separatism through mutual understanding" (Department of Education, 1997). Perhaps most germane to the topic, the new LiEP:

> … is conceived of as an integral and necessary aspect of the new government's strategy of building a non-racial nation in [SA]. It is meant to facilitate communication across the barriers of colour, language and region, while at the same time creating an environment in which respect for languages other than one's own would be encouraged. (*ibid*)

[161] Due to the diminution of Afrikaans's political and social status, as well as an anti-Afrikaans-medium movement within some secondary and tertiary educational institutions.

[162] In other words, because bSAns can (and want to) become symmetrically multilingual, this *prima facie* justifies not needing to invest in symmetrical multilingualism oneself. In their study about secondary school students' attitudes to languages in SA, Painter and Baldwin (2004) noted how an AfL (isiXhosa) was viewed as peripheral by white L1E/A interviewees, claiming that the "marginal status of isiXhosa is clearly linked to its racial status: isiXhosa is a language black people speak and learn. Further, since black people are presented as capable of speaking other languages, it is *unnecessary* for white people to speak isiXhosa" (19). This finding, now dated, still likely would obtain (although given changing political winds, participants might not be so forthright now as they were then).

In terms of stipulating subjects, it does not explicitly make an AfL compulsory by the final years of high school. Only two languages need to be passed: "one on first language level, and the other on at least second language level. At least one of these languages must be an official language" (*ibid*). The compulsory uptake of a "second language" is typically referred to as a first additional language (FAL), in contrast to a second additional language (SAL) which would be an optional, non-compulsory subject for both schools and students.

3.2.3.2.1 School (Dis)investment

Despite the presence of a curriculum developed for AfLs to be taught at primary and secondary levels of schooling (at both FAL and SAL levels), neither public nor private schools have been compelled to provide access to AfLs as subjects throughout all twelve years of schooling, due to the 'indiscriminate' bilingualism of the LiEP of 1997. Higher-income public and private schools are able to determine school-specific LiEP and whether to implement AfL classes or not (Hendricks, 2007), with the default FAL being Afrikaans at English-medium schools (and *vice versa*).

While almost all schools with a significant wSAn presence would display rhetorical investment toward the ideals of AfLL, and perhaps even offer these subjects at a primary and intermediate phase (Grades 8-9), they have reason to dissuade the typical urban wSAn or L1E/A student from taking an AfL subject in the senior phase (Grades 10-12) – thereby reproducing the apartheid LiEP of wSAn English-Afrikaans bilingualism. This is largely due to two related issues: firstly, a countervailing commitment to school 'excellence' (high pass rates), manifesting in institutional preferences for Afrikaans/English as the FAL – a matter not discussed due to lacking evidence, but almost certainly relevant.[163]

The unsupported claim of AfL disinvestment derives from a more fundamental claim, for which evidence does exist: the pedagogical dilemma of overcoming an L1-bias in so-called L2/AL AfL curricula. The FAL AfL curriculum, despite the FAL qualifier, nonetheless presupposes an L1 or "home language/HL" level of proficiency. McIntosh (2018), citing personal communication with the director of an isiXhosa language school, reports that the "isiXhosa matriculation examination ... is notoriously hard to pass, discouraging interested

[163] For typical wSAn-prevalent schools, there is a focus on the maintenance of extremely high pass rates for Grade 12 students – a metric of success in the marketplace of schooling and gaining places in university. This focus causes schools to caution against or even prevent L2AfLL as the (compulsory) FAL by students who lack the right credentials – namely being a L1AfL learner or cognate-L1AfL learner of the AfL. While thus could be viewed as the result of perverse incentives to maintain symbolic pass rates and high rankings among schools competing for demand, passing difficult school subjects or achieving distinctions are visceral concerns that most students and their guardians/parents – embroiled in the reality of the academic economy – also share.

students from investing the time in the subject" (482). According to Lafon (2010), paraphrasing Bev Muller (a former university lecturer of L2Z), high school students with no prior AfL background "normally stand no chance of passing at either HL or FAL level" (433) and are thus required to take an AfL at SAL level – which may well be impossible given time constraints, time-table clashes, the marginal status of a SAL pass on a school-leaving ("matric") certificate, and whether the school even offers the AfL at a SAL level. Lafon summarises the result of this as a "reduction in numbers of interested learners, which in turn has led schools to abandon the teaching of African languages as second languages" – and not only due to lack of demand from L2 learners, but because following legal precedent, schools "may have to organise it at either HL [home language/L1] or FAL for [L1] African-language speakers" (2010: 433). Thus, if schools *do* offer an AfL, there is a high likelihood the subject only caters to L1 or near-L1AfL learners – and non-heritage L2AfL learners are likely to be dissuaded from uptake.[164]

While McIntosh (2018) speaks of the "growing number schools that offer [isiXhosa] as a subject" (482), and this is almost certainly true of other AfLs as the IIAL (discussed below) gathers momentum, there is no hard evidence of this fact, especially in comparative terms. In 2004, Deumert & Dowling reported[165] that approximately 81 secondary schools in the Western Cape offered isiXhosa as an L2 (whether FAL or SAL is not clear) – one-sixth (16%) of the 503 schools that offered Afrikaans at the equivalent level. Slightly earlier data from Mbatha & Pluddeman (2004) reveal that in 2002, "a mere 1% of home-language speakers of Afrikaans and English" (6), (i.e. predominantly white and coloured students) in the Western Cape were taking isiXhosa *qua* AL. A more recent (2017) cross-sectional analysis of national Matric candidates (Appendix G11, derived from Van der Berg et al., 2020) indicates that just 3% of students were learning AfLs *qua* FAL or SAL; of the L1E/A subsample, this constituted just over 11% – many of whom, if not the vast majority, were likely to be heritage, bSAn L1/L2AfL students. Based on this data, a relatively conservative estimate of non-black L1E/A students taking an AfL qua FAL/SAL would be 2%.[166]

[164] I reproduce Lafon's footnote in full: "Mrs Nkosi, whose Zulu-speaking son was attending Durban High School (a former Model C school) at Grade 8 in 2007 and was taught Zulu as a third language whereas Afrikaans was offered as a second language, challenged the school practice on the grounds of unfair discrimination. The court concurred. This sent a strong message to former Model C schools and many pledged – as did Durban High School from 2008 – to offer African languages at HL or FAL level, often discontinuing as a consequence the SAL option (Sanders, Durban Magistrate Court, case 77/2007, adjudicated: 30/09/2008)"

[165] As qtd. in Mbatha & Pluddeman (2004). (Lafon, 2010: 433)

[166] As per Table 12: Matric language study statistics (2017), if one assumes 20% of FAL/SAL students are L1E/A – likely an overgenerous figure, particularly in KZN and the EC, where many students will engage in

3.2.3.2.2 IIAL and L2AfLL in schools

The *Incremental Introduction of African Languages* (IIAL) policy, first drafted in 2013, is the most relevant LP&P development relating to the topic in the post-apartheid era; it reveals a concerted effort by the Department of Basic Education (DBE) to finally make AfLs broadly accessible – and compulsory – for L1E/A learners for all 12 years of primary and secondary schooling. While national-level implementation of this policy was set to begin in 2015,[167] it will only be in 2027 when meaningful data will emerge as to the outcomes of this L2AfLL intervention, after which students will have undergone 12 years of AfL instruction.

In terms of implementation, the draft policy states that "[t]he main challenges will be to appoint and/or train sufficient numbers of African-language specialist teachers, and to source cost-effective learning materials of sufficient quality" (DBE, 2013). Indeed, in a meeting that discussed the roll-out of the IIAL four years later (2017), these expected challenges were encountered: "[s]ome of the challenges are the availability of willing and competent teachers to teach African languages and attitudes and the misconception that African languages having little value in the global scheme of things."[168]

In terms of teacher competence, Xeketwana's doctoral thesis (2021) details preservice teachers' isiXhosa knowledge and use of the language *qua* L2 "speakers", revealing in sharp relief the issue of L2/non-fluent teachers, usually in the Foundation phase (Grades 1-3), who possess *highly* limited language abilities in isiXhosa. It is questionable whether such teachers with basic AfL competency are pedagogically capable of teaching AfLs in a way that results in genuine communicative competencies in students – yet it falls to them to implement the early grade teaching of AfLs implied by the IIAL.[169, 170] This may relate to why McIntosh

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L2AfLL despite it being their L1 – this would entail that ~3500 L1E/A students took AfLs at a Grade 12 level in 2017. Given the increasing bSAn presence in former Model C schools that offer AfLs as an L2, many of these students were likely urbanised, middle-class bSAn students who considered English to be their L1/home language, and AfLs to be a heritage language. If one assumes that bSAn students account for a further 30% of the total, this entails only ~2500 non-bSAn, L1E/A students who took an AfL for Matric in 2017 (of whom 80% were learning isiZulu). As a proportion of the L1E/A population in Matric (of whichever race), this represents a mere ~2%. Obviously, more rigorous data and research is needed to test these assumptions.

[167] "Following a pilot phase featuring a small number of schools in each province in 2014, the intention is to phase in the IIAL over a 12-year period beginning with Grade 1 in 2015. The main challenges will be to appoint and/or train sufficient numbers of African-language specialist teachers, and to source cost-effective learning materials of sufficient quality" (Pluddemann, 2015, referring to DBE, 2013).

[168] Meeting report. Department of Basic Education, 27 June 2017, URL: https://pmg.org.za/committee-meeting/24712/.

[169] These are teachers who by virtue of their L1E/A credentials are typically better educated and employed at private or former model-C schools.

[170] At the same time, it is not clear that fluent L1AfL teachers of AfLs – lacking experiential insight of the diglossic, sociological and grammatical difficulties of L2AfLL faced by L1E/A learners – can provide the support needed for such learners to gain communicative-oriented linguistic capital, given biochronic, curricula and assessment-related constraints of primary and secondary schooling.

(2018) claimed that one of the "many reasons why white fluency in isiXhosa is so unusual" is that (Western Cape) schools have allocated funding to the teaching of English and Afrikaans, "resulting in a dearth of highly qualified isiXhosa instructors" (482).

Beyond teacher training, a review of the scant literature on the state of AfL education curricula and pedagogical norms suggests that AfL classes, like foreign language classes more generally, are overly focused on the development of a narrow range of grammar, vocabulary, reading and writing skills (Fobe, 2014); these 'skills' tend to be repeated with slight variations in each subsequent grade. Throughout schooling, the development of oral communication skills is *nominally* prioritised – but seldom realised beyond formulaic, relatively basic incantation-like speech (Hendricks, 2007). Skill emphases of this sort correlate with the self-reports of L2X learners in Dugmore (1991).

The implementation of the IIAL appears subject to the same issues detailed by Reagan (1987: 306) in the context of apartheid era policy on AfL instruction: poor teacher training and preparation, lack of emphasis on communicative competence and the realities of AfL diglossia, an overemphasis on (standard) grammar and vocabulary,[171] and insufficient time allocated to AfL classes.[172]

3.2.3.2.3 University L2AfL investment

Most public universities in SA with significant wSAn and other non-black minority attendance have longstanding African language studies departments; beyond introductory courses which are in some cases compulsory, these primarily focus on literary, formal forms

[171] Consider Reagan's (1987: 306) late apartheid-era anecdote of a white teenager studying "correct" Northern Sotho at school, who failed in attempts to speak his academic language with his family's domestic worker. There is still a tendency to teach "correct" varieties of AfLs, with minimal conversational applicability, a finding that the present researcher's own experience of studying isiXhosa fully corroborates.

[172] Although now dated and not to be taken as illustrative of general trends, Hendrick's (2007) case study of two schools provides a snapshot of the issues at play where an AfL – isiXhosa – had the potential to be taught "effective[ly]" as an AL for decades. Both pseudonymous schools are well-established, formerly white-only, in what was formerly Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape: the first a private boarding school, St Katherine's*, and the second a former Model-C school, Sea View* (both of which still had a significant subpopulation of wSAn learners; this may have changed in the interim). In both cases, they had access to wSAn teachers who were fluent in isiXhosa and/or qualified isiXhosa language teachers. She details how both schools introduced L3 (SAL) isiXhosa classes in the 1980s, but this was *severely* time-constrained to between 30 and 90 minutes of class time per week (depending on the school and grade); only in the early 2000s was this extended to Grade 9 (in the case of St Katherine's). Referring to Sea View – but likely also relevant to St Katherine's – Hendricks comments that this amount of class time was "unlikely to result in much language learning" (7). Furthermore, she notes the teachers' "challenge of teaching isiXhosa L3 to classes with large numbers of isiXhosa home language speakers", who tended to "bored and disruptive in class since there was no value in the lessons for them" (8). When St Katherine's began teaching isiXhosa as an L2 in the early 2000s, the (part-time) teacher bemoaned the fact that there "were no graded readers or storybooks written in isiXhosa for isiXhosa L2 learners" (10). Another finding was that "the bulk of writing in both schools consists of grammar exercises" (13), and little evidence of the stated policy outcomes (in terms of genuine creative use of isiXhosa) actually resulted. In both cases, advocacy by (fluent) teachers to expand isiXhosa instruction was met with limited success.

of AfLs, as well as linguistic and cultural research. At the university of KwaZulu-Natal, isiZulu has been made a compulsory subject (Rudwick & Parmegiani, 2013; Naidoo *et al*, 2018). The effects of compulsion on AfLL, from the data gathered in my MPhil study (2017), appeared to contribute to demotivation and intention *not* to persist beyond compulsory study, which is almost always at introductory levels.[173] Increasing research in L2AfL teaching and learning relates to the aims (and constraints) of vocation-specific AfLL, e.g. for medical, legal, teacher, journalist professions (e.g. Matthews, 2013; Matthews & Van Wyk, 2016; Du Toit & Maseko, 2018).[174] These are usually compulsory components of specific degree programmes.

3.2.3.3 Evidence of individual L2AfL investment

There have been some wSAns who have learnt AfLs in the past (Botha, 2015: xii), in particular white farmers and their families, and this is still true today (Sweetnam Evans, 2015; McIntosh, 2018), but as argued elsewhere due to urbanisation and emigration trends, it is likely that this form of L1AfLL has decreased significantly.[175] In any case, white L1AfL learners are categorically different from this study's L2AfLL focus. The overwhelming sociolinguistic trend has been that bSAns learn English (or previously, Afrikaans), obviating the need or desire for wSAns to learn AfLs (McIntosh, 2018). This is echoed by others like Orman (2007) as well as Barkhuizen, who claims that "very few students learn African languages as additional languages" (2004: 570). Sweetnam Evans (2015) reports in her language attitude survey that "[a] few Whites have learned [an AfL] at school, but proficiency in such a learned language is generally quite low […] there is little evidence that concerted efforts are being made to learn these languages" (7). More recently, McIntosh (2018) found that her "white and amaXhosa informants alike" told her that "when a white adult goes out of their way to learn the language, it can come as a 'shock'"; it is considered "super rare" (482), and "surprising" (*ibid*: 489). While a survey of recent literature (e.g. Sanders, 2016a), online opinion and media (e.g. Brett Meersma, cited in McIntosh, 2018) reveal some of what McIntosh (2018) calls "wistful white enthusiasm" for AfLL – and examples of individuals who have invested in AfLL – she finds it equally striking how *few*

[173] Some comments from participants in Naidoo *et al*'s (2018) study make this clear: "I am not happy being forced to do this [isiZulu] module and it does not motivate me to do well in it." And another: "I strongly feel that this requirement to have to do Zulu in order to get my degree is upsetting and demotivational, being forced to learn one language under threat of not getting my degree has made me dislike a language" (362).
[174] These are courses with vocation-specific, pragmatic intent, and do not lead to general AfL knowledge, but rather a specific repertoire of basic grammar and phrases that will work contextually, although it has been recognised by some that the mere basics are insufficient and more intermediate language skills are required.
[175] See footnote 132.

wSAns "follow through and learn an indigenous language well" (489). One prominent, public case of L2AfL investment success would be Craig Charnock who reveals an "apparent fluency" in isiXhosa (*ibid*). The vast majority of (publicised) wSAn L2AfL learners, however, exhibit and/or claim only partial fluency (e.g. Meersma, 2013; Sanders, 2016b; Zille, 2016) – even when it is clear that their attempts at fluency involve "laborious and attentive study and not merely learning", as Quayson (2017: 23) reflects on Sanders' apparent investment in isiZulu.

Beyond these exceptional cases with varying degrees of success, there is little evidence of long-term commitment among L2AfL learners. In my MPhil thesis (James, 2017), a recent study of majority-white L1E learners of isiXhosa in two South African universities, revealed that for every eight (8) students at a beginner level, there was only one (1) at a post-beginner level. Only two (2) of every nine (9) participants indicated an unambiguous intention to persist beyond their current level of study, one of whom was likely to be studying at a post-beginner level already. The best motivational proxy/correlate for predicting intention to persist was a high IL2S score, i.e. the ability to visualise oneself using isiXhosa in various future circumstances. Only around 20% of the sample reported a compelling IL2S guide, whereas the majority (50%) reported ambivalence,[176] and just over 30% had a negative IL2S score, indicating inability or unwillingness to imagine a future L2X self (46). It was concluded that the OL2S was "a weak motivating guide" (48), and in the context of this review supports the lack of (external) motivational impetus for persistent wSAn L2AfLL after its initiation.[177] Outside of the university context, the dearth of persistence in AfLL is highlighted by two directors of two isiXhosa language institutes in Cape Town; they reported that most students "never approach fluency; more typically, they learn greetings and a few basics" (McIntosh, 2018: 494).

3.2.3.4 Personal Conditions for L2AfL Investment

3.2.3.4.1 Post-apartheid motivations for L2AfLL

In my MPhil thesis (2017), the motivations of self-identified L1E (or L1E&A) learners of isiXhosa at two historically-advantaged, English-medium universities were examined. With

[176] In one participant's words, being able to speak an AfL like isiXhosa for seems like a "far-fetched dream" (James, 2017: 48) rather than something that can actually be imagined.

[177] In terms of the OL2S, 55% of the sample claim to have felt no external pressure (whether expectation or encouragement) to learn isiXhosa, 31% were ambivalent, and just 13% felt some pressure (most of whom were compelled to take the subject). One interviewed participant described receiving unusual encouragement from her family to learn isiXhosa, but when asked about societal expectation to do so, her disavowal was absolute: "But, pressure or expectation to know an African language? Nothing. None at all. Nobody expects a white person to know how to speak an African language" (*ibid*).

certain provisos in place,[178] it was found that the five most relevant motivations were: #1. linguacultural interest; #2. post-apartheid South African integrativeness (SAI);[179] #3. post-apartheid social/moral duty (S/MD);[180] #4. occupational utility;[181] and #5. pragmatic communicative utility (58). The subsample with the highest IL2S scores revealed motivational clusters of #1, #2, and #5 – which, given the higher likelihood of this sample's persistence in learning – may be construed as particularly strong motivations. Those with lower but positive IL2S scores shared the same motivations, but tended more often to feel the motive force of #3. Motivations #2 and #3 represent clear evidence of post-apartheid-specific L2ILL motivation, [182] similar to the stated motivations of young wKs in Kenya (McIntosh, 2014), although the applicability of this finding is limited.[183] Strongly-reported motivations of this sort were particularly frequent for the small number who indicated their intention to persist in learning isiXhosa, a commitment measure indicative of long-term (potentially successful) L2 Investment.

3.2.3.4.2 Integration, connection and belonging

Motivation #2 above – a desire for connection and integration into an ideal SA – refers to cluster of interrelated desires. McIntosh (2014) noted the tendency of wKs to indicate their desire to "connect" with indigenous black Kenyans, a finding which clearly emerged in James (2017: 45), where the exact phrasing was evidenced of a desire to "connect" at a deeper level with L1X bSAns. There was evidence suggesting that 'connect' "was not merely a synonym for 'communicate'" (*ibid*), as these were reported as adjacent but separate motivations in a number of cases. As such, it appears that wSAn learners recognise 'connection' as the social prerequisite for a deeper experience of belonging, or as an interview participant expressed, a means towards "transformation" – and a means "to feel more African" (James,

[178] Regrettably, the exclusion of L1A speakers and learners of other AfLs from the sample compromises the applicability of the findings to wSAns and AfLs more generally, especially as the study could have controlled for race had this been desired. Although the majority of participants in the study were white (65%), a sizable minority (30%) were coloured.

[179] A desire to "connect" and integrate into an ideal, racially-reconciled post-apartheid SA.

[180] A perception of moral and social duties to learn an AfL, given the socioeconomic and political realities of post-apartheid SA.

[181] E.g. for teaching, journalism, law, medicine.

[182] These two motivations (#2 & #3) could be expressed in two ideologically-opposed, but pragmatically allied ways, depending on the individual's self-construal as a South African (see Appendix G of my MPhil thesis, 2017). If proceeding from what might be termed a 'neoliberal' ideological perspective, learners would situate themselves within idealist "rainbow nation", non-racialist discourse. If they were 'woke/progressive liberal', they would see a South African identity as something to be legitimised via sacrificial self-investment in social justice, emphasising the ethical need to learn the language of indigenous bSAns.

[183] It is unknown to what extent these findings apply to (white) L1A learners (i.e. those who did not claim bilingual L1E&A status) and learners of AfLs other than isiXhosa.

2017: 45). Sanders (2016a), discussing his motivation for learning isiZulu, explicitly mentions the "example" of Johnny Clegg – clearly a role-model – who "inspired many people of [Sanders'] generation" (807) and represented the possibility of becoming a white African through AfLL.[184] The question of connection and belonging appear central to SAI. McIntosh (2018) quotes an AfL institute director, who states that, for many learners, "[i]t's really about belonging; wanting to belong but feeling excluded" (486-7) and relates a high school student's opinion that AfLL is "a gesture which aims to forge connections between us and people we wouldn't usually interact with" (486). Meersman (2013), cited in McIntosh (*ibid*), echoes the effect of connection: "you feel you can belong in places you never really did before." Just as Berardi-Wiltshire *et al* (2020) suggest the applicability of the "rooted L2 self"[185] to the motivations of some white learners of Maori – despite the "absence of ethnic identification" (7) – the same might be said for wSAns exhibiting SAI, in which a desire for social connection and indigenous belonging intertwine.

3.2.3.4.3 Linguistic atonement through AfLL

While a weak version of motivation #3 above ("perceived moral and social duties given the non-ideal reality of SA") may be expressed as "commit[ment] to reconciliation" in SA (James, 2017; McIntosh, 2018), perhaps the *strongest* – most explicitly moral(ised) version of this – coincides with a subsection of the wSAn population well-described by McIntosh (2018). Acknowledging from the outset that her data largely comes from L1E informants in Cape Town and limited to isiXhosa learners, she characterises would-be wSAn AfL learners variously as "urban", "liberal", "left-leaning", "attentive" and "well-meaning." McIntosh's conclusion regarding wKs also applies to such wSAns: they "have come to question their linguistic ineptitude on moral grounds" (McIntosh, 2014: 1194).[186] She reports that moral AfLL motivations are "powerfully and anxiously felt" (2018: 485) and could be reduced to a desire to repent for white complicity in the historic sins of colonialism and *apartheid,* as well as the contemporary sin of what journalist Barney Mthombothi (2015) characterised as social and political 'retardation' due to L1E/A asymmetric multilingualism.[187] Such motivation

[184] "He seemed to be saying that you could be both white and African if you learned an African language" (Sanders, 2016a: 807).
[185] This self was theorised to reflect an amalgam of the ideal and ought-to L2 selves, heavily rooted in a certain location and culture. Even as Duff (2017) states that "it might be more difficult to apply this concept [the rooted-L2-self] to other […] contexts where local geographical and historical roots are less evident or are far more transnationally distributed and diffused" (601). Despite her caution, something like this is occurring in L2ILL contexts, despite the lack of ethnic identification.
[186] In McIntosh's analysis, they appear to be motivated to learn AfLs "not as technologies of command and control as whites would have used them in the past, but rather as technologies of moral belonging" (2018: 478).
[187] Mthombothi's views being the kind of discourse such "attentive" wSAns would certainly notice.

causes what McIntosh (2014) elsewhere calls "linguistic atonement", and what Sanders (2016b) refers to as "ngicela uxolo" [lit. I request peace] – AfLL driven by the shame of one's perceived moral shortcomings. McIntosh's claims are anecdotally supported in my MPhil (James, 2017). An interview participant, Sam, "daydream[ed] of ... owing people the respect they deserve" (James, 2017: 48) and held the view that wSAns "needed to act from a place of 'shame' to enable the (remote) possibility of integration" (*ibid*, 76).[188]

Beyond linguistic atonement made at a societal or political level, there is anecdotal evidence that it operates more compellingly from sense of personal guilt or moral responsibility towards AfL-speaking childhood nannies (cf. Hook, 2013). In discussing the genesis of his book *Learning Zulu* (2016), Sanders relates having had, "despite the absence of a clear reason ... the desire to learn Xhosa. It had seemed urgent, and even necessary ... like a constant pressure" (2016a: 807), which he hypothesises might "trace back to A., who looked after my sister and me as children, and spoke Xhosa" (*ibid*). Similarly, a participant in McIntosh (2018), Craig Charnock, described being motivated towards AfLL by an apprehension of moral shame for undervaluing the Xhosa nannies who cared for him as a child.[189]

3.2.3.5 Capital gains of L2AfL investment

A core aim of this study is to understand the capital gains from wSAn L2AfLL, as evidence of the results of L2AfLL – in linguistic capital terms or otherwise – is sorely lacking. It is likely that wSAns who learned to speak an AfL would be well-placed to leverage their newfound linguistic capital towards language teaching – Charnock in McIntosh (2018) provides an example of a successful L2AfL learner who invested career-wise in AfL teaching. Beyond this, there is also evidence of emergent zookairotic capital, albeit dependent on class-incongruent interaction – as reported in Kenya (McIntosh, 2014).

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[188] This may be related to why (mostly wSAn) participants like Sam – those who self-reported as being 'involved' rather than merely 'interested' in politics – tended to have significant positive correlation between their ability to imagine an ideal L2X self and intention to persist in learning isiXhosa.[188] The tendency for political activism to operate from a religious-like metanarrative is not unknown (Dörnyei & Al Hoorie, 2017: 465), and thus the religious mechanism of linguistic atonement is a plausible explanation.

[189] A prominent Cape Town-based advocate for learning isiXhosa among wSAns and other L2 learners. In his early 20s (the late 1990s) he felt a moral debt to the "Xhosa mamas," i.e. the nannies, who looked after him. Despite having a deep love for them, he had "never been to even their township home, ... to their villages ... [didn't] know anything about their culture", and had extremely basic isiXhosa, i.e. "Can I have supper, thank you very much?" (488). Recognition of this discrepancy was one of the catalysts that prompted him to begin learning isiXhosa in earnest.

3.2.3.5.1 Socioeconomic and zookairotic capital

McIntosh found that use of isiXhosa appears to create "a context of shared friendliness" – though she is careful to stress that this is "from their [i.e. wSAns'] perspective" – and generally enhancing interactions between wSAns and bSAn interlocutors (2018: 494). This occurred even to the point of wSAns receiving tangible favours because of their AfL use – an indication of increased social mobility or social capital.[190] In a context of previously English-mediated habitual interactions, a "good faith effort" in learning and using isiXhosa appears to be recognised by L1X speakers, and this shifts social dynamics towards a deeper, less transactional direction (cf. the case of Mia in McIntosh, 2018).[191] For example, a post-beginner white L2AfL learner in my MPhil research (2017) described how Xhosa people are "flabbergasted and happy" when he would use isiXhosa unexpectedly (45). Charnock stated that "[t]he response from Xhosa people ever since I started learning was just so much warmth, gratitude, surprise, encouragement ... they really really appreciated it" (McIntosh, 2018: 494). In his view, wSAn AfLL receives such a positive response because it signals an attribution of value to the relevant language and associated culture, and thus by proxy, an attribution of value to the speakers *qua* human beings, a humanisation also reported in Botha (2015).

As in the case of Kenya, McIntosh found evidence in SA that interracial AfL "interactions often take place across class lines rather than on socially equal terms" (2018: 494).[192] To an extent, this finding is banal – given that the vast majority of black, L1AfL speakers are not middle-class. However, for the growing number who are, and for reasons discussed above, the potential for the above forms of zookairotic capital to obtain is reduced. Firstly, it is possible that AfL use by L1E speakers is perceived as a kind of attribution of low status, a suggestion that the AfL interlocuter is "less civilised" or "stupid" (McIntosh, 2018: 496-7).[193] It also might be due to some bSAn's cynicism/hermeneutic of suspicion towards wSAn AfLL as "a kind of decoy or moral cover" – a symbolic activity failing to alter the "enduring forms of exclusion" carried over from apartheid (McIntosh, 2018: 495). For

[190] McIntosh describes an anecdote where "a traffic official was about to ticket [a man], but was so pleased by the man's ability to speak some isiXhosa that he knocked 2,000 rand off the fine" (2018: 494).
[191] It appears that this kind of reception is what actualises an experience of "connection" for wSAn learners. To invoke Buber's I/Thou relation, in the encounter of L2 learner and L1 speaker, the 'I' experiences a sense of connection and belonging as the 'Thou' experiences joyful surprise and shows appreciation.
[192] McIntosh wonders whether "[i]n such stances and interactions, whites may comfort themselves with a false sense of connection and understanding, one that obfuscates race-based class structures" (2018: 497).
[193] McIntosh cites an informant in Botha (2015), who paraphrases (likely from his own experience) a possible negative response to initial AfL use: "Do you think that I can't understand English? Do you think that I'm stupid?" (132).

example, Ncebakazi Manzi's (2021) article on *abelungu* (wSAns) speaking AfLs, which illustrates one mode of middle-class bSAn cynicism, albeit self-reflective.[194]

3.2.3.5.2 The potential for collective capital gains

Having described some of the non-linguistic capital gains that appear to be attendant on wSAn L2AfLL, the question must be raised: would the advent of greater wSAn symmetrical multilingualism contribute to the sociolinguistic repricing of AfLs, given the ideals of the post-apartheid constitution and official language policy? An argument might be made if one accepts wSAn L1E&A bilingualism as a form of elite multilingualism. De Costa (2019) claims that

> elite multilingualism contributes to unequal power relations because it favours individuals in ownership of the privileged, prestige language [...] promoting some language to elite status inevitably results in the devaluation of other languages because languages often have to compete within a competitive linguistic market for the attention of language learners. (2019: 455)

If De Costa's (and Bourdieu's) linguistic market logic is accepted, then the increase of symmetrical varieties of multilingualism[195] may contribute towards the equalisation of unequal power relations, as it produces a linguistic marketplace in which elite multilinguals engage in non-elite SLL, attributing greater value to (historically) less privileged languages: inevitably affecting the market's 'pricing' of these languages.[196] Others, like Te Huia (2020), have hypothesised similarly in the L2ILL context of New Zealand.[197]

Section 3.3 - Research questions

Based on the topic and prior chapters, research questions have been formulated to guide the study. It is hoped that these are "clear, specific, and answerable" (Duff, 2007: 104) and "interesting and worthwhile questions for the investment of research effort" (Punch, 1998: 254). The first two questions seek to elicit the *nature* or *ontology* of successful individual L2AfL investment, both with regard to its conditions (RQ1) and forms of commitment

[194] Consider Manzi's encounter with a white schoolgirl, who greeted her in Setswana: "she smiles and says, 'Dumelang, baholo'. Something inexplicable shifts in me. ... I cannot tell what exactly the overwhelming emotion I feel is as I smile back at that charming white face. Up to this point, I have ardently held onto my resentment for white people speaking indigenous languages and yet somehow, that greeting alone feels like a delicate coup I came unprepared for" (Manzi, 2021).

[195] Symmetrical, of course, within the SA context. Symmetrical multilingual repertoires would be rather different depending on the local history of ethnolinguistic contact, conflict, and colonialism.

[196] Others, like Lafon, imply as much. While discussing compulsory (L2)AfLL to obtain a school leaving certificate, he contends that "[t]he 'linguistic capital' commanded by the black learners would be valorised in the eyes of their more socially privileged colleagues [i.e. non-black students]" (2010: 435).

[197] He states that "[m]ore [settler-descendant] speakers may make it possible to use te reo Māori in dominant culture domains" (Te Huia, 2020: 12).

(RQ2). The third (RQ3) deals with the nature of the returns on L2AfL investment – i.e. capital gains – with specific interest on its relation to the post-apartheid aim of social cohesion/nation-building. It is worth re-emphasising that while the RQs are framed in terms of L2 Investment, this is *not* intended as a theoretical framing – unlike the first set of research questions in Norton's (2000) immigrant ESL case study, which has "implicit embedded theoretical assumptions related to the relationship between interaction and acquisition, the importance of social structures (possibly hierarchical power relations, race, class, gender, etc.) in interaction, and the learners' own agency" (Duff, 2007: 106). The questions below are agnostic as to the importance of the above emphases.[198] Having said this, the research questions are presented and briefly elaborated below.

3.3.1 Question 1

> *What are the factors that conditioned and catalysed participants to become investors in L2AfLL?*

This question aims to elicit an empirical foundation for identifying the relevant factors that ostensibly *lead* to investment in L2AfLL.

3.3.2 Question 2

> *How do investors commit to L2AfLL? How do they discipline their allocation of capital towards modalities of AfLL, and AfL intermediation?*

This question seeks to broadly capture commitment, broken down into 1) the nature of investment discipline, 2) the chosen modality of L2AfLL, and 3) AfL intermediation by which successful L2AfLL occurs.

3.3.3 Question 3

> *What kinds of capital do successful L2AfL investors gain, and to what extent does their newly-acquired capital promote the welfare of contemporary South African society?*

This question considers the nature of capital gained from the process and product of successful L2AfL investment, with particular focus on whether it in fact contributes toward social cohesion or nation-building, however understood.

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[198] Insofar as the investment framework *is* theoretical, the theory is relatively banal and uncontroversial: what is framed as 'capital' (time, energy) is scarce, and thus opportunity cost is always operative in investor's (un)conscious decisions of capital allocation. L2 Investment *qua* framework is seen as maieutic, a midwife for theorising SLA – which is merely *conceived* of in L2 Investment terms, in order to spark metaphorical associations.

Chapter conclusion

In this chapter, it was argued that the research phenomenon is best understood as (non-heritage) L2ILL; a review of IL-related literature revealed several similarities between contexts like Kenya and New Zealand, and South Africa, particularly in terms of socio-structural and personal conditions like L2 motivation – where there is extant literature. Regarding forms of L2ILL commitment, there appear to be primarily two potential kinds of modality: academic (NZ, Kenya, SA) and early childhood (Kenya and SA), although this has been relatively low on the research agenda. Within SA, no evidence was found that the latter kind of modality led to persistent linguistic capital gains in AfLs, while there were structural problems with academic modalities of AfLL. With regards to capital gains, there are some reasons to think that socioeconomic and zookairotic capital obtains via IL/AfL use, but there is also evidence that class-congruent, settler-descendant–indigene interactions may moderate or indeed negate the leveragability of linguistic capital for other capital gains. Having reviewed literature on the topic, three research questions have been formulated.

Chapter 4
Methodology

Chapter synopsis

In the following chapter, a description of the study's methodology is provided. Following an initial dual pilot case study, a multiple case study was designed using Campbell & Yin's (2018) case replication logic, which was deemed to best address the research questions and aims. Albeit altered due to the effects of covid-19 lockdowns, the study's procedures are described, including case sampling and selection. This is followed by descriptions of the selected cases, the methods of data elicitation, and the analytical processes followed in order to create case reports. The chapter concludes with a discussion of validity, reliability and ethics regarding the chosen design and its implementation.

Section 4.1 – Multiple case study design

4.1.1 The topic and data available

The research topic, which concerns the initiation and completion of a highly contextual SLA process (i.e. L2ILL), required a form of longitudinal data (Duff, 2014). A longitudinal study, involving a combination of both objective (externally-assessment) and subjective (self-report) data would have been ideal: following a cohort of L2AfL investors.[199] While cross-sectional L2ILL research is relatively straightforward, researching *successful L2ILL* is not: it is a qualitative, highly contextualised, long-term achievement that unlike more common forms of SLA cannot be reduced to assessment measures (which often do not exist). Moreover, learners who become successful cannot be known prior to the necessary commitment: this may only be ascertained retrospectively.

Thus, eliciting data on *post-factum* success in L2AfLL was considered possible and pursued, i.e. where the arc of SLA had already culminated in success, irrespective of how long this took. Given the under-researched and exceptional nature of the topic, the study was exploratory in nature, and required extensive qualitative data – and thus methods. To re-emphasise McEvoy and Richards' (2006) assertion, "[t]he key strength of qualitative methods, from a critical realist perspective, is that they are open ended. This may allow themes to emerge during the course of an inquiry that could not have been anticipated in

[199] Gathering data of this sort would be best achieved by following the progress of selected cohort of AfL learners who have been (somehow) identified as possessing extremely high L2AfL motivation in conjunction with good evidence of their intention to persist. Pre- and post-tests, periodic interviews, and assessments on the nature of their AfL investment would be conducted.

advance" (71). Openness to the emergence of themes was considered central to understanding the underlying nature of the research phenomenon – or, to use the meta-theoretical language of CR, the underlying *causal mechanisms*.[200] The need to thickly describe the phenomenon (Geertz, 1973), in a way that uncovered the underlying mechanisms of L2AfLL, provided an important parameter for the research design. It was assumed that, *ceteris paribus*, the most salient factors would be identified by participants, whose retrospection – certainly fallible and subject to the vagaries of selective memory – would have sufficient measure of objectivity about why and how they engaged in L2AfLL, and what their success entailed.

4.1.2 Case study

There is a long methodological precedent of using case study (CS) in SLA. Most apposite are those that use investment as a construct, initiated by Norton's influential studies (1995; 2000) which gave the metaphor traction within applied linguistic research. Norton almost certainly used CS as her methodology because of its ability to "reveal important developmental patterns", which can then contribute to an initial (or improved) theory of the phenomenon (Duff, 2012: 98). It does this through "in-depth study of instances of a phenomenon in its natural context", often mediated through those who participate in that phenomenon (Gall *et al.*, 2003: 436; Yin, 2003). DeKeyser (1991), in discussing future studies seeking to understand the nature of SLA success (within the subfield of study abroad), advocated the need to link longitudinal "data on the linguistic product with data on psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic processes" – effectively a description of the 'conditions' and 'capital gained' elements of the L2 Investment frame – and concluded that "it would be wise to capitalize on the advantages of intensive case studies" (42-48) to enable careful examination of individual differences among groups of L2 learners (cf. Kinginger, 2008: 5), rather than attempting statistically-significant research which would by necessity gloss over the granular details that are crucial to achieving success. Because wSAn L2AfLL success is unusually scarce, homogeneity in the sample cannot be assumed; an "in-depth" focus appears to be the *sine qua non* of any chosen research methodology. That CS is by nature "in-depth" therefore aligns with the exploratory needs of the research topic. In summary, CS lends itself to the achievement of qualitative depth through examination of particular cases (Merriam, 1988), remains open to emergent factors revealed during the course of analysis (McEvoy &

[200] Porpora (2015) claims that "[t]he causal features of things are explained by the constitutive natures of those things, that is, by describing the mechanism that generates the causal feature. Being descriptive, that task is very conducive to ethnographic methodology or in-depth interviews" (59). He argues that the distinction "between description and explanation is a false one because what is being described is an explanatory mechanism" (*ibid*).

Richards, 2006), and is ideal for the theorisation of developmental patterns (Duff, 2012): crucial for understanding the arc of (successful) SLA, as well as the ability to contribute theoretically, *despite* seldom reaching statistically-significant levels of data.

Some level of (pre)theory in CS *is* necessary; even the most exploratory research involves a basis of theoretical presuppositions (Yin, 2003; Duff, 2007) that structure the processes of data collection and analysis. Thus, a completely atheoretical approach is impossible, and even exploratory research has a minimal confirmatory function, despite the latter being associated with statistically-significant, quantitative research. Duff (2014) echoes the latter point when asserting that any design of research "involves the identification of *constructs* or theoretical concepts likely to be of greatest interest", one example of which she gives as "motivation/investment" (Duff, 2007: 108), and later that CS (as with any research) occurs "against the backdrop of existing theory and research" (237). As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, the identification of L2ILL as a subfield of SLA research in conjunction with the framing metaphor of L2 Investment both constitute the extent of the present study's 'theory'. L2 Investment is inclusive of critical realist meta-theory on the one hand, and various sub-theories on the other, *inter alia*, LP&P theory; L2 motivation theory (especially Dörnyei's L2MSS) within personal conditions for L2 Investment; and Bourdieu's (1977) theory of linguistic markets regarding socioeconomic capital gains of L2 Investment. One may say, therefore, that against the backdrop of such theories, the phenomenon of AfLL is already partially theorised; this aided the eventual *multiple* CS design for data collection and analysis.

4.1.3 Pilot case study

In order to cast light on potential methodological and analytical issues arising from the research topic, and to test case study as an appropriate methodology to answer the research questions, an initial, informal pilot study with two cases was conducted in April-May 2019, primarily for the registration report for this PhD. As the L2 Investment frame was still in development at this stage, there were minor differences in the formulation of research questions.

> RQ1: *"What underlying factors shape the successful investment in learning an AfL as L2/AL by white South Africans?"*
>
> RQ2: *"How, and to what extent, does successful investment in AfLL and the achievement of symmetrical multilingualism by participants actually foster nation-building in SA?"*

RQ3: *"How does an analysis of white South Africans' successful investments in AfLL provide insight into how similar investment might be reproduced in the white South African population more generally?"*[201]

The cases were (relatively) successful white AfL learners, with considerably different characteristics. The first case was Jason*,[202] in his mid-20s. As a learner of isiXhosa, he achieved, if not fluency, something akin to a functional fluency. The second case was Sharon*,[203] approximately in her mid-to-late fifties, who had achieved fluency and understanding of isiZulu later in life, and was teaching the language to others. Both cases were recruited via snowball sampling.

Case data was gathered from informal, relatively lengthy (~1h30m), semi-structured interviews in-person; some explicit questions were asked that were derived from research questions, but were inserted in a natural way into the discussion, which allowed the conversation to develop without breaking the flow of conversation or rapport with the interviewee.[204]

4.1.3.1 Data analysis

In Jason's case, the conversation was audio-recorded and verbal consent for recording was given; handwritten notes were made in Sharon's case, with her permission. Otter.AI was used for initial AI-aided transcription. This was then examined thoroughly for errors. The resulting transcript was then coded in a qualitative data analysis package. Brief results are reported in Appendix E1, according to an early, tripartite division of L2 Investment: the **A**ntecedents, **B**ehaviour and **C**onsequences (ABC) of investment. As the pilot study's results and discussion reveal, these elements helped to answer RQ1 and RQ2 directly. RQ3 took up promising themes within RQ1 to propose potential avenues of applying the research insights. Some minor editing and terminological changes aside, what emerged reflected early (and rather incomplete) impressions on the topic, some initial theorisation, and several hypotheses regarding how the research might be applied. Salient points from the discussion, relevant to the present study, are included below.

[201] In retrospect, this question is better seen as an expression of the primary research aim, derivative of results from RQ1 and 2.
[202] A pseudonym.
[203] A pseudonym.
[204] A snowball sampling question was included, with an aim to find out if the interviewee knew of any other white AfL learners who had achieved fluency. Neither could tell me of anyone who I had not already heard about.

4.1.3.2 Discussion of pilot study

In general, the pilot study helped to confirm the relevance and coherence of the kind of questions I was planning to ask; the goodness-of-fit between research topic, CS methodology in general and semi-structured interviews in particular; an ability to decide the level of idiographic depth in terms of data collection and analysis; the assumption that participants would likely be open to discussing their stories, rather than seeing them as a taboo or race-critical topics.

More specifically, while gathering and analysing data for this pilot, several matters surrounding the conceptualisation and design of the study came to the fore. Firstly, the issue of measuring AfL success – whether understood as fluency/proficiency/ attainment/expertise, especially given the inadequacy of current academic AfL assessments. This led to a sensitivity towards defining success and the diglossia between academic and naturalistic modes of AfL speech. Secondly, the use of the investment metaphor arose unbidden in the interview with Jason, albeit peripherally – suggesting the metaphor is applicable to the research phenomenon from those with *emic* experience of it. This strengthened plans to elaborate an investment metaphor as applied to the basic AfLL phenomenon. Thirdly, in reviewing the transcript from the conversations with Jason, it became apparent that my status as researcher *and* white AfL learner (with partial success) significantly informed the shape and tenor of our interview. It may thus affect the data provided by participants in both positive and negative ways: positive, in that relational rapport is easy to foster due to shared experiences; negative, in that I might interject with exclamations of agreement and reinforcing anecdotes – which may break up the flow of participants' thoughts and narrative of AfLL. As Campbell & Yin (2018) note, reflexivity in interviews *can* be a drawback. Fourthly, Sharon problematised the parameters for participant sampling and selection. While white, she was not originally South African, but an expatriate. Despite her initial foreign status, she lived in post-apartheid SA for more than 20 years, during which time she learnt isiZulu. In the original conceptualisation of the topic, I assumed that the research population would be generation-specific[205] and exclusively for those who can claim SA heritage; Sharon's case, however, raised the need to broaden the research population to include SA-domiciled learners irrespective of age/generation, and that the sampling parameters ought not be *too* fixed, but include porous cases. Fifthly and finally, at the analytical level, an examination of both Jason and Sharon's investment arcs yielded the problem of assigning

[205] i.e. Generation X, Millennials and what is now called Generation Z.

emphasis on, and clarifying gaps of, different conditional and commitment factors in AfLL success; this prompted the explicit inclusion of confirmatory interviews – what in the literature is called 'member checking' – in order to remedy any over- or under-emphasis.

4.1.4 Multiple case study logic

In light of the pilot, CS was deemed acceptable as a means of enquiry; the pilot study's comparative element – examining two cases – revealed that two cases were clearly insufficient to identify general developmental patterns; multiple cases, however, *would* yield the data required to answer the research questions. Following Stake's (2005) classification of CS research, studies are primarily either instrumental or intrinsic in nature. *Multiple* case studies (or what he calls "collective case studies") are instrumental *by nature*, in which cases "may be similar or dissimilar, with redundancy and variety each important. They are chosen because it is believed that understanding them will lead to better understanding, and perhaps better theorizing, about a still larger collection of cases" (446). In other words, multiple case study leverages the insights from multiple unique *or* typical cases (Duff, 2007) – as instruments – to make gains in theory.

4.1.4.1 wSAn L2AfLL success: theorising from exceptions

Multiple CS lends itself to fruitful theorising of the commonalities of atypical cases. Yet at the same time, Duff makes an important point that "it may be difficult or unwise to develop models of optimal L2 teaching or learning strategies based on just a few studies of exceptionally successful or exceptionally unsuccessful language learners" (2007: 54). Why would it be unwise? One hypothesis might be because exceptional language learners are *by nature* different from normal language learners – and thus their success depends on their nature. In cases of savants and geniuses with neurophysiological affordances for SLA, this may well be true. But to attribute genetic or natural differences as *determinative* in SLA success is simply false, because it is a multivariate phenomenon, in which individuals (with a certain genetic nature) are conditioned by structural features in their environment and interaction with other people. Successful SLA is not an abnormal phenomenon, as scholars of multilingualism will attest (Edwards, 2012). Therefore, it appears that the *general* failure of AfL acquisition within post-apartheid SA has less to do with individual differences and more to do with contextual features: the so-called 'nurture' (or lack thereof) shaping human behaviour-in-context. If success is more a product of AfLL practices that are well-attuned to the sociolinguistic constraints – and less a product of individuals' natural language learning ability (e.g. the possession of the 'language gene') – then theorisation of exceptional cases, in

which the human universal of SLA actually succeeds, is not unwise, but *crucial* for understanding how to generalise SLA success. Given the particular kind/context of L2 learning within which AfLL falls (L2ILL), theory derived from as *diverse* a set of AfLL exceptions (i.e. successful learners) as possible is crucial. This will enable the formulation of micro and macro policy interventions aimed at generalising exceptional cases across the target population group. These exceptional cases, arguably, have a general pattern of AfLL, or a set of general patterns – the juxtaposition of multiple such cases enables one to derive these patterns and, theoretically-speaking, identifying *objective* factors in successful AfLL (at minimum, from a wSAn standpoint).

4.1.4.2 Replication logic of multiple case study

A multiple CS design treats each case instrumentally, as Stake (2005) claims, or in Campbell & Yin's (2018) terminology, as experiments – each of which serve the broader goal of finetuning a theory of the research phenomenon. Focusing on multiple cases may be considered "as one would consider multiple experiments – that is, to follow a 'replication' design" (Campbell & Yin, 2018: Ch. 2) with an aim to develop and refine a theory with each replication, and thereby able to generalise, although emphatically *not* in a statistical or probabilistic manner.[206] In Robert Yin's terminology, a multiple case study would involve, firstly, a stage of *literal replication*, which investigates several predictably similar cases of the research phenomenon until 'saturation' is achieved. Saturation occurs when few significantly new variables arise during iterated investigation of the research phenomenon, and a viable theory of the phenomenon becomes apparent spanning across the cases. At this point, the researcher would enter the stage of *theoretical replication*, in which considerably different cases are considered as a means of testing the validity of the theory *in extremis*, prompting its acceptance, modification, or that the definitional boundaries of the phenomenon under research need to be reconsidered (i.e. rejection). With regard to the 'success' criterion, cases of low/moderate AfLL success on the one hand, and exceptional AfL fluency (e.g. 'near-L1 fluency') on the other, would serve as cases for theoretical replication, as well as cases which meet all criteria except one (at most, two) – of the research population. The results of both literal and theoretical replication lead to "analytic or

[206] This kind of theoretical generalisation is emphatically different from statistical generalisation; a multiple CS generalises its findings to an explanatory theory, something that could be tested statistically at a later stage; it does not seek to predict the variability of a research population as statistical generalisation would do.

theoretical generali[s]ation", which Duff calls "a more typical goal in SLA case study research" (2012: 110), and indeed, a major goal in this study.

Yin's approach to multiple CS – which he insists uses a "replication logic" (as outlined above) rather than what he calls a "sampling logic" (aligned with designs aiming for statistical significance, and thus nomothetic reach) – works well when an initial theory of the phenomenon has been outlined. Each case replication, if it turns out as predicted in the initial theory, would "provide compelling support for the initial set of propositions pertaining to the overall multiple-case study" (Campbell & Yin: 2018: Ch.2). At the outset of this PhD study, initial hypotheses regarding the research topic were largely unarticulated, although my experience of AfLL and wSAn culture provided some parameters.

4.1.5 Initial and eventual multiple CS design

Having established the nature of multiple case studies in abstract, the present study's design and methodology are now outlined.

4.1.5.1 Initial design

In the original incarnation of this study, Yin's literal-theoretical replication logic was intended to be followed at the sampling level, with case reports immediately being written up and decisions regarding the status of cases to occur soon after recruitment. Two fieldtrips, several months removed from each other, were originally planned, for reasons of original design logic as well as practicality. This was disrupted by the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic: suddenly, all data collection occurred digitally, and physical location was less important, for both researcher and study participants. During the first fieldtrip, data for the literal replication stage of the multiple CS was to be collected and processed.

Procedurally, the aim was to gather data from all potential participants *sequentially* and make an immediate judgement as whether the participant conformed with the sampling criteria. If a case was confirmed following an initial interview, time was to be allocated for expanding the methods of data collection: interviews with associates (teachers, parents, etc) of the participant, and attempts to observe the participant using the target AfL as well as examining any relevant AfLL artefacts and contexts.[207] Transcription and case reporting was to occur in lull periods. Midway or towards the end of the field trip, theoretical replication was to take place – once phenomenological saturation had been perceived (i.e. after sufficient literal replication). Participants whose AfLL success appeared to be patterned differently

[207] Evidence of participant's language ability would also be captured audio-visually, where possible, in order to assess their fluency in the relevant AfL.

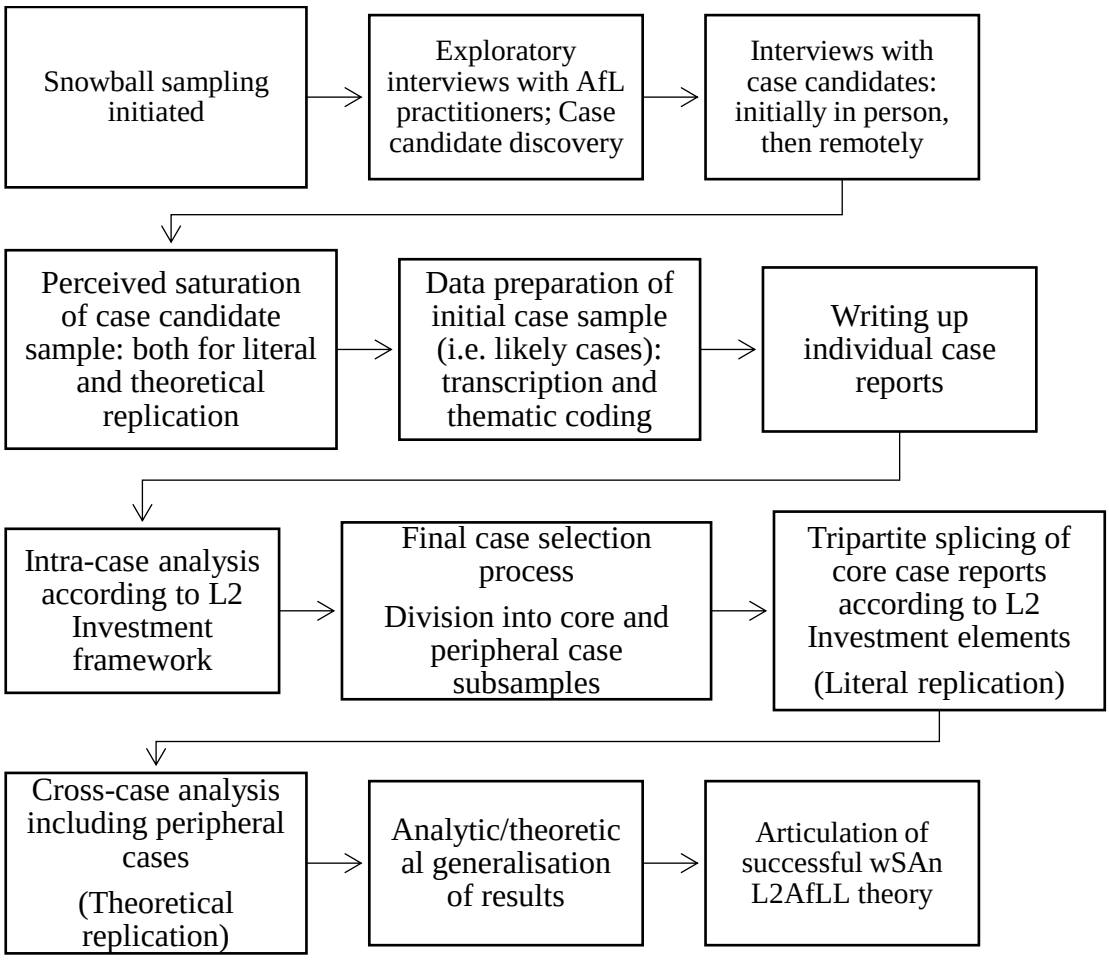
from other participants were to be approached, with the same additional methods applied as in the literal replication. Upon completion of theoretical replication, the remaining data would be processed, largely while back in the UK, and initial analysis and construction of case reports would ensue. A second field trip was planned a) to conduct 'confirmatory' interviews with participants based on the case reports, and b) to conduct focus groups with participants regarding the research phenomenon.

4.1.5.2 Eventual design

The changes wrought by covid-19 notwithstanding, it became apparent in designing the study that strict adherence to Yin's methodological distinction between literal and then theoretical replication was virtually impossible to follow *at the sampling stage*, largely because (as per the data parameters outlined above), there was insufficient metadata regarding available cases and whether they were similar or exceptional: crucial for identifying whom would be appropriate cases for the literal and theoretical replication stages of the multiple CS. This metadata only gradually became available during participant recruitment, data collection, and intra-case analysis.[208]

[208] Moreover, the literal-theoretical replication distinction Yin draws may well break down when the target phenomenon is exceptional and relatively diverse in the patterns it can take – as will be seen in the following chapter.

4.1.5.3 Figure 2: Eventual design



As the interviews with participants continued (more on this below), certain similarities and patterns began to emerge – the matrix of variation, as it were – suggesting "the number of cases required to reach saturation" (Zach, 2006: 9), and it was this that ultimately led to the cessation of further data collection. Throughout the sampling/data collection process, opportunities arose to interview participants who fitted with the research population sample in all respects but one (e.g. nationality / race / timing of AfL acquisition) – these were pursued, and in conjunction with exceptionally fluent cases within the sample, they provided several cases of an extreme or limit status. This was done to test the ability of the theory-in-development to anticipate different outcomes (Campbell & Yin, 2018). Having collected a number of cases – along with the necessary metadata – the process of core case *selection* (according to relevant, purposive criteria) and cross case analysis allowed literal and theoretical replication to occur. simultaneously. While this multiple CS design does speak of a 'research sample' and the process of 'sampling' is discussed below, this must not be conflated with following a what Yin calls a "sampling logic" – which has more to do with a sample reaching statistically-relevant proportions – which was not pursued in this study.

Section 4.2 - Methodological procedures

4.2.1 Case sampling

The foregoing section describes, firstly, the constraints regarding access to the research population, the mode of sampling employed (snowball), and concludes with a visual representation of case sampling and selection in juxtaposition.

4.2.1.1 Constraints of the research population

As already defined in the first chapter, the target research population consisted of wSAn adults who have successfully learnt an AfL *qua* L2 within the post-apartheid era. The first procedural concern was populating the research sample for participants, from which cases could be selected. Gaining data regarding potential cases was subject to difficulty given the apparent scarcity of the research phenomenon. No formal research databases of those who would qualify to take part in this research existed. The closest proxy for a database was hypothesised to be AfL institutions and teachers/lecturers, who would know of wSAns who completed advanced AfL courses in secondary or tertiary education – although this would not guarantee they were *L2* learners. As a nod to the potential difficulty in finding participants, it was deemed wise to be indiscriminate initially and then selective once the sample had been sufficiently populated.

4.2.1.2 Snowball sampling

Given that no database of the research population existed (as no research of this sort has previously been undertaken, to the best of my knowledge), **snowball sampling** for candidate case discovery – "finding cases by recommendation, referral, or association with others" (Duff, 2007: 115) – was both necessary and appropriate to populate the research sample. In terms of recruitment strategy, any potential participants who appeared to conform with the research population definition were approached during the period of data collection, irrespective of whether they were subsequently chosen as core/peripheral cases, or excluded from the sample due to poor case candidacy (i.e. fit with the target research population). The process occurred through (i) asking personal contacts whether they knew of any successful L2AfL learners, particularly within the L1E wSAn populations of the Eastern and Western Cape, (ii) given the 'proxy database' of cases assumed to be present in AfL educational institutions, teachers, lecturers and administrators of AfL departments at

universities and schools were asked for possible contacts,[209] (iii) the snowballing process was occasionally augmented by recruited participants mentioning further case candidates upon initial contact or during interviews, and (iv) online searching for potential participants – for example, on social and news media.

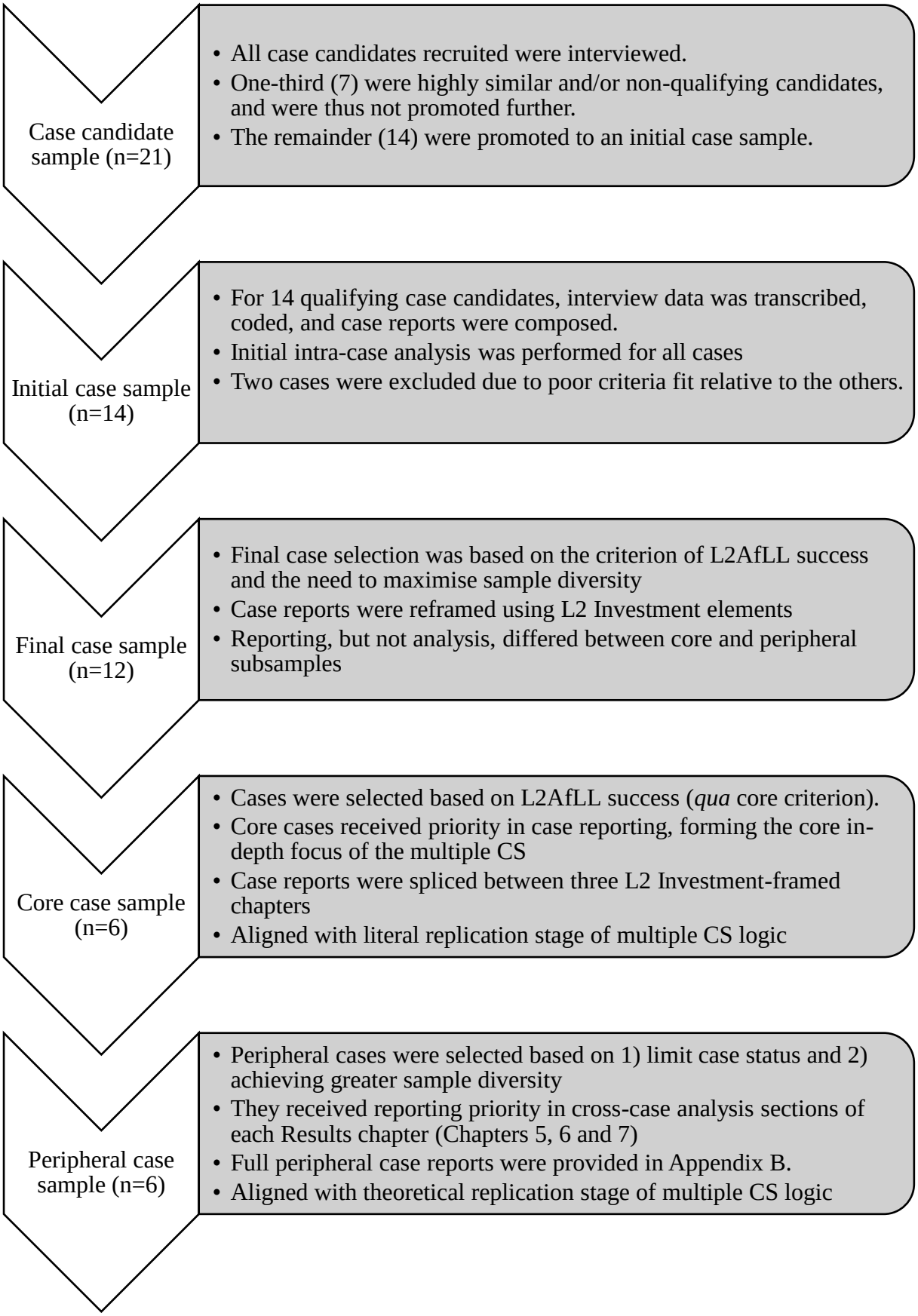
Three AfL teachers were interviewed: two female teachers of isiXhosa (both L2 learners during the fraught period of the 1980s) and one male teacher who is likely to have learnt isiXhosa *qua* L1. Three eventual participants were recruited through their referrals. In all cases – but one – participants were approached in their individual capacity through mediation by a mutual acquaintance. In practical terms, this was done through instant messaging (SMS/WhatsApp) communications when provided with a telephone number, and via email when provided with an email address.

As evidence of the paucity of the research population, when asking sources for the details of potential participants, the same names were mentioned independently, several times. As is to be expected with snowball sampling, most (though not all) participants were either recognised by, or a single degree of separation from, other participants. In a surprising number of instances, recruited participants (approximately half) were unable to name any successful L2AfL learners (wSAn or otherwise) still unknown to me, particularly towards the end of the sampling and data collection period.

Over the course of 5 months, case candidates were recruited. A number of them could not claim moderate-to-advanced proficiency any longer in the target AfL, and were thus not considered as part of the case sample, although their data was often useful for providing further context.

[209]During the sampling period, there were a total of 5 in-person interviews with AfL teachers. These were largely informal and – while providing interesting insights into their view of AfLL success – were principally of use (for the present study) to discover new case candidates.

4.2.1.3 Figure 3: Sampling and selection



4.2.2 Case selection

A total of 14 largely-successful case candidates initially populated the research sample. Of these, ten (10) were considered to be *bona fide* cases (with moderate-to-advanced proficiency), and four (4) were limit/extreme cases, due to one or two non-qualifying characteristics or lower quality data. Two (2) cases that were highly similar to others already in the sample were excluded from analysis, bringing the total case sample size down to 12. The twelve selected cases were then divided among the core and peripheral sample groups. All names given to selected cases are pseudonymous.

4.2.2.1 Core and peripheral case division

Duff claims that occasionally several "*focal* cases in qualitative research are also analyzed against the backdrop of a larger set of participants and data" (2007: 124, italics mine).[210] The idea of focal – henceforth *core* – cases alongside "the backdrop of a larger set of participants and data" offered an ideal way to expand the theoretical applicability of a multiple CS: improving its capacity for analytic generalisation, which requires both literal and theoretical (limit/extreme) case replication. In less dense language, this means that core cases could be contextualised, corroborated or challenged by findings from so-called *peripheral* cases.

In the context of multiple case studies, Duff asserts an upper limit of "up to six cases" for doctoral studies (2014: 237). Largely for reasons of space, Duff's recommendation was implemented: *six* core cases were selected from the total qualifying case candidate sample of 14. Given that multi-source data for each case was not collected,[211] I initially decided that an increase in case numbers was warranted, as I thought they could be feasibly reported, analysed and discussed. Despite earlier attempts to maintain eight (8) or even ten (10) core cases, it became apparent that Yin (2003) and (Duff, 2012) were correct in asserting that such numbers approaches the upper limit – whether because PhD word limitations prevent this, or because the methodological affordances of multiple CS (i.e. its potential for idiographic depth) decrease as it takes on proportions of a survey. Six core cases provided a decent balance between phenomenological variability and idiographic depth in terms of analysis and reporting in the main body of this thesis; a further six peripheral cases, fully reported in Appendix B:, served the purpose of analytic generalisation, and were justified on that basis.

The peripheral sample of cases primarily contains a number of so-called 'limit' or extreme cases that Yin would consider necessary for theoretical replication: all fail to satisfy

[210] She cites Kouritzen (1999) and Li (1998) as examples of this.
[211] Either being unavailable, or too difficult to obtain during the Covid-19 pandemic.

the core variable conditions of the research population as initially defined. Three are highly exceptional relative to the core sample: Johan (wrong era), Lily (non-South African), and Renée (wrong era[212] & race). One case, Peter, could be considered a *bona fide* member of the core sample, but due to his appearance in other recent scholarship, was relegated to the peripheral case sample.[213] Finally, the remaining two peripheral cases – Heather and Natasha – failed to satisfy the AfL fluency criterion, while still possessing AfL literacy: both achieved limited, meaningful AfLL success, but not the definition of success assumed by this thesis.

4.2.2.2 Case selection criteria

To ensure a synoptic view of the research phenomenon in all its possible forms, core case selection was aimed to maximise variability within the research phenomenon itself, rather than aiming for the most frequent members of the population who instantiated the phenomenon (Zach, 2006), which could skew towards certain genders or personality types.

Following the replication logic of experimental designs that Yin (2003) and Campbell & Yin (2018) attribute to multiple case studies, they note that "the logic underlying replication procedures also should reflect some theoretical interest, not just a prediction that two cases should simply be similar or different" (Ch. 2). The aim, therefore, was to "sample for contrasting cases or for variation, according to gender, proficiency level, […] among other possible variables" (Duff, 2012: 105), for "maximum variation or diversity" (Duff, 2014: 238). In light of the research population definition,[214] the cases of the study were purposively selected – after sampling – to maximise variation in the following: L1/cultural heritage;[215] context(s) of successful AfL acquisition;[216] gender/sex; target AfLs learnt.[217] This was a form of non-probabilistic selection, which is appropriate to a multiple CS design because it aims "to expand and generalise theories (analytic generalisation) and not to enumerate frequencies (statistical generalisation)" (Yin, 2003: 10). Selecting purely for frequency might have entailed that the final case sample only contained, for example, males from KwaZulu-Natal who had learnt isiZulu successfully; this would have prevented robust

[212] Renée is a complex case, as she began learning in the late apartheid era, but only made a major commitment decades later in the post-apartheid period.
[213] Many details of Peter's case are described in McIntosh (2018), in particular the conditions and capital gains of his AfL investment. Although he was willing to be identified by name, he did not request this from me (as he did from McIntosh). I have thus retained his pseudonym.
[214] See Definitions and Terminology.
[215] Afrikaner, English, or potentially with other European heritage (e.g. German).
[216] Geographically (rural environments, townships, or urban environments) or institutionally (formal learning contexts, e.g. school, or informal learning contexts, e.g. home-stay immersion).
[217] From the Nguni language group (isiZulu, isiXhosa, siSwati and isiNdebele), the Sotho language group (Sesotho, Setswana, Northern Sotho/Sepedi) or less common languages, i.e. Tshivenda and Xitsonga

theorisation about successful AfLL by wSAns in *general*. Duff (2007) makes the point that "[c]hoice is possible when more potential subjects than necessary respond" (116), and this was indeed the case, but it nonetheless did pose something of a dilemma when selecting the core sample. On the one hand, ought one to prioritise those who appeared most to exhibit the essential element of the phenomenon (high AfL proficiency)?[218] Or to prioritise gender parity, as the snowball sample – by no means a reflection of statistical frequencies – revealed a two discrepancies when controlling for gender: 1) a male-female divide in apparent language proficiency and 2) female participants only having learnt isiXhosa. While an initial attempt was made to select an equal number of male and female cases with high AfL proficiency as core cases, this was impossible, however, due to *all female* cases being learners of isiXhosa and a number of these not satisfying the success criterion to the degree desired. A compromise was therefore made, to utilise the peripheral sample to include further female cases (being too few) and decentre isiXhosa cases (too many). The final case sample is presented below, with peripheral cases shaded in grey.

4.2.2.3 Selected cases

Table 1: Selected Cases

Name	L1	AfL	Age (2020)	Gender	Began?	Approx. linguistic capital
Duncan	English	isiZulu	late 20s	Male	~2008	Very high
Bradley	English	isiZulu	early 30s	Male	~2008	(Very) high
Andrew	English	isiZulu	early 30s	Male	~1995	Very high
Ivan	Afrikaans	Sesotho	late 20s	Male	~2006	Very high
Carl	English	Setswana	early 30s	Male	~2012	Very high
Tanya	English	isiXhosa	mid 30s	Female	~2006	Moderate
Lily	German	isiXhosa	early 30s	Female	~2013	High
Heather	English	isiXhosa	mid 20s	Female	~2000	Moderate
Renée	Eng/Afrik	isiXhosa	late 40s	Female	~1987	Moderate-High
Johan	Afrik/Eng	isiXhosa	early 50s	Male	~1985	Highest
Peter	English	isiXhosa	late 30s	Male	~2004	High
Natasha	English	isiXhosa	early 30s	Female	~2000	Low-Moderate

[218] Any approximate proficiency moderate was deemed to be insufficiently fluent/proficient. This measure, highly imperfect (and thus of questionable reliability), is based on an overall sense of fluency/proficiency collectively gained from the granular details of each participant's reports of AfLL and subsequent use.

Biographical descriptions of each selected case, and an explanation of the formatting of case reports is provided prior to the conclusion of this chapter. The case selection criteria focused upon uniformity on the one hand: high AfL proficiency/fluency, being wSAn, ideally an equal male-female split; on the other hand, cases were also selected for maximal variation of AfL learned and L1 status. An analysis of the sample was performed regarding the salient variables, based the more in-depth Table 2: Investor Characteristics in Appendix G1 below.

Regarding L1s, it becomes immediately obvious that the overall sample is L1E-biased. It was not clear whether this was an issue of sampling or reflective of the paucity of L2AfLL in the Afrikaans-speaking wSAn population. Related to this, regarding target AfLs, isiXhosa and isiZulu predominate. This is likely a reflection of both sampling bias but also actual trends of wSAn L2AfLL, which are conditioned by demographically and geographically-dominant AfLs. In my role as researcher, I was well-positioned to find L2X participants, having developed contacts in the EC and WC, where isiXhosa predominates. I was also relatively well-placed to find L2Z participants for similar reasons – but less so with participants from non-coastal regions and thus other AfLs. This lack of sampling success (and thus ideal case selection) may be attributed to a lack of relevant social networks, reticence/lack of interest by most contacted AfL departments, likely due to the being an outside researcher during a pandemic and a correlation between larger AfLs and SLL.

Regarding sex,[219] all female case candidates interviewed (whether selected as cases or not) had learnt isiXhosa. Secondly, female participants tended to achieve lower levels of AfL proficiency relative to male participants, reflecting less exposure to AfL-medium environments relative to the male participants.[220] Regarding temporal conditions, the ages of case participants, generalised for anonymity purposes, were not selected for variation. The majority of the core case sample were in their late-20s to early-30s, a 5-year range, with birth years ranging from around 1988 to 1993. In this respect, they represent the late millennial generation, with some representation by earlier millennials with Tanya and Peter. Heather is the only case from Generation Z within the broader sample. In terms of chronology, the majority of core cases initiated major AfLL commitment between the mid-2000s and early 2010s (i.e. between 2006 and 2012), timing reflective of their generation's transition to independence, and perhaps other factors.[221]

[219] How generalisable these sex-differentiated findings are, beyond the case sample, is unknown, though will be the subject of discussion in the next chapter.
[220] This finding is articulated with the proviso that this study's assessment of AfL proficiency is subject to criticism, as it was ultimately a subjective weighing of indirect proficiency indicators.
[221] Discussed in section 8.1.2.1. Post-apartheid

4.2.3 Methods

Given the recognition that open-endedness is the "key strength of qualitative methods" from a CR perspective (McEvoy and Richards, 2006), the exploratory aims of the study were best served by interviews, which allowed unforeseen themes to emerge. The primary methods were thus two kinds of interview: exploratory and semi-structured. Initially, other methods had been planned, but were not utilised (see below). Interviews occurred in one of three ways: physically/in-person, remotely via video conferencing (Skype/Zoom), or via voice recordings (WhatsApp). Interviews provided an opportunity to elicit in-depth data on the research phenomenon; they have been commonly utilised in case study research beyond this study (Duff, 2012). As "co-constructed speech events" which yield "a partial representation of reality (or truth), a (re)construction of past events" (*ibid*: 110), they cannot be comprehensive or wholly accurate – both because of the vagaries of human memory, but also because researcher subjectivity intrudes; one becomes a "mediating co-participant" (*ibid*, 2014: 239) by focusing on what to elicit and how this is done, all of which powerfully influence the form and content of interviewee's utterances. Given postpositivist CR meta-theory, a "partial representation of reality" – while limited in these ways – is still deemed *sufficient* for the task of theorising, insofar as one uses the principles of judgmental rationality (consistency; congruence; cogency, etc), and insofar as there is no positive evidence or reason to believe that interviewees are misrepresenting the topic discussed. The pilot case study provided no evidence, and there seemed little reason for participants to misrepresent the why, how and nature of SLA *success*, which is by its nature public, and something contextually celebrated as an instantiation of "symmetrical multilingualism".

4.2.3.1 Informal exploratory interviews with AfL teachers

As already mentioned, in aid of the sampling process, data regarding the topic was obtained from AfL teachers, and in some instances, useful metadata (for participant recruitment) and contextualising data (of the research phenomenon) was provided. This occurred through exploratory interviews, of approximately one (1) hour in length. As is usual with exploratory interviews, open-ended questions were asked, and themes were pursued where relevant to the research phenomenon – from an etic, general perspective. Typical questions included:

> *Re: Sampling:* "Do you know any former students who have since gone on to become fluent/highly proficient in the AfL?"
>
> *Re: Constraining conditions:* "What are the challenges facing AfL education for L2 learners?"
>
> *Re: Enabling conditions:* "What kinds of things have worked in motivating/promoting AfLL success in your classroom?"

In all non-participant cases, these interviews were informal and not recorded. Handwritten and typed notes were made, however. Moreover, it occurred that three participants (AfL learners) were AfL teachers, whose general views on AfLL would occasionally (or often) emerge while relating their own experience of AfLL. Two of these were included as cases (Peter* and Bradley*) and the third was excluded as a case from the outset, due to providing negligible data on her own experience of AfL. Although this data is not specific to cases, it arguably provided a useful source of knowledge regarding the research phenomenon. Whether from notes, or coding from participant interviews that did not relate explicitly to their experience qua AfL learners (but rather as teachers), all data derived from these interviews were incorporated into the analysis.

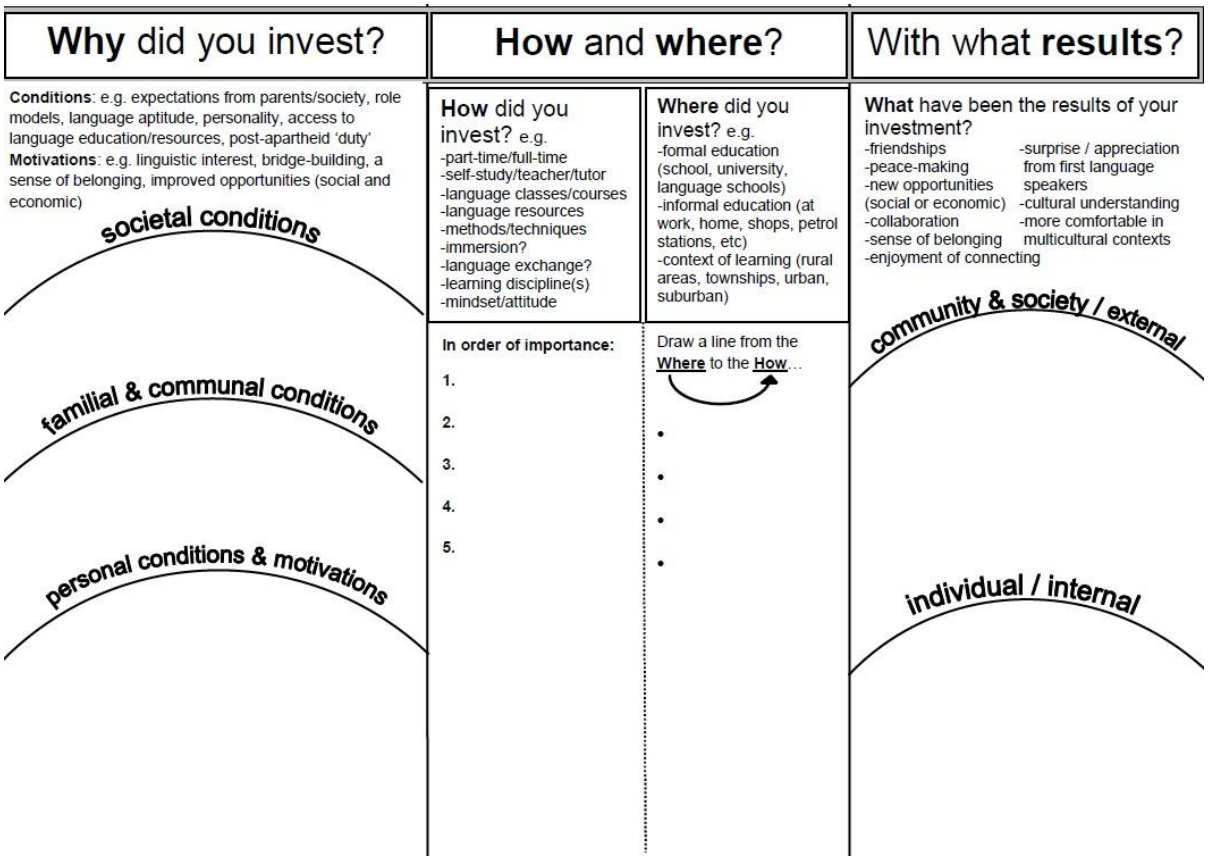
4.2.3.2 Semi-structured interviews with participants

Semi-structured interviews were used as the primary method of collecting data for each case (Flick, 2002). Semi-structured interviews were an ideal compromise between wholly unstructured or structured interviews, for they provide a level of specificity and background knowledge to the phenomenon (i.e. SLA), yet allowed the conversation to evolve (Flick, 2002). The semi-structure was facilitated by an instrument, originally developed as an additional method, which lived past its origin as a de-facto interview protocol.

4.2.3.2.1 The development of an interview protocol

Following the pilot and its suggestions for methodological design, a so-called 'L2 investment instrument' was developed for the study in 2019. This took the form of a single sided A4 page, structured with an investment arc, in line with the conceptualisation of L2 Investment at the time. As a form of graphic elicitation methods (Prosser and Loxley, 2008), the instrument was originally aimed to act as a concluding device for interviews, prompting participants to map out diagrammatically the arc of AfLL, including "antecedent conditions, motivations, contexts, modes, and capital return(s) of AfLL" (investment categories then emphasised). If it had been utilised as intended, this data elicitation method was to act as a conclusion to interviews, providing a summative visual representation of data already elicited in oral form. This would, theoretically, be "providing a basis for further interviewing and communication between researcher and participants" (Bagnoli, 2009: 548).

Figure 4: L2 Investment Instrument. *See Appendix E2 for a full-size version.*



This method was arguably suitable because, unlike in the purely oral elicitation stage of the interview, it would encourage participants to relate their stories to the idea of investment *explicitly*, aligning with the conceptual framing of the project. The conceptual constraints would prompt a different sort of creative process and associations that may not have been raised in the previous interview (Mason, 2006; Bagnoli, 2009). A visual method of this sort also provided an alternate mode of expression for participants who might be more fluent 'on the page' than they are verbally. The instrument was designed to take not more than fifteen minutes to complete.

In order to test the instrument's utility and conceptualisation, it was piloted with three successful L2 learners in Cambridge, England prior to fieldwork in SA.[222] Administration of the instrument largely failed, but it emerged as a helpful interview protocol to prompt interviewees regarding a range of potential aspects of their SLA arc.

[222] This included a L1 Dutch speaker who had learnt Japanese fluently; a L1 Mandarin speaker who learnt Italian fluently, and a L1 Polish speaker who learnt Hebrew fluently. Administration of the instrument involved interviewing these three participants regarding their L2 learning arc, with an attempted administration of the instrument at the conclusion. In the first interview, it became apparent that as formulated, the instrument would not fit as a conclusion for the interviews, for this would require the participant to repeat themselves on paper, and likely engender frustration at (perceived) superfluity. It was used in the latter two interviews as an interview prompt or protocol on which I occasionally made notes, and towards which I occasionally drew the participants attention. This appeared to be more fit-for-purpose.

The instrument-*cum*-protocol helped provide guidance for more in-depth questions where answers seemed short or incoherent. As such, it became a visible training and notation instrument for myself as interviewer, and a means of providing contemporaneous re-presentation of the interviewee's language learning journey which they could then comment on as I proceeded to ask more pointed questions.[223] It was used in this way for in-person interviews in the main study, but with the onset of covid-19, online interviews meant that the instrument was invisible to interviewees, though still acting as a loose-but-structured protocol for questions.

4.2.3.2.2 Semi-structured interview prompts

Given the research topic could be described as a single thing (an 'arc' or 'story'), the initial question could be highly unstructured and exploratory:

> "Please tell me how you came to be a successful AfL learner – what did you do to learn, and where did this take place? How did you buck the trend by actually becoming fluent?"
> "What made you start learning an AfL?"
> "How did you actually learn, once you started?"
> "What have the results been of your AfLL?"

If the course of the interview veered too far off the path of relevance, more specific questions would be asked:

> "To what extent did your parents/guardians influence your investment in AfLL?"
> "Since you've achieved success in AfLL, how has your life changed? Was the change sudden? Was it noticeable?"
> "How do AfL speakers respond to you?"

Over the course of the sampling period, interviews with recruited participants and other informants occurred. Interviews were typically between 1 hour and 1.5 hours in length, and they differed according to whether held in-person, remotely (via Zoom/Skype), or in a couple cases, voice recordings (vis WhatsApp).

4.2.3.3 Impact of covid-19 pandemic

The onset of the covid-19 pandemic in March 2020 caused a number of changes in the methodology, both intentional and not. At the outset, a self-reflexive 'researcher case' was planned as a further 'replication' of the research phenomenon. This required considerably more AfLL (specifically isiXhosa) than had already been accomplished. Although a short period of immersion was attempted in Jan 2020 with plans to continue in April, the pandemic

[223] As a worksheet or questionnaire administered without an accompanying interview, it may work well as a tool to elicit data.

soon made this impossible.[224] Furthermore, 'confirmatory interviews' for the core sample were also dropped, as it became apparent that 'member checking' would be sufficient to confirm the data initially provided via interviews, and my interpretation thereof. Finally, the planned focus groups with core participants regarding the nature of successful AfLL – somewhat outside the purview of the multiple CS *per se* – was also dropped. Over time, the original rationale for the focus groups was undermined, because it became clear that relevant data for the study did not include participants' personal opinions on how AfLL *ought* to occur.[225] Discovering the empirical or evidential basis for successful AfLL was foregrounded as a priority in this study, and ongoing reflection on the dynamics that a focus group might produce rendered the prospect more effort than was warranted, given the uncertainty of acquiring any useful data thereby.

4.2.4 Data preparation and analysis

4.2.4.1 Transcription of interviews

Interview data was recorded either via a voice recorder app on a mobile phone (for in-person interviews), or via the native recording function in Zoom/Skype. These recordings were converted to a smaller size, and then uploaded into Otter.AI, an automatic, speech-to-text transcription service. This provided a passable, though error-ridden transcript. Although the majority of interviews were in English, the AI-produced transcription rendered words like "Xhosa" as "course" or even "Coursera". Consider the following bolded words, with correct words in parenthesis:

> Carl: "I mean, I hadn't looked at, you know, **satanic** grammar textbooks" (*Setswana*)
> Carl: "I did get some **sunshine and** books from the library" (*Setswana*)
> MWJ: "Okay, and any like, **syphilis way**?" (*Isolezwe*, a newspaper)

The basic Otter.AI transcriptions were thus exported and comprehensively error-checked and corrected using a conventional, web-browser-based offline transcription tool (otranscribe.com). Approximately 2.5 hours/per hour of recording was required to complete transcription. Outsourcing of this process was initially attempted, but on review, this was counterproductive, and effectively all transcription was completed by myself *qua* researcher, partially as an aid to reflection upon, and familiarity with, the case data. Where AfLs were

[224] The necessity of Zoom tutoring in isiXhosa – rather than immersion in an L1X community – was insufficiently motivating to continue.
[225] This was often mixed up with relevant (experiential) data, particularly in the case of those who were also AfL teachers. Relevant data related to what participants actually did, thought, felt: their approach to AfLL at the time, their behaviours, their experiences. A focus group was likely to provide a refinement of opinion regarding each participant's 'philosophy of AfLL', and an illustration of how individual differences impact different views on ideal AfLL – but not necessarily provide deeper insight into what actually *produced* successful AfLL.

used by interviewees, the majority of utterances were in isiXhosa and isiZulu, which I was able to translate myself, or translations were provided by participants themselves.

Turn-by-turn transcription was followed, aiming for readability and representing the gist over detailed reporting of (mis)spoken utterances and other metalinguistic data such as pauses. Given the aims and research questions of the study – focusing on the thematic content of AfLL rather than its discourse, it was deemed analytically counterproductive to include paraverbal information except where relevant to meaning (Duff, 2007). Completed transcripts, saved as MS Word documents, were then analysed. Excerpts of transcribed interviews are included in Appendix E5.

4.2.4.2 Data Analysis

4.2.4.2.1 Intra-case analysis

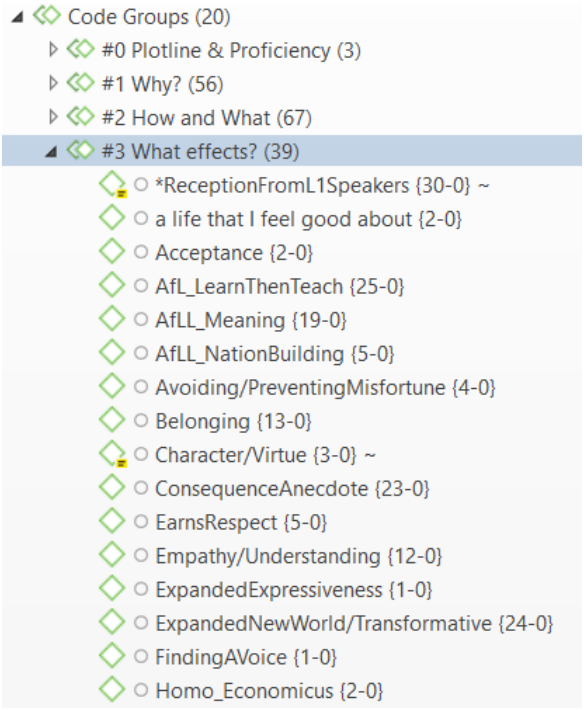


Figure 5: Code categorisation

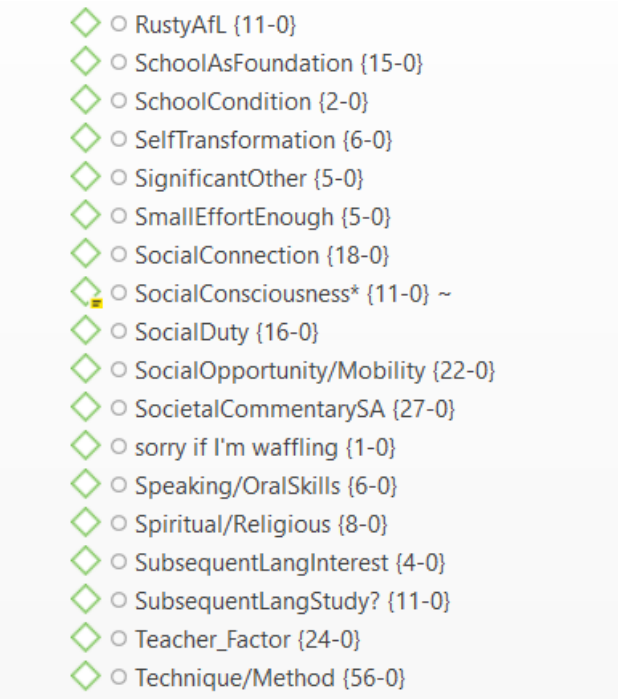


Figure 6: Example codes

Analysis was aided greatly through the use of computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS), namely Atlas.TI. Content/thematic analysis was conducted, which involved initial open coding, amalgamation through selective coding, and a final stage of reassembling selected codes into overall themes (Flick, 2002). Codes proliferated at first, describing anything in the data that was conceivably relevant to the research topic. This was followed by a gradual reduction and simplification of codes ("selective coding"). For example, in Figure 5 above, the codes SocialDuty and SocialConsciousness were effectively

merged, and both nested within the 'Why?' code group/category, referring to L2 Investment conditions and catalysts. Each element of the L2 Investment arc acted as a broad category.

Having completed coding, the resulting 'codings' (sets of data excerpts with the same code) were exported into a spreadsheet (MS Excel). These code & quote blocks were reorganised according to themes which emerged for each participant: one-liners were formulated, which incorporated similar codes into a coherent whole. Once the code-quote blocks were rearranged under a thematic heading, the resulting spreadsheet data was exported into a word processor (MS Word). Each thematic set of code-quote blocks – see Appendix E5.6 for examples – were written up into paragraphs, each nested within the relevant stage of L2 Investment; blocks relating to the participants' biography and AfLL timeline were written into investor profiles, providing a general introduction to each participant and their AfLL plotline. These were done without using the L2 Investment frame initially, in order to present as clear as possible the arc of SLA in each case. While brief case vignettes are given in section 4.4.2 below, elaborated versions may be viewed in Appendix A: for core cases and the relevant sections in Appendix B: for peripheral cases.

4.2.4.2.2 Cross-case analysis

Having written up individual case reports, the use of a case table (Yin, 2003) provided a helpful analytical tool in which information from multiple cases was represented as a series of variables. While the full case table was too large to be represented, the table was divided into multiple separate tables detailing case specific elements of the L2 Investment framework, all of which may be viewed in Appendix G:. Distillation of the data into a case table helped to identify the overall shape of AfLL in each case as well as revealing patterns across cases, most clearly expressed in Table 11: Correlates of linguistic capital gains. In practical terms, after having reduced the qualitative data to symbolic or numeric form within the case table, emergent patterns were noted within each column (representing the various granular aspects of the SLA arc/L2 Investment emergent within the data); these patterns were verbally articulated as comments in the margins. Later, these were collated together and written up as paragraphs, bound together by relevant threads.

The process of creating the case table helped to systematise aspects of the L2 Investment conceptual frame that were, at the outset, vague and under-specified. It was rendered thereby into something more akin to a theoretical framework for SLA: the basis for theorising (un)successful L2AfLL, L2ILL and SLA more generally. While the cross-case table was being created, certain variables commended themselves as being relevant –

particularly within the concepts of ‘discipline’ and ‘modality’ – and were made explicit in the table. Emergent concepts were articulated as being relevant, like ‘major’ and ‘minor’ commitment’, the presence of hiatuses, role-models, whether there was language upkeep or improvement, intra or extramural proximal immersion, and so on. As relevant variables and patterns emerged across some cases, the absence of these in other cases was made apparent. Moreover, elements vaguely included during conceptualisation of the L2 Investment frame, e.g. the personal condition of prior zookairotic capital, were related to case data in ways not foreseen but productive: both the presence *and* absence of such capital was considered, an affordance of table-based data representation. This subsequently directed analytical focus to a deeper level.

Having completed the case table and cross-case analysis, wherever the results revealed distinct patterns across cases, these patterns were analysed and reduced to the underlying factors for each pattern within a subsequent table, and organised according to the extent to which they correlated with the primary criterion of L2 Investment success – linguistic capital gains. Patterns included, for example, the typical age range & initial modality of AfL investors; the extent to which socio-structural or personal conditions were ideal; the typical kinds of motivation exhibited; overall modalities of a case; the extent of academic modalities followed; which transgressive modality was primary – and so on. Some of these patterns overlapped conceptually (e.g. motivation being nested within ideal personal conditions), but their inclusion provided a level of granularity otherwise impossible. However, it must be emphasised that all these patterns are the product of a reduction, to greater or lesser degree, and thus any overall findings are also the product of researcher-subjective error, reduction and interpretation.

The analysis was done visually, as presented in Table 11: Correlates of linguistic capital gains. For each pattern, several rows were allocated according to the varying degrees or qualities of that pattern. Where each case (a column) matched a pattern variable, the relevant cell was highlighted. After having completed this process for all patterns and all cases, clusters of similar cases became visually apparent: use of the term ‘cluster’ ought not to be read as formal cluster analysis (a statistical procedure). These clusters were interpreted as representing underlying factors that explained the categorical or ordinal boundaries of the pattern (depending on the variable type). Each cluster-factor was then visually compared to the linguistic gains pattern, and examined regarding the extent to which it matched and whether exceptions were present or lacking. On this basis, it was deemed to be significant or

not (i.e. a positive or negative correlation). Some patterns – like the extent of academic modalities to which investors committed – appeared to be irrelevant/uncorrelated to success, as this varied wildly across the cases.

This final analysis, which drew together all three main elements of the L2 Investment arc – conditions, commitment and capital gains – formed the basis for the theory of L2AfLL success discussed in Chapter 8.

Section 4.3 - Validity, reliability & ethics

Duff (2007) makes it clear the importance of one's "epistemological stance", which affects research in its entirety. Thus, she maintains that "evaluative criteria also vary to some extent according to ontological assumptions", highlighting in particular the objective-subjective reality dichotomy. She contends, however, that "some general principles related to validity apply" (180). Issues of validity and reliability, central to the practice of research in the natural sciences and typically aligned with quantitative, experimental methods, do not translate *neatly* into case study methodology (Thomas, 2011). A critical realist approach does not shy away from the language of positivism, for example Yin's (2003; Campbell & Yin, 2018) view that multiple CS is sufficiently analogous with quantitative, experimental research to justify use of typical criteria of validity and reliability. As has been stated from the outset, a central assertion of CR is that phenomena like the one under investigation (post-apartheid wSAn AfLL) has *objective* features, the outlines of which can (ideally) be triangulated from multiple subjective sources. Yet simultaneously it aims to remain *critical* of what can be stated as 'truth' or 'fact', given the qualitative nature of the research, here aligning with interpretivist approaches. The assertion of an objective ontology along with a subjective epistemology means that traditionally-positivist terms like 'reliability' and 'validity' are accepted and utilised, even while some equivalent interpretivist categories are viewed as relevant, for example, Guba's (1981) measure of 'trustworthiness', which subsumes criteria like 'dependability' and 'credibility'. In what follows below, validity, reliability, credibility, as well as any ethical issues in the study are discussed.

4.3.1 Validity

'External' validity may be understood as the extent to which the findings may be applied more generally, i.e. generalised (Yin, 2003). In relation to this concern, the core selection of cases has been made to engage in "literal replication" of the core research phenomenon, understanding the ontology of L2AfLL success. Beyond the core sample's male-dominance, this was offset in part by inclusion of the peripheral sample in cross-case analysis, providing

insights into gendered AfLL and better approximating the male-female split of the wSAn research population at large. This has been done to prevent the most frequent or purely random variable patterns from dominating the selection process. As survey data regarding the frequency or extent of L2AfLL does not exist, thus the observed frequencies and patterns within the case candidate sample (pre-selection) cannot be generalised as representative of the population of wSAn L2AfLL at large. As a result, the case selection actively attempted to mitigate against this, while preserving the central variable of high proficiency/fluency as the outcome of learning. Because the theory developed across the *selected* cases aims to account for successful AfLL equally across gender, multiple AfLs, and multiple kinds of L2 Investment arc, this differentiation arguably contributes to the findings' external validity – how much is debatable, and dependent upon further testing and (dis)confirmation.

It might be argued that external validity is impossible to achieve because the research population and indeed phenomenon, as defined, cannot be conceived as unitary 'things', due to significant variability within the research population itself (alluding to the differences between L1E and L1A speakers, or framed alternately, between English and Afrikaner settler cultures). Another objection might be that there is no uniformity in the sociolinguistic conditions of the nine AfLs, across axes of language groups on the one hand and majority/minority languages on the other: learning a majority (Nguni) language like isiXhosa or isiZulu as an L2 is potentially entirely different from learning a minority AfL like Tshivenda or Xitsonga. In response to these objections, which are concerned ultimately about the validity of the topic *per se*, the categories 'wSAn' and '(South African) AfLs' are unitary by virtue of the course of history: apartheid. The topic is therefore valid insofar as it recognises apartheid's construction of sociolinguistic and educational realities that linger on in the post-apartheid era. Moreover, the inclusion of limit cases – e.g. a foreign white L2AfL learner, a non-white L2AfL learner, was a direct attempt to find the borders of the research phenomenon.

'Internal' validity refers to the extent to which the findings fit the data collected, i.e. it asks the questions: 'Are conclusions derived from the data warranted?' The issues of self-report data being somewhat unreliable, and potentially overly subjective (due to mediation by memory) are unavoidable – given the paucity of data collected for each case. As already discussed earlier, a longitudinal study would have overcome the single-data-source-per-case limitation. Data from teachers and other associated individuals involved in participants' AfLL could be easily collected, the actual AfLL process could be observed, and periodic interviews with the participant regarding the arc of their learning would enable a more robust

triangulation of the factors involved in AfL acquisition. Considering the design as implemented, insofar as the findings are more or less internally valid, this principally derives from member checks (Duff, 2007) – where case participants were requested to review their case reports, thereby increasing accuracy and consensus on the interpretation of their AfLL data (Campbell & Yin, 2018: 240).

4.3.2 Reliability

Reliability, which overlaps with internal validity in some respects, may be defined as "the extent to which other researchers would arrive at similar results if they studied the same case using exactly the same procedures as the first researcher" (Gall *et al*, 2003: 635). This invokes Yin's replication/experimental logic of multiple CS, with a focus on objective "procedures", something which Duff (2007) characterises as positivist. In a purely qualitative, interview-based study – if one used such a definition – reliability would (at least) *partially* unreliable, because of the inherent heuristic biases of the researcher(s) involved.

4.3.2.1 Subjectivity: perceptual and analytical biases

Much has been written on the partial unreliability of qualitative findings, due to the inevitable subjectivity of researcher and participants, implying idiomatic perceptual and analytical biases (Merriam, 1998; Duff, 2007). What Duff (2007) calls "standpoint epistemologies" – which are "especially unapologetic about the nature of subjective experience or judgments" (56) – is something this study seeks to avoid. Such forms of epistemology are inappropriately reductive, stressing certain heuristic factors, spurning scientific impartiality in favour of narrow and necessarily exclusive sociopolitical worldviews. While acknowledging the reasoning for taking a standpoint – usually emancipation – CR (as the name implies) is aimed at finding *reality* first and foremost, not emancipatory *perspectives* about reality.

Nonetheless, subjectivity – principally of myself, as the researcher, has not been "seen as a failing needing to be eliminated but as an essential element of understanding" (Stake, 1995: 45). As far as possible throughout the Results and Discussion chapters, Stake's (1995) injunction to avoid "subjective misunderstandings (45) has been prioritised, what Duff (2007) calls "try[ing] to disconfirm one's own interpretations" (56). One methodological enabler of this was the inclusion of Yin's (2003; 2018) "theoretical replication," which targets exceptional, non-conforming cases that necessarily test the reliability and validity of any theory derivative of the literal replication phase.

A few topic-specific points are relevant, here. Given that the phenomenon is seldom (if ever) deemed ethically problematic or dubious by participants themselves (more on this in the final section below), intentional misrepresentation is unlikely. Unwitting misrepresentation – due to forgetfulness, or inarticulate speech – remains an issue. But this is an issue even with large-scale self-report data for surveys: as such, the issue is endemic to social science research, and not a particular issue in this study. Moreover, it would be unfair to *assume* the unreliability of participants' own perception and analysis of their AfLL experiences: if this were a temporally *brief* phenomenon, in which the principal causal factors and variable relationships were obscured due to near contemporaneity, then suspicion might be warranted. However, given the phenomenon of AfLL has in all cases taken multiple years and often a great deal of intentional effort, there has been ample time for participants to identify for themselves the main factors in successful learning. If this is granted, then given the specific temporal and behaviour nature of the topic/research phenomenon, the self-report data from participants is likely to be reliable.

4.3.2.2 Reliability of research process

A weaker, but more appropriate definition focuses on "*consistency* in sampling, interviewing, and data analysis procedures" (Duff, 2007: 178) but not necessarily complete uniformity in results if another researcher were to replicate methodological procedures. From this perspective – and beyond the covid-19 pandemic-related need to move from in-person to remote interviews – the sampling and data analysis procedures were consistent across all cases. As already mentioned in relation to internal validity, the process of reviewing cases with participants – member checks – mitigates against over- and under-emphases in the analysis of cases, also serving to bridge unaddressed knowledge gaps in each case's AfLL arc.

Moreover, by analysing participants' AfLL 'plotline' without attempting to use the L2 Investment framework, and writing this up prior to deeper analysis of each case, a safeguard was introduced: this basic AfLL plotline acted as a semi-independent data source against which subsequent analysis could be compared; it was possible to identify where there was congruence and plausibility in each case's arc of AfLL, without confusion arising from use of the L2 Investment metaphor. Although by no means as reliable as introducing another independent data source for triangulating intra-case data, synthesising the initial plotlines required a recursive process of reviewing the data, in order to re-present it at higher and

lower levels of specificity: arguably increasing the likelihood of accurate, reliable representation of case data.

Finally, the results of the study – all of which builds towards a general theory of successful wSAn AfLL, rather than attempting to reliably interpret or theorise individual cases thereof – may be understand as reliable simply due to the fact of that multiple cases of the same phenomenon serve to triangulate the core features of that phenomenon: a form of 'theoretical triangulation from multiple cases'. Because multiple data sources for each case were difficult or impossible to obtain (given the data parameters and added difficulty of the covid-19 pandemic outlined elsewhere), in terms of the nature of successful wSAn L2AfLL, each case represents a wholly independent source of data, and aided in triangulating the core features of this phenomenon. Another researcher, faced with the same set of cases, could hardly fail to identify the more obvious commonalities and unique aspects of the individual cases when analysed together. Multiple case-specific analyses, insofar as the basic facts and mechanisms have been identified, will contribute to a far more robust cross-case analysis.

4.3.2.3 Researcher Credibility

Credibility (Guba, 1981; Zach, 2006) appears to some relevance for the study's overall validity and reliability. My subjective, personal knowledge of the AfLL investment arc arguably serves, at the level of data collection and interaction with participants, to establish greater credibility or trustworthiness as a researcher of this topic. In other words, knowledge of an AfL and the learning process – a kind of practical wisdom or *phronesis* (Thomas, 2011) – may improve interpersonal rapport with participants as well as probing, relevant questioning during interviews:[226] thereby improving the quality and trustworthiness of data elicited (proxies, in this case, for construct validity). Duff (2007) avers the importance of

> recogniz[ing] that researchers are themselves participants or instruments and are also learners in projects, and they should not pretend to be dispassionate, arms-length, impersonal, and invisible research agents. They must acknowledge their role and presence and then try to understand how it might have inadvertently affected the kinds of data collected and interpretations made. (173)

At the level of analysis, my non-negligible experience of L2AfLL arguably improved the assessment of participant's claims regarding their success, or put differently, such emic knowledge enabled a greater sensitivity for discerning the underlying mechanisms of

[226]This serves to "establish [one's] connections to the target languages and communities, … status as an insider or outsider, as someone who understands the experiences or language backgrounds of the participants based on [one's] own prior SLA, for example, and … possible investment in this topic and population/sample" (Duff, 2012: 106).

successful investment in wSAn AfLL for each case, thus potentially increasing the internal (analytic) validity of the study. Furthermore, the fact that my own AfLL was stymied – success as defined *was not achieved* – left me epistemologically humble regarding the ingredients of contemporary wSAn AfLL success. Failing to achieve fluency in isiXhosa was not intended at the outset, but it potentially provided a measure of objectivity towards the central factors in participants' success. Reliability is thus arguably increased through the methodological intersection of *emic* and *etic* perspectives on the research phenomenon, enabled through my own attempts to instantiate AfLL success.

4.3.3 Ethics

4.3.3.1 Ethics of research methodology

To ensure that ethical responsibilities were upheld towards participants, the following ethical aspects of the research are relevant, as formulated in the BERA guidelines (2018). *Voluntary informed consent* (Diener and Crandall, 1978) was obtained from participants before data collection. All recruited participants in the study were adults, who participated in their personal (non-institutional) capacity. Participants had the *right to withdraw* consent and cease participation at any time, and were informed of this prior to data collection (Duff, 2007: 147). An information sheet was drawn up (see Appendix E3), in which participants were made aware of

> what the study is about, what the procedures or methods are, how much time is required, what risks or benefits are entailed in participating, how privacy or confidentiality (anonymity) will be ensured ... (Duff, 2007: 146-7)

As far as possible, *transparency* about the nature and aims of the research was pursued; non-disclosure of these details has been avoided (BERA, 2018). Initially, when interviews were in-person, written consent was obtained (see Appendix E4). Later, when remote, virtual interviews commenced, verbal consent for recording of data was obtained, as written consent forms were impractical. Participants' anonymity has been preserved, with pseudonyms being used during the reporting stage, and certain identifying details being removed (Duff, 2007), unless they explicitly requested this not be the case. Data was treated carefully to protect their privacy, using mechanisms like password protection and encryption, avoiding unsafe storage on portable devices. Finally, the case participants were invited to check the resulting case reports, and were informed how the research would be disseminated.

4.3.3.2 Ethics of research topic

Researching language in a country like SA, with its history of ethnolinguistic division, *prima facie* has the potential to tap into taboos of history: whether by causing offence, or eliciting offensive opinions, both of which would have implications for research praxis. Hill & May (2013) raise the question of the ethical implications of being a non-indigenous researcher working in the context of indigenous language education. Their focus is on L1/heritage ILL, however, where the research population or participants would be indigenous people (specifically, Maori in New Zealand). If one were to accept the (postmodern) ethical premises of their paper, then researching ILL from a non-indigenous perspective *does* require a revision of scholarly values and emphases. However, research on non-heritage L2ILL would largely sidestep this issue, as it is a level removed from actual engagement with indigenous people and their linguaculture.

The specific nature of the topic, which was hypothesised as being (and hitherto presented in public discourse) as a contextual social good, was not viewed as a provocation or occasion for offence by any case candidates. At the outset, I expected to be met by moderate pride and enthusiasm – which was in fact the case, particularly where high or very high linguistic capital were achieved. Nothing harmful, however defined, resulted from the research. The responses to sampling attempts were almost all positive.[227] In terms of data collection, at no point was the content of interviews thematically problematic. In some instances, questions regarding the participants' racialised experience in SA were asked, either explicitly or implicitly: participants were generally open on these questions, although their individual ideological stances affected the extent to which they reported positivity/negativity regarding the reception of successful AfLL by L1AfL speakers. Some emphasised that positive receptions as embarrassing or inappropriate, given their belief that AfLL by wSAns 'ought' to be normal rather than abnormal. In terms of my own approach to research ethics, a hermeneutics of trust rather than suspicion prioritised reporting the reported intentions of participants rather than attempting to read systemic racial ideologies into their behaviour and discourse, or to over-problematise power-relations. This would have distracted from the pragmatic, applied aims of the research.[228]

[227] One case candidate did aver, however, that using Zoom as a remote interview service was naïve and offensive, given the alleged lack of privacy on the platform.

[228] The aims are best served by focusing on successful learning behaviour and its applications and less by focusing on the discursive landscape surrounding this, as McIntosh (2018) does, given her non-applied, anthropological framing of the L2ILL research phenomenon.

Section 4.4 - Case reporting

4.4.1 Case Reporting Format

Campbell & Yin (2018: 284) present three alternative case report formats for multiple case studies. The first format presents each successive case report in its entirety as a single chapter or section, along with a final cross-case chapter. The second "question-and-answer" format is similar, although the reporting flow is broken by repeated questions across each case.[229] The third format does not involve the composition or reporting of unitary case reports. Rather, aspects of each case are reported together, according to structuring themes, dependent on the topic or framework used; cross-case analysis is integrated within this format.[230]

As an aim of this study was to theorise the phenomenon of successful L2AfLL – as framed by L2 Investment – a decision was taken to combine the first and third formats, due to insights from an initial attempt to utilise the first case reporting format,[231] and the fundamental nature of L2 Investment/the arc of SLA. Had the first format been utilised, the emphasis would have remained on the unique arc of individual L2AfL *investors* – as opposed to the investor-independent phenomenon they exhibit. By using the 'structuring theme' of L2 Investment elements (i.e. conditions, commitment and capital gains), previously-unitary case reports – examples may be found in Appendix B: – were modularised and spliced according to these three elements, rendering the focus on the phenomenon of *investment* rather than investors *per se*. Given that data coding was itself based on a tripartite L2 Investment frame, these 'modularised case reports' did not go against the grain of the data. Another way of characterising the case reporting format of this multiple CS is that it amounts to the combination of three nested multiple case studies, each composed according to the first case report format described above; each 'nested' chapter focuses on a separate stage of the SLA/L2 Investment arc.

Within each of these L2 Investment stage-specific chapters, the modularised case reports have been ordered according to salient case-differentiating features for that L2 Investment stage: the primary catalysts for AfLL (5: Conditions); the extent of formal

[229] For this format, Campbell & Yin give the example of National Commission on Neighborhoods (1979), *People, Building Neighborhoods.*
[230] Examples of such a format include Kaufman (1981) or Brinton (1938).
[231] The first format was attempted in an earlier version of this thesis; it became apparent that the comparative intention of the case study was compromised by such a reporting format. Each stage of the L2 Investment arc is easily considered apart from the others: The factors for 'why' L2 Investment occurs are semi-independent from the factors governing 'how' it occurs: both the 'why' and 'how' of L2 Investment are semi-independent from the consequences of its occurrence. To traverse all three stages of an L2 investor's arc, case by case, arguably did not serve the cross-case analytical aims of the study; it was the wrong unit of analysis.

academic AfL education (6: Commitment); and the extent of linguistic capital gains (7: Capital Gains). Although in an earlier draft there was a separate cross-case chapter, this was reorganised into three cross-case analysis sections placed at the end of each chapter, relevant to that specific chapter's stage of L2 Investment. While this outline for case reporting holds for chapters 5 (Conditions) and 6 (Commitment), in the final results chapter (7: Capital Gains), the reporting format diverges: linguistic capital gains are examined on a casuistic basis, but as capital gains from L2AfL investment beyond linguistic capital were highly variable, the remaining findings were combined *across cases* for ease of presentation and integrated into the chapter's cross-case analysis section.

Unless specified otherwise, all double quotation marks in the following three Results chapters indicate actual utterances by the respective case participants where the quote is being made; inverted commas, when not quoted, are mine as the researcher. An attempt has been made to integrate case data into the text for the sake of argumentative flow, while periodically quoting lengthier excerpts in order to let the voices of case participants to emerge.

4.4.2 Case Vignettes

Given that the coherence of individual cases of L2 Investment is diminished by a modularised case reporting format, Campbell & Yin suggest that case summaries or "abbreviated vignettes" be included in order to strengthen the reader's sense of the individual cases (2018: 283); this has been provided below. If insufficient to give an adequate feel for each case, *less* abbreviated descriptions of each case are provided in Appendix A: for the core cases, and Appendix B:, under 'Investor Profile' for each peripheral case. Case titles have been linked accordingly. Each case participant has been given a title suggestive of their biography, personality, vocation, learning approach or another memorable detail of their L2 Investment arc.[232] All names are pseudonymous.

4.4.2.1 Core cases

Duncan: the groove maker | An L1E male in his late 20s, Duncan has gained a very high degree of linguistic capital in isiZulu. After being obsessed with Zulu culture and music as a boy, he acquired a grammatical foundation in isiZulu during high school, which was then converted into oral fluency due to a circumstantial accident: sustained mentorship by a L1Z musical collaborator.

[232] One should not read too deeply into these titles, as their sole purpose is to render each case participant more vivid in the reader's memory – to provide a handle for differentiation among the multiple cases.

Bradley: the "chaos" bringer | An L1E male in his early 30s, Bradley learned isiZulu to high level of linguistic capital. He began L2AfLL rather late – during university – but gradually achieved fluency through extensive interaction with isiZulu mediators and exposure to isiZulu media.

Andrew: the truth speaker | An L1E male in his early 30s, Andrew* was likely the most fluent L2AfL speaker within the core sample. He learned isiZulu academically from primary to tertiary levels of education; this was integrated into habitual informal interactions with Zulu people, leading to success.

Ivan: the academic achiever | An L1 male in his late 20s, Ivan* was the only L1A speaker among the core sample. His proficiency in Setswana (also unique within the sample) reached a very high level, and this was acquired largely within the walls of academic educational institutions, where he was well-taught and made a habit out of language exchange with L1 Sesotho peers at school.

Carl: the immersed enquirer | an L1E male in his early 30s, Carl* was the only case who learnt Setswana (and to a very high degree of linguistic capital); he did so wholly informally in a semi-rural environment, learning from colleagues and students at the school where he was teaching English.

Tanya: the intentional lawyer | an L1E female in her mid-thirties, Tanya* gained a moderate degree of linguistic capital in isiXhosa by the time of the interview, largely informally through rural immersion. Her AfLL journey was unusual in that it was stymied for a decade; yet despite, or perhaps due to this intermission, she eventually made a commitment to learning isiXhosa still in process.

4.4.2.2 Peripheral Cases

Lily: the foreign researcher | The first limit/extreme case is Lily*, a foreign, L1 German-speaking female in her early 30s. She learned isiXhosa to a moderate-high level with a highly translingual emphasis. She did so primarily during graduate research through urban and township immersion, alongside university-based language mentorship and tuition.

Heather: the activist teacher | An L1E female in her mid-20s, *Heather achieved an est. moderate level of linguistic capital gains in isiXhosa, due to extensive formal education in the language as well as informal consolidation through rural immersion; a haitus from language maintenance, beyond that gained from teaching the language at an introductory level, led to an attribution of lower linguistic capital at the time of the interview.

Renée: the non-white learner | Renée was the only voicenote-interviewed participant making it into the sample: there was less data on her AfLL experience relative to other cases. As a non-white female with a L1E upbringing, by her mid-late 40s she had achieved a moderate-high level of fluency in isiXhosa, primarily via rural immersion – after a lengthy learning intermission between taking the language in high school during the final years of apartheid.

Johan: the conscientious objector | As the eldest participant in the sample who began learning in the mid-1980s (i.e. during apartheid), Johan, a L1E&A male in his late 50s, appeared to be exceptionally fluent in within the context of an already-exceptional sample. He avoided any institutional or formal tuition in isiXhosa, which he learned 'stubbornly' via rural and township immersion.

Peter: the skinny teacher | Peter, an isiXhosa teacher in his late 30s, was born in the early 80s – generationally an 'old millennial'. He learned isiXhosa informally to a high level of linguistic capital gains, initially through rural immersion, and later within a city/township context. Compared to other cases, he is the earliest successful L2AfL learner within the sample from the post-apartheid era.

Natasha: the respectful listener | The final peripheral case, Natasha, grew up L1E-speaking in a predominantly Xhosa area. She achieved a functional fluency in isiXhosa through academic study, preceded by unintentional passive language acquisition, but now in her early 30s (2020), she is arguably more *literate* than she is *fluent*: lack of language maintenance has caused her productive spoken abilities to fall away.

Chapter conclusion

This chapter has described the initial methodological design parameters emerging from the research topic, and a description of CS and more specifically, multiple CS methodology. Its implementation has been described, including details on sampling, case selection, methods of data collection, data preparation and analysis. The study's validity, reliability and ethics was then discussed. Having done so, in preparation for the Results chapters, a description and justification of the formatting of case reports is provided, along with brief descriptions of each case.

Chapter 5
Conditions for L2AfLL

Chapter synopsis

This chapter, the first of three chapters presenting the results of the multiple CS, details the factors that conditioned and catalysed each case of L2AfL investment. Case reports have been organised according to two main catalysts evidenced in the core sample: 1) guardian investment (Andrew, Duncan and Tanya), and 2) circumstantial accidents (Bradley, Ivan, and Carl). In Section Section 5.3, the results of cross-case analysis regarding L2 Investment conditions are presented.

Section 5.1 – Cases of parental investment

Half the core cases were beneficiaries of significant investment in the conditions for AfLL by their guardians, and this arguably catalysed their AfLL – immediately, in Andrew's case, or postponed, in Duncan and Tanya's cases. As the term might suggest, guardian investment occurs exclusively in cases where the L2AfL investor is a child or teenager, i.e. prior to a relatively stable sense of self. The IL2S and OL2S constructs appear particularly salient in these cases, as processes of self-identification occur alongside AfLL. Guardian, specifically parental investment, took two main forms: linguacultural and sociopolitical. While these are conceptually-blunt qualifiers, and in fact overlap, the former emphasises guardians' affective promotion of indigenous African language and culture, while the latter emphasises guardians' normative promotion of AfLL as relevant to the interests of indigenous African people – politically, linguistically, and culturally. It appears that Andrew and Duncan primarily received the former, whereas Tanya (as well as peripheral case, Heather[233]) primarily received the latter.

5.1.1 ANDREW: the truth speaker

Andrew's status of L2AfL investor evolved principally through his parents' investment in African linguaculture – which structured his domestic upbringing – in conjunction with their investment in AfL education on Andrew's behalf, positioning him, initially, as a dependent L2 investor. While Andrew's L2AfL was initially catalysed by guardian investment on his behalf, his receptivity to it – both nature, and nurture – soon repositioned him as an

[233] See Appendix B2 for Heather's relevant case report section.

independent investor with compelling motivations of his own, a status later confirmed in his decisions to take isiZulu as a matric subject and as a major subject at university.

5.1.1.1 Parental investment: linguacultural promotion and AfLL at school

Forthright in describing what he called the "preceding factors" to his learning of isiZulu,[234] Andrew grew up in KwaZulu-Natal, where he was keenly aware of the geographical relevance of isiZulu. Andrew was brought up in a family "quite open to African culture". Both of his parents studied isiZulu as a subject at university, where they gained "a very basic level [of isiZulu]; they can understand a bit and ... say a bit less". His father, who was born in Zimbabwe but grew up in Mozambique, "had a generalised interest in ... African culture and African things", which took a concrete form by filling their house with cultural artefacts ("woven baskets and fabrics and stuff around the house"). Andrew remarked that his father, who could speak Portuguese fluently, had "a bit of an aptitude for languages". His mother grew up in the Eastern Cape and was exposed there to Xhosa culture. She could speak some Fanakalo,[235] and would incorporate non-English words into daily home interactions ("Go *kahle*[236] on the tomato sauce!"). "Both my parents", Andrew explains, "were quite progressive for the time [the late 80s/early 90s]". Although he did not expand further, the implication was that his parents disagreed with, and perhaps even actively resisted, apartheid – whether understood in political, cultural or linguistic terms.

> I came from a home that was quite open to African culture. And certainly in my interactions with... you know, the black people in my life... like my, my, one of my first two nannies – like I really just loved them (**Andrew**)

Andrew's parents' 'openness' was further expressed through placing him, *qua* dependent investor, in primary and high schools that taught isiZulu: he followed a precedent set by his elder brother, who took isiZulu in high school. He fondly remembered a "Zulu-speaking gentleman" who would visit his class in Grades 1 and 2, who would play on the guitar and sing songs in isiZulu; he "enjoyed [the language] and had more of a knack for it in primary school" – he thus took the subject willingly, irrespective of its compulsory status for the first nine years of schooling.

[234] It seemed as if he has articulated previously (perhaps many times) his isiZulu learning biography and why/how he came to learn the language.
[235] See fn. 128.
[236] In this context, *kahle* means "carefully, slowly".

5.1.1.2 Biochronic qualities: social extroversion and language affinity

Andrew claimed that he found "communicating with people interesting" from a young age. This, in his view, is "definitely a personality thing", but one that was reinforced by the "incredibly responsive" positive reception to him by L1Z speakers, who were "very, very, very appreciative of [him] making an effort" as a boy and teenager. He relates a story told by his mother:

> when I was in Grade 3 ... and I was waiting outside school, waiting to be fetched. And I was just quite innocently chatting to a stranger. [...] my mom basically told me that, the stranger was telling her "Oh, your child is so friendly," and [was] amazed that I was just confident enough to be chatty and friendly [...]. (**Andrew**)

He concluded this anecdote by claiming to "thrive off of interaction with people". Elsewhere, he emphasised that "seeking out understanding is important for me ... I am interested in people; I'm interested in making connections." While language was thus a vehicle for social connection, Andrew also had a "knack", a "good ear", and languages "came more easily" than other school subjects, similar to his father. A recognition of this was a minor motivation for deciding to continue with isiZulu throughout school.[237] He mentions being intrigued by hearing his father, "being a bit of a linguist", speaking Portuguese on the telephone and how experiences like this were "wind in [his] sails" for his own SLL.

5.1.1.3 Circumstantial accident: moving to the boarding house

Sufficiently motivated to take isiZulu at the crucial Grade 10 juncture – he "figured that it would have more application living in KwaZulu Natal" – the catalyst for Andrew to move beyond narrow academic learning occurred when, for apparent lack of "structure" and family stress at home, he became a weekly boarder at his school in Grade 11, aged 16/17 years at the time. In this new 'domestic' context, Andrew "kind of just decided that [he] wanted to get better", and used the new opportunity to habitually converse with L1Z staff at the boarding house and school, as described in Chapter 6 below. Alongside his ideal biochronic qualities, and an emerging ideal L2Z self (see below), "the single biggest factor" that motivated his independent L2AfL investment was the positive reinforcement received from Zulu people.

> I didn't have a lot of self-belief as a teenager. And I would say that the positivity that I received was quite fundamental in, you know, building up myself as a person, and my self-esteem – and it gave me an ability to confidently interact with people without fear of rejection. (**Andrew**)

[237] Instead of selecting Afrikaans or another AL.

In a similar vein,[238] he explained that – referring to his own experience at both home and beyond – "rather than feeling stupid [about] making mistakes" in isiZulu, he "was made to feel like [learning and using the language] was okay, and that [he] was doing a good thing." As a consequence, this "gave [him] confidence" for further learning.

5.1.1.4 An emergent IL2S

Within the context of, firstly, guardian AfL investment and secondly, an ideal set of personal conditions, Andrew's motivation for learning isiZulu emerged, quite literally, as a visualised ideal L2 self. While the L2MSS attempts to specify the core, but often implicit, mechanisms of L2 motivation, at times these are exhibited explicitly through imaginative activity. As a boy, Andrew had a penchant for (day)dreaming:

> I was the sort of kid who's ... very imaginative, and I was always making 'What if? Imagine if?' scenarios ... [about] stuff that was completely unrelated to isiZulu. But one of my 'Imagine if?' things that I would say to my friends, "Imagine if I could really speak Zulu?" (**Andrew**)

His IL2S clearly began developing from an early age; the process of envisioning himself speaking isiZulu extended even to his first year of university, when Andrew recalled "starting to have dreams [...] where in the dream [he'd] be able to speak isiZulu [fluently]". These dreams were exciting (i.e. motivating) for him, because they showed that he "was getting it – that even like in [his] subconscious [he] could have a conversation!"[239] As discussed above, Claro (2019) has asserted that the IL2S and integrativeness construct amount to the same thing – with only the locus of identification differing. While there is direct evidence of Andrew possessing an IL2S for isiZulu, his story of the "preceding factors" is also suggestive of an evolving integrativeness, if one uses Gardner's updated formulation of the construct: a general "openness to cultural identification" and "xenophilic attitudes" (2007: 15) – consider Andrew's enjoyment in talking with (Zulu) strangers, and how their response was important in building his *self*-esteem and *self*-confidence.

[238] He is likely alluding here to how some white learners of isiZulu feel, insights gained from his experience as an isiZulu schoolteacher.
[239] Such dreams presumably ceased in time, for, as he comments regarding his 'What if?' scenarios: "I guess at some point it became a reality."

5.1.2 DUNCAN: the groove maker

While Duncan's case of L2AfL investment has some similarities to Andrew's, the manner in which the former received guardian investment differed significantly. In contrast to a primarily *domestic* promotion of African linguaculture, Duncan's parents also promoted African linguaculture in extramural, non-curated settings. It appears that *this* factor was catalytic, for it instantiated a process of self-identification with Zulu people and their culture – a process that was then encouraged by his parents and prefigured by other role-models, particularly as his natural affinity for creative expression (especially music) revealed itself.

5.1.2.1 Parental investment: linguacultural exposure

Duncan, like Andrew, grew up in KwaZulu-Natal – although in a rural region. While still a young child (i.e. eight years old), he described how he would accompany his father, a journalist, to cover news stories and events in the surrounding rural areas. Duncan was thereby exposed to traditional Zulu music and dancing. His interest in Zulu culture – of which language became a central part – began then:

> there would be entertainment involved. And most of the time that entertainment was Zulu entertainment. So it was Maskandi music, traditional Zulu dancing, and so on. And so that was where my interest sparked: it was watching these musicians, and being around these incredible people. And so yeah, I fell in love with Zulu culture and music. (**Duncan**)

His parents were "incredibly supportive of [his] passion" and although neither could speak isiZulu to a meaningful degree, his mother could understand some and knew Fanakalo – Duncan noticed this, and it "played a role" in prefiguring his own learning of isiZulu. He mentions that his grandfather, an Anglican canon, could speak chiShona and isiNdebele fluently, having grown up (and served as a missionary) in Zimbabwe. Duncan's family, like Andrew's, employed a Zulu housekeeper, with whom he had a "great relationship". While he mentions occasionally joining her in the evenings to watch isiZulu programmes on TV, it does not appear she was directly involved in his AfLL, which began in earnest during Duncan's early teenage years.

5.1.2.2 An emergent IL2S: identification with Zulu culture and role-models

With extramural exposure to the world of isiZulu linguaculture through his father's work and within a supportive familial/domestic context, it appears that Duncan formulated a vivid IL2S, something he imagined and acted out long before it was actualised. Unlike Andrew, however, Duncan's IL2S *prima facie* incorporates integrativeness, concerned as it is with external cultural identification. At age nine or ten, he reportedly "wanted to be a Zulu

warrior" and became "obsessed with Zulu culture, music and language" to the point where he would speak gibberish with click-sounds and the "odd real [Zulu] word here and there". This was perhaps directly catalysed by the re-airing of the *Shaka Zulu* miniseries on TV (when he was 9 years old) – a production aimed at an English-speaking international audience, but nevertheless with a basis in genuine Zulu song, dance, language, and history. It "was a huge help [...] to start things off", for the show connected with his real-life exposure to Zulu culture during trips with his father and "made [everything Zulu-related] so much more interesting". In sum, he "became interested in the people and the music and the dance" – and the language took on increasing relevance within this burgeoning interest in Zulu culture.[240]

A likely accelerant in Duncan's process of identification – and thus L2 motivation – appears to be his recognition of, and interaction with, wSAn role-models who could speak isiZulu or cognate languages – particularly those who were invested culturally (i.e., musically). He recalls a (white) friend's father who both could speak isiZulu and play the guitar well – "he was an awesome inspiration" to Duncan. The fact that the friend's father *also* modelled mastery of the Zulu language is not a negligible detail, a link which Duncan explicitly referenced.

> Funny, my friend's father, who spoke Zulu, also played guitar, so he was an awesome inspiration, you know. When he played old rock songs when I was still learning basic chords, I'd watch him and then, like, "Oh man, I have to get to that stage!" ... When I was in high school especially, I can still remember words that ... [he] would say ... I can still remember phrases from back then ... questions that he'd ask in Zulu. (**Duncan**)

Unsurprisingly, Duncan also mentioned that Johnny Clegg was "a huge inspiration" to him: another wSAn who embodied the learning of both isiZulu language and Zulu culture (and whose primary modality of AfLL – mentorship – was replicated in Duncan's case). Finally, Duncan's grandfather's knowledge of African languages (isiNdebele being mutually intelligible with isiZulu) set a proximate precedent for the acquisition of meaningful linguistic capital in AfLs similar to isiZulu.

5.1.2.3 Parental investment: advocacy for high school access to AfLL

While the initial catalyst was a willingness/desire by Duncan's parents to expose him to isiZulu linguaculture, a secondary (though crucial) catalyst was also attributable to them:

[240] He began learning how to play the guitar – by ear, not through any 'classical' sight-reading methods. While learning to play, Duncan would read musical tablature, hear whether it sounded right, and would "figure [a song/tune] out" and then "really drill it". Learning in this way, which involved a considerable amount of time repeating musical phrases, was a process that found a close analogy in, and no doubt influenced, his later study of isiZulu.

sending Duncan to a high school where isiZulu was a subject, and then pleading his case to school management for the senior phase (Grades 10-12). Having taken isiZulu for Grades 8 and 9 (compulsory and introductory in nature), Duncan wanted to continue isiZulu for the final three years at a FAL level. He reports that the school attempted to dissuade him from continuing; he had not 'grown up on a farm' and thus did not have the required language proficiency.

> they [i.e. the school authorities] weren't happy about me taking it, because I didn't grow up on a farm. They were worried that I... they just didn't want to take a chance: they were worried that I wouldn't make it through. So then my parents sort of intervened and said, "Listen, you don't understand this child; he has literally obsessed over ... Zulu culture, music and the language for however many years ... so please, *please* give him a chance!" (**Duncan**)

His parents thus advocated on his behalf, the school was persuaded – and Duncan took isiZulu as an academic subject for the remainder of high school. His parents' investment, as both condition and catalyst, was the decisive factor in his transition to independent L2 Investment: it enabled Duncan to commit scarce biochronic capital to learning isiZulu while still in school – something that was thwarted in Tanya's case.

5.1.3 TANYA: the intentional lawyer

Tanya's case exhibits the presence of guardian investment, which, while thwarted at the educational level, nonetheless catalysed sufficient motivational processes to commit to postponed, punctuated AfLL once she reached independent investor status. In L2 motivational terms, Tanya's case exhibits a highly internalised OL2S guide, which transformed over time into a vocation-congruent IL2S. This self-guide asserted itself in the fulfilment of her broader vocational mission, i.e. (*prima facie*) the advancement of societal, socio-political justice. In practice, this occurred through recurrent exposure to a compelling "immersive" Xhosa environment as well as dissatisfaction with aspects of her legal work, culminating in a major commitment to "a complete work/job/life move" – a central aspect of which involved learning isiXhosa.

5.1.3.1 Parental investment: policy, schooling and motivation

5.1.3.1.1 Normative family AfL policy

The primary catalyst, based on findings in Tanya's case, was her mother's language policy, which unambiguously stressed the importance of learning an AfL and went beyond mere rhetorical investment, as Tanya's mother attempted to place her in schools where she would learn an AfL. Tanya grew up in a monolingual family, and more broadly a "monolingual

[English] bubble". Nevertheless, in her own words, the "the seed was laid from a young point about the importance" of learning an African language. She describes growing up with two "Family Education rules: you do an African language, and you do history." Tanya's mother, who had been an anti-apartheid activist, "always said that learning an African language was really, really important." AfLL was therefore an explicit norm with a socio-political justification. While Tanya's mother never became fluent in an AfL, "she did try" and reportedly reached a beginner level in isiXhosa. Her initial attempt at implementing the family AfLL policy – via educational access – was made in the choice of Tanya's primary school and high school[241] (in Gauteng). Here, Tanya "did a little bit of Zulu," as an L3/SAL (Afrikaans was the schools' L2/FAL), but she reports that this cumulatively amounted to something "so insignificant, [she] can't even really remember it."

5.1.3.1.2 Thwarted AfLL in high school

When Tanya and her family moved to the Western Cape, her mother again attempted to maintain the enabling conditions for AfLL at Tanya's new high school – one which offered isiXhosa – but this was thwarted when the school did not allow it due to Tanya arriving mid-way through the academic year, and (ostensibly) the isiXhosa class being full.

> But then we moved to Cape Town half-way through Grade 8.[242] When I moved to the new school, they basically just said "You're coming halfway through grade eight, your only electives that you can do are: Accounting and Technology." So Xhosa wasn't an option for me, then – it *would* have been an option ... [that] I would have taken. (**Tanya**)

Tanya was thus "forced to do Afrikaans" as her L2 instead. She came, however, from a household which "still was entrenched in the politics of resisting Afrikaans language learning": an ideological factor that had a substantial impact on Tanya's commitment to learning the language. Despite achieving a distinction for Afrikaans in Grade 12, she was not "emotionally engaged by the language" and never learned how to speak and connect with other people through it.

5.1.3.1.3 An internalised OL2S and historical-cultural motivation

The guardian investment displayed by Tanya's mother was catalytic, despite its failure to position Tanya as a dependent L2AfL investor. The normative "importance" of AfLL that Tanya perceived led her to actively develop a strong OL2S (based on domestic language

[241] She only did isiZulu for the first semester of Grade 8.
[242] It is possible that Tanya confused 'Grade 8' with 'Standard 8', which equates to Grade 10 – as electives are only chosen from the Grade 10 juncture onwards. For those like Tanya who were schooled before implementation of the new curriculum in 1998, terminology of Standards 1-10 for Grades 3-12 was the norm.

ideology/policy). The findings suggest that, partially in reaction to compulsory learning of Afrikaans, this OL2S was internalised such that it became an IL2S, a self-guide that became more compelling as time passed. By the time Tanya's motivation had actualised into significant commitment to learning isiXhosa, she saw it as a means of "understanding" the history and culture of the Xhosa.

> But for me, it's about...understanding... So I didn't just learn Xhosa because I wanted to learn a language; I've always been inspired, I guess, and have, an obsession with our history as a country – and with Xhosa heroes, I guess, in this area [the Xhosa heartlands]. And so, it's been multi-layered: so it's not just about language. So I've never just wanted to learn Xhosa. I wanted to learn Xhosa [to] understand the history of the area, culture of the area. (**Tanya**)

Like Andrew and Duncan, it appears that the seeds of later AfLL were planted, via her mother's investment, in good soil.

5.1.3.2 Minor L2AfL investments: Kiswahili and isiXhosa

5.1.3.2.1 Kiswahili

After finishing school, Tanya lived in a "remote rural village" in Tanzania for six months while working at an NGO, and during that time tried (with some success) to learn Kiswahili. While the skills she developed were "very basic," she locates the primary value of this experience "in terms of connecting with people" and the relational affordances of language learning.

> I went to Tanzania on a gap year in 2005, and I lived in a remote rural village ... I guess I tried, better than anyone else who I had gone there with, to learn the language – and I feel like I got the most out of that experience as a result, in terms of connecting with people and ... I just saw the value of it ... because Afrikaans never gave me that ... Swahili was *practically* the first time that I got that value ... – and saw language as a vehicle. (**Tanya**)

The experience of this short-term investment in a non-South African AfL conditioned Tanya to review her attitude towards SLL, and Kiswahili's linguistic similarity (as part of the Bantu/siNtu language group) entailed the grammatical structure of isiXhosa "wasn't foreign" in its entirety.

5.1.3.2.2 IsiXhosa

It was only once Tanya reached university that her (and her mother's) hitherto-thwarted attempts to study a (South African) AfL succeeded; the seeds germinated. *Qua* independent L2 investor, educational access to isiXhosa was sufficient to catalyse a year-long initial commitment to learning isiXhosa. Yet she did this *only* for one year – and partially because

taking a language course was compulsory for her degree. Although Tanya described wanting to continue beyond an introductory level, her biochronic capital was scarce: the university had constraints on taking excessive courses. She decided to prioritise subjects directly relevant to her future profession (law) rather than isiXhosa. While she clearly had motivation at this stage of her life, the language was nonetheless *secondary* to her vocational/occupational goals, for which isiXhosa was not necessary. Nevertheless, having made an initial commitment, she described learning isiXhosa as "something that always just stayed with [her] ... in heart and soul and commitment."

A series of mini-commitments followed over the course of her legal training and practice, which were sufficient to maintain, or even increase, her motivation to re-commit to AfLL. An important mini-commitment occurred in the first year of her LLB (a few years after her beginner-level isiXhosa course) when she attended a two-week isiXhosa immersion trip in the rural Eastern Cape. She remembers that "it was rigorous, it was fun," and it was also her "first interaction with *eMaphandleni," a coastal Xhosa village that was "on her mind a few times" over the ensuing years as she returned for periodic visits.

5.1.3.3 Circumstantial necessity: "a work/life/job move"

The culmination of both guardian investment and Tanya's later minor and mini commitments to AfLL occurred when she decided to move to eMaphandleni for a new job. She describes this move as being precipitated by a sense of the "patheticness of being a ... legal practitioner, but not being able to speak and engage with [L1AfL-speaking] clients and having to use paralegals." This limitation of Tanya's legal practice, something keenly felt due to her unrealised (but decades-old) IL2S, was an important reason[243] why she decided to take an opportunity to work at an NPO based in eMaphandleni.

> I'd done a trip [there] while I was still doing my articles ... I was here on my own, just hiking, hiked up the coast ... ultimately, I decided to move here in the pursuit of learning Xhosa. I was very dedicated to it: I was willing to make a complete work/job/life move. (**Tanya**)

She thus had two main motivations for moving. The lesser one was vocational, in that she wanted "grassroots experience" in development/legal work. The greater or "main motivation for moving [to eMaphandleni] was learning Xhosa" – through immersion and daily use. This desire for experiential learning of isiXhosa was itself driven by "mixed" or "multi-layered" motivations; it was not a purely instrumental, vocation-focused motivation. In keeping with

[243] Whether it was *the* determinative factor is unknown.

the second of her mother's two "Family Educational rules," learning isiXhosa was a vehicle for "understanding" the history and culture of the Xhosa, as she described above.

Section 5.2 – Cases of circumstantial accident

While guardian investment – the product of human intention – was found to be catalytic among the first three cases, for the remaining three, the primary catalyst related to a circumstantial, or more specifically *socio-spatial* accident: that is, a contingent experience of people and place. Had circumstantial accidents *not* occurred, AfLL might not have occurred. Given such contingency, the extent to which cases were ideally conditioned *prior* to the circumstantial accident was determinative in their decision to invest. The first two cases, Bradley and Ivan, illustrate the catalytic power of social accidents (contingent encounters with specific people), while the latter case, Carl (like the peripheral case Lily[244]), reveal how spatial accidents (contingent movements to a new place, with new socio-structural conditions) can be the primary catalyst for committing to AfLL.

5.2.1 BRADLEY: the "chaos" bringer

Bradley's case illustrates how a serendipitous encounter with a wSAn AfL speaker catalysed him to take isiZulu as a subject at university. At a decisive moment for subject choice at university, he witnessed the "wild" social effects that wSAn fluency in isiZulu could produce – something he found so compelling that he decided to become a white isiZulu speaker himself. There were two main conditioning factors or individual differences which arguably made him receptive to the prospect of AfLL: previous SLL experience and ideal personality traits.

5.2.1.1 Prior L2 investment: Afrikaans

Bradley related being forced to rapidly learn Afrikaans after moving in Grade 7 (i.e. end of primary school) to an Afrikaans-medium school in the North West province. Within one month of full immersion at school and aftercare,[245] he (along with his sister) was able to communicate in the language.

> And so that was intense – we didn't really know Afrikaans before that. We'd done a bit in school ... but we weren't conversational at all. So I remember, it was a crazy thing – after one month, we went to school in Afrikaans all day, and then after that, we went to Afrikaans after-care, or extra language classes. And in one month we were fine; we could get by

[244] The conditions for Lily's L2AfL investment are discussed in Appendix B1.
[245] A centre, usually on a school's property, which looks after children once the school day has ended, but before they are collected by parents/guardians.

> in school in Afrikaans. Like, it was *crazy*. ... I think it was just sort of, a necessity ... it just needed to happen. (**Bradley**)

He stressed that he did not go to the new school "motivated" in any sense to learn Afrikaans – necessity was his taskmaster in this case – and gives no indication of any particular interest in language learning at this stage.[246] Upon moving to an English-medium high school, his peers were predominantly L1 Setswana speakers. Despite a couple of years in their presence, he reports to have learnt only a handful of Setswana swearwords, a learning failure he retrospectively found remarkable.

5.2.1.2 Biochronic qualities: social extroversion and language affinity

Bradley's personality was similar in some respects to Andrew, particularly regarding social extroversion. He would actively seek out interaction with other people, including strangers. He paraphrased the oft-cited quote attributed to Nelson Mandela,[247] implying that it was *connection* with other people[248] which satisfied him at a deep level.

> ... it opens space, just speaking someone's mother tongue .... There's that ... Nelson Mandela quote: "Speak to someone in a language they understand, it goes to the head; speak to them in their language, it goes to the heart" – which it does ... [i]t's just a different connection that you can make with someone ... I enjoy spending lots of time with people. And that's a good thing for learning languages. (**Bradley**)

Beyond the language learning affordances of his extroverted personality, during the interview, it became clear that Bradley possessed an intrinsic interest in SLA *per se*, and it was not merely a means to the end of social connection: a fact he was likely aware of when catalysed to learn isiZulu.[249]

5.2.1.3 Thwarted AfLL in high school

When Bradley moved to KZN at the beginning of Grade 10, his new high school offered isiZulu as an AL. He reported that "he wanted to do [isiZulu]" for the senior phase (Grade 10-12), but was dissuaded from taking the subject, however – given his lack of previous experience:

> so I wanted to do it at school, but they obviously ... that story of everybody advises against it because "Afrikaans is easier, and you get

[246] This is in turn borne out by his failure to acquire any meaningful Setswana skills. This early experience of full immersion in (and rapid acquisition of) Afrikaans *qua* L2 did, however, provide him with a personal insight in his late childhood of the SLA process and its inherent possibility.
[247] "[i]f you talk to a man in a language he understands, that goes to his head. If you talk to him in his language, that goes to his heart" (cf. McIntosh's discussion of the origins and implication of this quote: 2018: 494).
[248] i.e. interaction that breaks beyond formulaic or transactional.
[249] This no doubt influenced his subsequent decision to make a career out of teaching isiZulu.

> better marks; Zulu, it's just hard – you're not going to get good marks." That old, stupid story. (**Bradley**)

Bradley therefore had some degree of *interest* in AfLL, at least comparatively with learning Afrikaans. But, unlike Duncan, he did not have the benefits of conscious parental investment and advocacy, which might have resulted in AfLL becoming accessible and catalysed at an earlier stage.

5.2.1.4 Circumstantial accident: encountering an IL2S role-model

At university, Bradley "knew [he] wanted to do psychology as a subject" – reflecting his interest in other people – but was uncertain what would constitute his second major subject. While attending a series of subject-specific introductory lectures, he describes encountering a man, who catalysed Bradley's decision to take isiZulu[250] as his second major alongside psychology.

> So you know, the accountants came through and bored everybody, and the drama people came in and did a little skit and then there's this ... big white guy in khaki shorts and a shirt, with, y'know, pulled up socks and *veldskoene* [leather shoes] on. He came to the front of the class of this lecture theatre ... and I'm thinking now, "This guy – he's probably gonna come introduce Afrikaans or something." And he *goois* [throws out] proper deep farm Zulu: "*Sanibona nina nonke*"[251] and the whole lecture theatre just went wild. Everybody's like "*Hawu*!" It's like some amazing white guy speaking fluent Zulu. So I was like, "Okay – I'm choosing Zulu!" and so I did. I chose Zulu and did that for three years at varsity ... So that was the start of it. (**Bradley**)

Prima facie, Bradley's positive appraisal of what the wSAn isiZulu lecturer had achieved in the lecture theatre was followed by immediate self-identification with him as a role-model: in motivational terms, Bradley encountered an IL2S guide in the flesh, which he desired to actualise in himself, to reproduce the same social effects. Later, Bradley stated as much: the desire to produce a similar effect on people was what "kept [him] going: the constantly-seeing-this-look in people's eyes: 'Ooh, what the hell is happening? Why are *you* speaking Zulu?!'" The enjoyment of breaking established categories and engendering appreciative surprise provided Bradley with crucial ongoing motivational support to achieve success in L2AfLL.

[250] He stated this explicitly: "So I think that the Zulu – so the initial thing of just ... that guy [the isiZulu lecturer], sort of, just motivated me to take Zulu." His enjoyment of "wild" or "chaotic" social connection was what motivated him to persist, however, which is reported in in Chapter 7, section 7.3.1.2.

[251] "Hello everyone!"

5.2.2 IVAN: the academic achiever

Ivan was catalysed to invest in an AfL due to contingent encounters with four people: an excellent Sesotho teacher in high school, a monolingual Sesotho domestic worker at home and two Sotho peers at school. Along with a *highly* supportive condition of his personality/neurophysiology – language affinity – these were cumulatively the necessary and sufficient conditions for his commitment to L2AfLL.

5.2.2.1 Biochronic quality: language affinity

Ivan, who during a traumatic birth was afflicted with cerebral palsy and subsequent mobility constraints, was trained intensively as a child (with the help of therapists) to "reprogram" his brain to overcome adverse effects of the palsy. He went through "rigorous exercise programmes and speech therapy and memorisation", partially why he believed that he may have become "more linguistically inclined" than most people. He described himself as "an auditory learner", finding it easy to remember simply by listening.[252] Perhaps for these reasons, he discovered while at school that he had an aptitude for languages,[253] which corresponds with a keen interest in them. Consider the strong claim: "I love languages *per se*". He stated that in the early years of high school, he "loved the sound of [Sesotho]". Due to his neurophysiological personal conditions, in L2 Investment terms, Ivan's biochronic qualities appeared to be highly ideal for SLA – i.e. he appeared primed to gain higher linguistic capital per unit of biochronic capital expended towards AfLL.

5.2.2.2 Three circumstantial accidents

A "wonderful" teacher

Ivan went to a high school that offered Sesotho as a FAL subject. In Grade 8, he described having "a wonderful Sotho teacher ... a white lady", with a "passion for teaching an African language – Sotho, to be precise." He considered her as having "kindled [his] love" for Sesotho.[254] Under her *conscious* guardian investment, he enjoyed and did well at Sesotho in the early years of high school – but it remained a "purely academic" exercise for him until the end of Grade 9. Her (contingent) presence and investment in Ivan's AfLL was one of three catalysts.

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[252] For example, he claimed that after listening to a song's lyrics "twice or thrice", he would be able to recite it back.

[253] "Looking back at primary school, before Sotho even, I would always do much better in languages and factual subjects like history"

[254] She was apparently the only wSAn he knew (up until that point) who had actually learned an AfL to the point of fluency.

A new Sotho domestic worker

The second was the arrival of a virtually monolingual Sotho domestic worker in his home.

> And the thing with her was that she couldn't speak any other language apart from Sotho. So that actually really helped a lot [in terms of learning]. In the beginning, it was very topsy-turvy in terms of understanding each other. We used to use hand signals or what I would ask her is, "What is this in Sotho?" and "Explain this and that?" and then we sort of had our own language. (**Ivan**)

Her lack of ability in either English or Afrikaans introduced a pragmatic need to communicate, and an opportunity to learn. Thus, upon concluding Grade 9, he said to his domestic worker at the time: "Listen, you guys are speaking ... and I love the sound of the language. Could you teach me?'"

Two Sotho friends

The third catalytic condition was making two L1 Sesotho friends, which led to Ivan's initiation into "actually ... learning conversational Sotho":

> And then, afterwards, what happened was, at the start of grade ten, I met with two black [L1 Sesotho] students ... and what happened was, we became friends – I used to help them with their Afrikaans essays, believe it or not, and then in exchange ... I said to them, "Look, I would love to learn to speak Sotho, please help me." (**Ivan**)

The catalytic combination of two years of 1) teaching by a passionate Sesotho teacher, 2) the need/opportunity to use the language in the domestic space (with a *bone fide* Sesotho mediator) coincided with *his* need to decide whether he wanted to take the subject for the remainder of high school. As soon as he did so, 3) his language-exchange based friendship provided the sufficient conditions to initiate his eventual AfLL success.

5.2.2.3 Complex emergent motivations

Beyond his clear interest in language learning and the catalysts that prompted him towards Sesotho in particular, an analysis of the motivations operative in Ivan's case reveals a complex set of factors.

Linguistic and occupational motivation

Functionally fluent in Sesotho by the time he left school, Ivan decided to become a language teacher, knowing that the implementation of IIAL[255] would require many more teachers of

[255] IIAL stands for the 'Incremental Introduction of African Languages', a language-in-education policy introduced around 2012, initially with a number of pilot schools, and since then it has broadened out to include all public schools nationally. If schools – predominantly those which were 'Model C' (during apartheid catering to white students, but now multiracial) – previously did not offer an African language, this policy requires that schools introduce one from primary school onwards.

AfLs.[256] A certain academic pragmatism is therefore evident throughout Ivan's account of the motivational conditions leading to his eventual linguistic capital – he 'leaned into' language learning because he (knew that he) was good at it. Reflecting this, he took Sesotho as a major subject in university, partially because it was (for the first two years at least) what he called an "easy credit."[257] A recognition of his academic success in AfLL appears to have prompted Ivan to consider AfL teaching as a profession, augmenting his initial motivations from linguistic-academic in nature to occupational. One might also plausibly argue that his Sesotho teacher became a role-model for him: an embodied IL2S guide similar to the white isiZulu lecturer in Bradley's case.

Sociocultural motivation

Yet at the same time, when choosing Sesotho as a subject for Grade 10, Ivan attached to it a hope that "this is going to open up a world for me: a world beyond just normal academics and normal conversation":

> once I started actually *understanding* the language, and became confident in speaking it, I took it a step further, not academically, but I took it a step further [so] as to understand [Sotho] culture as well. (**Ivan**)

As will become clear later, the social aspects of AfLL – suggested in his request to be taught Sesotho by his family's domestic worker – are important features alongside the more pragmatic motivations of academic success and occupational utility.

5.2.3 CARL: the immersed enquirer

As opposed to Bradley and Ivan, whose encounters with specific *people* catalysed their L2AfL investment, Carl's was contingent upon moving to a L1 Setswana context for occupational reasons, whereupon he recognised the opportunity and utility of learning. Self-identification did not appear to be an important element of Carl's motivation for AfLL. He provided no evidence of either a compelling IL2S or OL2S, or that learning Setswana (*qua* AfL) was significantly different from learning any other language. Rather, the combination of multiple ideal personal conditions – catalysed by the circumstantial accident of teaching English in a Setswana-dominant environment – led him, quite naturally, to become a

[256] As Ivan stated: "First of all, I thought, 'I'll become an English teacher'. That's what I thought at first and then, like, the department began the whole thing of introducing IIAL, which stands for incremental introduction to African languages. And they specifically look for people that have at least Sotho 2 (in terms of second year Sotho). And well, with me having Sotho 3, it actually made me quite a 'shoe in' [sic], in the sense that I actually got jobs quite easily."

[257] Ivan reports being promoted in some of his exams, and was even berated at one point by a lecturer for his presence in the L2 class: he was far beyond his university classmates in terms of his language proficiency.

disciplined L2AfL investor: a self-project that marked him different to other wSAn colleagues.[258]

5.2.3.1 Prior creative investment: musical skill

Carl grew up in a musical family and was musically trained throughout school. Later, his first degree in university was in music. This appears relevant in relation to his language learning, as he expands:

> when you are a musician, you have to be quite comfortable with vulnerability and... putting yourself out there. You have to be comfortable with making mistakes, realising that [they] aren't the end of the world, and... that the show has to go on. (**Carl**)

Beyond the 'character training' element of his musical education which included habituation into consistent practice and repetitive drills, Carl asserted that having "a trained ear" – which enables one to "pick things up and repeat them musically" – likely transfers over to "pick[ing] up linguistic features as well", especially phonetic and morphemic structure.[259] His parents provided the circumstances for him to learn music at home, school *and* university, and thereby invested in him the character and "trained ear" that primed, although did not catalyse, his subsequent investment in SLA.

5.2.3.2 Thwarted AfLL in high school

Carl attended a high school that offered both isiZulu and Afrikaans at an L2/FAL level, and enjoyed the two years of isiZulu that were compulsory (Grade 8-9). Carl also sang in choirs throughout school, which exposed him to compositions with lyrics in AfLs – requiring a degree of phonetic (and potentially semantic) mastery. Based on his compulsory exposure to isiZulu and this experience of AfL use, he developed an aesthetic appreciation for AfLs: Carl "liked the sound" of isiZulu and "loved singing songs in different languages, particularly in South African languages."[260] Carl therefore had all the necessary personal and socio-structural conditions (principally educational access) for L2AfL investment, along with sufficient linguistic-aesthetic motivation to take isiZulu as a subject.

Yet despite his affinity for AfLs and desire to take isiZulu, Carl was dissuaded by his father. His father (who was fluent in Afrikaans) apparently told Carl the following: "Look, if you get stuck with Afrikaans, I can help you – but if you get stuck with Zulu, I can't." Carl dropped isiZulu and continued with Afrikaans instead.

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[258] At least, not the majority. See Carl's report of his L1 Setswana co-workers' questioning (section 7.2.1.1).
[259] Given the agglutinative structure of (Bantu-group) AfLs, a musical facility in recognising how morphemes 'glue' together is potentially more important than in the context of non-agglutinative languages.
[260] Which was (no doubt) partially why he wanted to take Zulu as a subject during school.

5.2.3.3 Prior L2 investments: Afrikaans and SA Sign Language

Following being dissuaded from taking isiZulu at school, Carl did "pretty well" at Afrikaans in Grade 12, receiving a distinction, and enjoyed both English and Afrikaans as subjects of study, having "a general fascination with language" from his schooling onwards. Although he did not mention gaining actual fluency in Afrikaans, his later behaviour makes it unlikely that the (experience of) academic L2 investment was irrelevant to his later SLL.

Upon reaching university, Carl took South African Sign Language (SASL) – initially as a 'filler' course for the sake of a credit – but he soon discovered that he "loved it" and thus "put huge amounts of effort into learning" – eventually reaching a stage wherein he became a professional SASL interpreter. This was his first "conscious language learning experience"[261] – and it gave him "an amazing kind of realisation" that he "*could* learn a language, and that it wasn't really that hard to do."

> ... so, my first conscious language learning experience came when I was at [university], and I did [SA] sign language ... just as a filler course really in my degree and it was an amazing experience. I loved it ... I put in huge amounts of effort into learning, and eventually got to a level in SASL where I was able to become an interpreter ... But what that *did* do, was that it gave me the *confidence*, I think, to know that I *could* learn language – that I had done it, and that I could do it again. (**Carl**)

Carl succeeded with SASL by a combination of factors: firstly, "obsessive solo[262] practice", and secondly, "very deliberate" socialising and making friends within the South African Deaf community. Despite initially being "totally lost" in terms of his ability to understand, he relates that "after a year of socialising, [he had] gone from understanding 10% of what [was] going on, to understanding 80%."[263] By all accounts, his success in SASL went on to shape his subsequent willingness – 'readiness' is perhaps a better term – to learn Setswana.

5.2.3.4 Circumstantial accident: teaching in an AfL-dominant context

5.2.3.4.1 An opportune environment

Having studied English alongside SASL at university, Carl obtained an English teaching post in a very "Tswana environment".

> I just realised ... it was like a very Tswana environment. You know, right from the security guards that greet you at the gate ... all the way through to everyone that you encounter ... the community was entirely Setswana-

[261] By extension, Afrikaans was more of an academic exercise – aimed at getting good marks – and an unconscious experience of language learning, because it was a wholly ritualistic, unremarkable process in the school context, given the ubiquity of Afrikaans qua L2 amongst L1E-speaking peers.
[262] The musical allusion inherent in this word is apt.
[263] An example of *de facto* language immersion.

> speaking ... there were so many people there who were speaking the language on a daily basis, and so many opportunities to interact. (**Carl**)

Simply moving to a new context catalysed Carl's L2AfL investment, for by this stage, he "relished" opportunities to learn language(s) and had considerable experience in both academic and non-academic modalities of SLL. While he emphasised that he "didn't go there with the goal of learning", it was nonetheless something that "right from the start," Carl was "open to". It presented as a "good opportunity" and he quickly recognised the social and occupational affordances of learning Setswana, which shaped his emergent motivation. Initially Carl was "focused on communicating ... speaking and understanding" to improve and facilitate his social interactions with Tswana colleagues, students, and those in the broader community.

5.2.3.4.2 Occupational motivation and positive reinforcement

Moreover, from a pedagogical perspective as an English teacher, Carl recognised the utility of learning "some context" – the linguistic sort – and gaining "perspective of where [his] students were coming from." He found, when beginning to learn (and practise) Setswana, that he received positive feedback from his interlocutors, which he described as "helpful". This initial capital gain – joy contingent on his use of Setswana – strengthened his motivation; his commitment to AfLL soon developed enough momentum to be self-sustaining.

Section 5.3 - Conditions across cases

Having reported the conditions for L2AfL investment relevant to each core case, a cross-case analysis of these conditions – across the broader sample *including* peripheral cases – is now presented. Given the in-depth focus on core case data above, reporting of select peripheral case data has been prioritised below.

5.3.1 Socio-structural conditions

Three main themes emerged regarding socio-structural conditions emerged across cases: firstly, the extent of AfL exposure (particularly when growing up), secondly, the presence of people who (un)intentionally promote AfLL, and thirdly, the extent of access to AfLL during high school.

5.3.1.1 Extent of AfL exposure

As might be expected, following the majority-urbanised wSAn population trend, the majority of the sample emerged from urban contexts, often with little exposure to AfL-dominant spaces. Only two cases had extensive external AfL exposure of this sort prior to making major commitments: Duncan and Natasha, both of whom grew up in rural areas. While

others, like Andrew, Heather, Peter and Tanya may have received some intramural/internal AfL exposure at home and school mediated through parents (and possibly nannies), there was no evidence of external exposure to L1AfL speakers during childhood or youth. This finding confirmed the sociolinguistic divide that largely falls along ethnolinguistic lines, but also that it is not determinative in achieving or preventing AfLL success.

5.3.1.2 Extent of access to AfLL in school

There were two major findings regarding access to AfLL in school, as may be gained from Table 6: Modalities. Firstly, beyond the three core cases who actually took AfLs throughout high school (Andrew, Ivan and Duncan), the other three (Bradley, Tanya and Carl) all reported *wanting* to take an AfL for the senior phase/matric at their respective high schools, but were either dissuaded or prevented from doing so.

> "I think I did about a year and a half, maybe two years of Zulu in school – which I really enjoyed, and actually wanted to do for matric" (**Carl**)
>
> "I wanted to do [isiZulu] at school" (**Bradley**)
>
> "So Xhosa wasn't an option for me, then – it *would* have been an option ... [that] I would have taken" (**Tanya**)

Secondly, irrespective of instances wherein case participants moved geographies and thus target AfLs, an important, unanimous finding was that, with the exception of the foreigner Lily, *every* single case attended a high school where an AfL was available up to a matric level.[264] Even where not taken, the potential for AfLL was present in all cases.

5.3.1.3 Guardians and role-models promoting AfLL

There are three classes of person who (inadvertently) promoted AfLL to L2AfL investors. The first and second are both guardians: parents and nannies/domestic workers, who invest in their dependants. The third refers to role-models, whose promotion may be encountered from afar or within the context of familial, friendship or academic relationships (potentially involving mentorship, dealt with in the next chapter).

5.3.1.3.1 Parents

Beyond the introductory findings discussed in section Section 5.1 above relating to parental investment, across all nine wSAn post-apartheid cases in the broader sample,[265] two-thirds (six cases) exhibited some positivity by immediate family members regarding AfLs and AfLL. Among peripheral cases, for example:

[264] Compare this to half the case sample had access to (and thus undertook) academic AfLL either throughout primary school (Andrew, Tanya, Heather), or in late primary school (Peter, Ivan, Natasha).
[265] i.e. excluding Lily, Renée and Johan.

> "I did get support from them. I mean, they've always supported me, especially with the language thing, and I know, they're very sort of proud of my efforts" (**Peter**)
>
> "And it was very much so...in my, this family environment, seen as a positive thing" (**Heather**)
>
> "I did Afrikaans in high school because... yeah – my mom *wanted* me to do Xhosa. I was so shy... I was new at the school ..." (**Natasha**)

Only Ivan, Bradley and Carl did not report any positive familial conditions regarding AfLL. This is best interpreted as an absence of positivity/promotion, rather than negativity or intentional obstruction. Moreover, a potentially-relevant socio-structural factor was evidence of either expatriate parents or grandparents among the core case sample, i.e. those with foreign citizenship or upbringing (Andrew, Duncan, Tanya, and Carl: all with links to either Zimbabwe or England). Given the 'foreign worldview' factor in Lily's case of expatriate L2AfLL (see Appendix B1), the preponderance of foreign links in such a small sample cannot be ignored; expatriate parents and grandparents would inevitably shape the attitudes and worldview of the children they raise.[266]

5.3.1.3.2 Role-models

Role-models emerge as a human combination of socio-structural and catalytic conditions that may either be encountered within, or without, the context of AfLL; their influence differs accordingly. For the four who encountered role-models within AfLL (Ivan, Andrew, Bradley and Lily), it is unsurprising that these were AfL educators;

> So she was a very influential person for me. She was very passionate and would always offer support to her students (**Andrew**)
>
> [Something] which is also important, I realize now ... [as both my teacher] and my PhD supervisor ... we would also have like, a lot of one-on-one meetings, where ... there would be also a lot of conversation about language stuff ... so I would definitely say that she was also, sort of, my tutor: teacher, tutor and supervisor (**Lily**)

The remaining instances of reported role-models – with the exception of Duncan's, discussed above – occurred in familial contexts where close family members, often of the same sex as investors, exhibited prior AfLL or SLL more generally:

> [M]y mom tried ... I mean I wouldn't say she's more than a beginner, to be honest. But she did try, ja. (**Tanya**)

[266] An increased exposure to expatriate or foreign language attitudes and ideologies regarding South African AfLs may cause children to view AfLs through the lens of an expatriate, as if they were remarkable, exotic or foreign: not as an unremarkable, irrelevant 'givens', which is the case of most settler-descendant wSAns, as discussed in the literature review (See section 3.2.3.1.6 wSAns, English *and* AfLs above).

> And I also had a sister who was older than me that had studied it as well ... [she] speaks it very basically ... Yeah, my aunt learned it in a very much a field-work capacity, but nobody other in my family is like a fluent Xhosa speaker, no. (**Heather**)

In these cases, the role-models are 'partial', in that they undertook some AfLL, but did not achieve fluency.

5.3.1.3.3 Domestic workers and nannies

Several cases across the sample revealed the significant presence of domestic workers/nannies in their childhood or early youth, often in very positive terms (Andrew, Duncan, Ivan). Peter, a peripheral case, also makes their potential motivational relevance explicit, as a kind of composite between socio-structural and catalytic conditions when viewed in L2 Investment terms:

> when we were kids, we had Xhosa nannies ... my initial intentions [for AfLL] were purely (I would almost say) a kind of an intuitive, you know, subconscious drive to connect. ... it was a sense of ... "Wow, I'm deeply out of integrity. These people have come to my home, they've washed and cleaned but I've never been to their home. I've never met some of their children *once*. But I don't know anything about them *per se*" (**Peter**)

The extent of AfL contact with nannies/domestic workers was not pursued during data collection, except where this information was volunteered. Given the prevalence of L1 AfL domestic helpers in middle-class homes, although their presence was not reported in other cases as being relevant to childhood AfL exposure, this may have been marginally relevant.

5.3.2 Personal conditions

Findings regarding personal conditions are discussed under two main themes: the first concerns capacity and skill relating to SLL generally (i.e. biochronic qualities and prior human capital gains). The second combines conditions of affect and desire, typically related to AfLL in particular (i.e. the presence/absence of zookairotic capital, and L2 motivation).

5.3.2.1 Personal conditions of capacity & skill

5.3.2.1.1 Qualities of biochronic capital

Firstly, the qualities of biochronic capital – impacting the degree to which its expense could lead to linguistic capital – were found to predominate across two continua. The first was between language affinity and difficulty, phenomena which likely emerge from neurophysiological traits, but which may have emerged as a result of socio-structural

conditions rather than nature.[267] Lily aside, the majority of core cases exhibited at least one marker of language affinity when their major commitment in AfLL was catalysed, as discussed in Andrew, Bradley, Ivan, and Carl's cases above (neither Tanya nor Duncan reported any such evidence).

> "I'm good at languages" "I love noun classes" (**Lily**)
>
> "I was very shy growing up anyway. So that didn't help" (**Duncan**)
>
> "I was very shy to speak [isiXhosa]" [268] (**Natasha**)
>
> "as a teenager, you're very, very shy. So even though I was studying [isiXhosa], I was very, very shy to speak it" (**Renée**)
>
> "I actually found it really difficult at school. I really wasn't particularly good at it" (**Heather**)
>
> "I was terrified when I used to sit in [the isiXhosa] class ... I had this intrinsic ... intrinsic anxiety about it" (**Heather**)

The language affinity/difficulty continuum co-occurred with a personality trait continuum:[269] extroversion/social affinity on one pole and introversion/shyness on the other. In all cases where introversion was present, language affinity was lacking. Where language difficulty was present (e.g. in Heather's case), language anxiety also obtained. While there was considerable diversity in the female subsample regarding biochronic qualities,[270] *all but one* male participant – Duncan – across the nine post-apartheid wSAn cases of L2AfLL exhibited either language affinity or extroversion, or both implicitly.

Ideal biochronic qualities appeared to be important aspects to achieving AfLL success, given the implication of amplifying micro-level linguistic capital gains during interactions with AfL mediators.[271] While data on biochronic qualities was not systematically elicited, where it did emerge, this often helped explain the quality and extent of a case's commitment in AfLL.

5.3.2.1.2 Previous human capital

Regarding prior human capital, a number of cases revealed the presence of prior creative capital or linguistic capital. Beyond Carl and Duncan, two other cases had extensive musical training,[272] with likely gains in character capital (conscientious drilling, overcoming social anxiety) and increased facility with the phonetic aspects of language.

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[267] The condition has been formulated to be agnostic as to the origins of language affinity/difficulty for this reason.
[268] Natasha repeated this *three* times within the same utterance.
[269] Particularly the "Big Five" or "Five-factor" model of personality (Digman, 1990).
[270] Lily arguably skews the data, as a limit case.
[271] See section 2.3.3.
[272] In Bradley's case, this was acquired simultaneously with his post-academic AfLL.

> "I was in the school choir"; "my [university] majors were initially music and drama" (**Natasha**)
>
> "then I actually did a music diploma ... for another three years"[273] (**Bradley**)
>
> "I've always been thinking [that] my background in Swahili has helped me so much" (**Lily**)

For those with prior linguistic capital in languages other than their target AfL, this was usually English or Afrikaans; in two cases (Tanya and Lily), however, it was Kiswahili. Only Heather and Andrew began L2AfLL using the strict sense of 'L2'.

5.3.2.2 Personal conditions of affect & desire

It was found that the condition of (lacking) zookairotic capital aligned, often as a precursor, to more articulate motivations for AfLL.

5.3.2.2.1 Previous zookairotic capital

The presence or absence of prior[274] zookairotic capital was implicit in most cases. When present, it resulted from experiences of prior relational, cultural or L2 investment that produced a sense of joy/enjoyment or connection (whether as dependent *or* independent investors). Where absent – excluding the limit case of Johan[275] – this stemmed from a felt absence of connection or joy in relation to AfLL or encounters with AfL speakers.

A number of complementary or divergent pairs regarding zookairotic capital emerge across cases: Andrew and Peter exhibited deep senses of connection to their AfL-speaking nannies. E.g.

> "I *love* them ... there was a lot of love. So, initially, it was a sense of... 'Wow, I'm deeply out of integrity'" (**Peter**)

Andrew and Carl had positive experiences of connection – described as social reinforcement above – while learning isiZulu and SASL. Duncan *deeply* enjoyed isiZulu linguaculture, while academic learning of isiXhosa prompted *deep* anxiety in Heather. Tanya and Natasha both experienced a felt sense of disconnection from AfL-speaking people – clients in Tanya's legal work, and peers in Natasha's social circle.

> "the motivation behind it was... really just wanting to *do* things with my [choir] friends, be part of things with my friends" (**Natasha**)

[273] This occurred after his degree in isiZulu, but while still tutoring and learning the language via proximal immersion.
[274] The term 'prior' must be understood in the sense of 'prior to major commitment'.
[275] Johan, qua limit case, illustrates an apartheid-era-specific motivational and catalytic complex for AfLL.

> "I always had this idea of this 'pathetic-ness' of being a ... lawyer, but not being able to speak and engage with your clients and having to use paralegals as intermediaries – which made me very frustrated" (**Tanya**)

The nature of (lacking) zookairotic capital is highly case-specific, but it is clearly a relevant personal condition across multiple cases. All these affective conditions caused a positive regard for AfLL – as either a means of gaining zookairotic capital where its absence is felt, or gaining *more* zookairotic capital where already present.

5.3.2.2.2 L2 Motivation

Using the L2MSS frame, cases can be divided into three groups. The first two are those with evidence of highly vivid IL2Ss (the isiZulu trio already discussed: Duncan, Bradley, Andrew) and those with initially vivid OL2Ss (Tanya and Heather).

> "it started to occur to me that there was some type of necessity to learn [isiXhosa] ... 'this is more valuable than learning other languages ... it's the right thing to do'" (**Heather**)

The third group included cases who seemed not to distinctly identify themselves through AfLL, but saw it rather as an augmentation of a non-L2 current self, serving more immediate occupational, social and (for some) societal purposes (Ivan, Carl, Natasha, Lily, Johan, Peter and Renée). Table 4: Personal and catalytic conditions (Appendix G3) provides a visual representation of how these general motivational categories varied across cases. Beyond the motivational frame of self and other-identification implied by the L2MSS, certain motivational clusters were apparent across the various cases.

1. Language and cultural interest tended to co-occur.
2. A desire for social interaction, connection and cultural interest tended to co-occur.
3. Occupational and societal/socio-political motivation tended to co-occur.

For those with vivid IL2Ss, motivational clusters 1 & 2 were prevalent, while 3 was absent (at the initiation of AfLL).[276] For those with a vivid OL2S, cluster 3 as well as cultural interest were typically prevalent; language interest was absent, however. The other cases, in which self-identification does not play an obvious role, are more variable in the makeup of their motivational profiles. This latter category appears to bifurcate according to those with an initial language interest (Carl, Lily, and Ivan) and those without (Natasha, Renée, and Johan). For those with a reported language interest, social and occupational utility are typically mentioned. For those without, cluster #3 tended to occur. Peter's case is an outlier in terms of L2 motivation.

[276] This does not discount their later recognition/use of these AfL affordances

5.3.3 Catalytic conditions

With regards to catalytic conditions, it was found that three kinds were primarily operative: guardian investment, circumstantial accident, and circumstantial necessity.[277]

5.3.3.1 Guardian investment

The first catalyst for AfLL was guardian investment in ideal socio-structural conditions for children *qua* dependent L2AfL investors. This obtained in four cases: Duncan, Andrew, Heather and Tanya, prompting minor commitment to AfLL at first, until subsequent catalysts – usually once the child reached an independent investor status – prompted major commitment.

5.3.3.2 Circumstantial accident

Circumstantial accident was the second kind of catalyst found. For cases prompted to (re)initiate commitment to L2AfLL due to either social or spatial circumstances (*qua primary catalyst*: Bradley, Ivan, Carl, Lily, Natasha; *secondary catalyst*: Duncan), there was no explicit intention to engage in AfLL within the given circumstance – unlike the intentionality set in motion by some forms of guardian investment. While accidental catalysts are (by definition) contingent and not *necessary*, when combined with investor's personal conditions, they are *sufficient* to prompt L2 investment. All cases of circumstantial accident exhibited relatively ideal personal conditions for either SLL generally, or AfL learning specifically.[278] With regard to catalytic encounters with people, they took the form of fluent AfL mediators (e.g. Bradley, Ivan, and Duncan). With regard to accidents of place, these involved AfL-dominant contexts that were at a distance from investor's 'default' location, and always where they had a social or occupational alibi for their presence (e.g. Peter, Lily, and Carl).

5.3.3.3 Circumstantial necessity

Circumstantial necessity – the third kind of catalyst – was most apparent in the peripheral case sample. It was the primary catalyst for Peter and Johan, and a secondary catalyst for Renée,[279] Tanya and Heather (all of whom had previous academic AfLL experience). While

[277] These are not exhaustive of the catalysts exhibited by the combined sample. For example, Andrew's secondary catalyst, prompting major commitment, was a change in spatial circumstances: moving to live at his school's boarding house, where he had extensive but highly optional opportunities to practice speaking isiZulu. It arguably could be classified as a combination of circumstantial accident and necessity.

[278] It is interesting to note that the explanatory power of Dörnyei's IL2S and OL2S constructs was less relevant to these cases, as self-formation and identification had already occurred independent of any specific L2AfL self-project.

[279] Renée's primary catalyst does not easily fit into the three categories offered; in the context of involvement in the UDF and the apartheid struggle, the unexpected advent of academic access to AfLL at her 'coloured-only' school – access that was remarkable at the time – was sufficient to prompt her initial commitment to isiXhosa.

the circumstance could have been the sudden initiation of habitual social interactions with monolingual AfL speakers, the circumstance in all relevant cases was one of spatial change – moving from an urban to a rural area. For Peter, Renée and Johan, the rural location to which they moved was sufficiently AfL-dominant that it *necessitated* a degree of AfLL, something these cases pursued intentionally from the outset. It became clear that a continuum of circumstantial necessity for AfLL exists, however – as evidence of 'optional' necessity was found in Heather and Tanya's cases. Unlike the unqualified necessity for AfLL in Johan, Renée and Peter's cases, Tanya and Heather had to avoid English-speaking 'bubbles' in order for circumstantial necessity to catalyse their AfLL.

5.3.4 Overall conditions across cases

Table 5: Overall conditions (Appendix G4) shows socio-structural, personal, and catalytic conditions in tandem. In order to produce the table, each set of conditions, as subdivided in the chapter above, were quantified in order to create relative scores for each case's socio-structural and personal conditions respectively.[280] While imperfect and throwing up numerous methodological challenges – what weighting to give each condition within the broader categories? – this process nevertheless produced a rank-ordering of cases that arguably reflects the evidential weight of qualitative data across all cases.[281]

A cross-case analysis of the overall conditions for L2AfL investment reveals four distinct case groups. Although the analysis – at this stage – has not sought to relate conditions to commitment or capital gains, certain conclusions may be drawn from the groupings below. Firstly, it is clear (and unsurprising, given the success criterion for the sample) that highly-ideal personal conditions exhibited in groups 1 and 2 (constituting two-thirds of the case sample) correlate with AfLL success. In several of these cases, ideal socio-structural conditions could be very low or even *completely* absent for major commitment in AfLL to be catalysed. In other words, for individuals sufficiently different to the norm, L2AfLL is

[280] This were then rebased against the highest scoring case(s) in the sample (Duncan for socio-structural conditions; Andrew & Lily for personal conditions).

[281] Despite attempts to format the original quantitative version of the table to fit within a landscape page, this was impossible and only the qualitative version could be included. In presentation, rather than using scores, each case was assigned to a range (very high, high, middling, low, very low, none) in relation to the ideal set of conditions, with the exception of catalytic conditions where ordinal measures are not used. Catalysts were not treated in this way, because outside of parental investment (which is largely accounted for in the socio-structural condition measure), these have been conceptualised as 'making up the difference' (whatever that might be) between an investor's socio-structural and personal conditioning and actually initiating commitment to AfLL. However, the distinction between catalysts that necessitate commitment, versus those which do not, does introduce a ranking in terms of catalytic force.

plausible; a finding that adds little to extant knowledge, but merely confirms the fact that exceptional cases are exceptions.

More interestingly, however, is the implication derivative from case groups 3 and 4, where ideal personal conditions for L2AfLL are middling, or even absent. If *either* the catalytic condition of sufficient guardian investment, *or* circumstantial necessity arise in such cases – then at least a moderate degree of L2AfL investment success can occur.[282] Heather was prompted by the former catalyst; Renée was prompted by the latter; Tanya was prompted by both – and in Natasha's case, she was prompted by neither, with concomitant lack of success.

#1. Overall conditions: highly ideal

The first group – Andrew, Duncan, and Ivan – were investors with middling to highly-ideal socio-structural conditions and highly-ideal personal conditions. In all three cases, low catalytic force (i.e. circumstantial accident) was required for their major commitment to AfLL.

#2. Personal conditions only: highly ideal

The second group – consisting of Lily, Carl, Peter, Johan, and Bradley – was the largest by far. These investors exhibited low-to-no ideal socio-structural conditions (no parental investment), but possessed high to very-high ideal personal conditions. In their cases, low catalytic force was typically required to initiate major AfLL commitment, with the (apartheid era) exception of Johan.

#3. Overall conditions: moderately ideal

The third group – Tanya and Natasha – were investors with middling-ideal socio-structural and personal conditions, both with some degree of thwarted parental investment. In Tanya's case, higher catalytic force was relevant to the initiation of major commitment – in contrast to the relatively-low catalytic force required for Natasha's major (but limited) commitment during high school.[283]

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[282] A relatively forceful, necessitating catalyst appeared to be crucial in the initiation of major AfLL commitment (although not necessarily to maintain it for the long term), something which correlated with a distinct modality – distant immersion.

[283] Natasha's case is interesting for a number of reasons: after a period of largely passive immersion during school – a result of circumstantial accident – her major commitment in AfLL took the form of an academic modality – university AfL classes – which was never followed up by a subsequent transgressive modality, with implications for her eventual linguistic returns. Compared to other cases, it appears that greater catalytic force – circumstantial necessity – was required in Natasha's case, something she never had easily available, and something she never sought out.

#4. Personal conditions: non-ideal

The fourth group, consisting of Heather and Renée, diverged in the extent of ideal socio-structural conditions, but were otherwise similar regarding personal and catalytic conditions. Heather, with highly ideal socio-structural conditions (and parental investment), had on balance *no* ideal personal conditions, despite her strong-but-extrinsic motivations for AfLL. Medium-high catalytic force was required for Heather to make a major commitment to AfLL. Renée exhibited low ideal socio-structural conditions (no parental investment) and a low measure of ideal personal conditions. High catalytic force was required for her major commitment: something to which she attested explicitly.

Chapter conclusion

This chapter presented findings regarding the conditions that led to L2AfL investment within, and across, multiple cases. Organised according to the two main catalysts operative within the core sample – parental investment and circumstantial accident – case-by-case reporting detailed the conditions for L2AfL investment in depth, which were systematically analysed during cross-case analysis, with the inclusion of peripheral cases, which provided further details regarding the apparent 'necessary and sufficient conditions' for L2AfLL in post-apartheid SA.

Chapter 6
Commitment in L2AfLL

Chapter synopsis

Commitment – the second element of the L2 Investment arc – involves three main elements: **discipline** in capital allocation, at least one **modality** of SLL, and **intermediation** of the target L2. In the chapter that follows, each case has been grouped depending on the extent of commitment to traditional academic modalities of AfLL (i.e. school and university) – arguably normative modalities of SLL in the modern era, with associated SLL disciplines and intermediation. This has been done in order to highlight, from the outset, the means by which AfLL occurs from within the normative frame of SLL on a case-by-case basis.

Of the six core cases, two received at least two stages of formal education where an AfL was a multi-year, substantial subject, and were thus grouped together. Both Andrew and Ivan studied AfLs at both secondary and tertiary levels. Two cases – Bradley and Duncan – only had one stage of formal education in an AfL: the former at university, and the latter at high school. The final two core cases received minimal or no academic AfL education. Tanya took a year-long course at university level, but the bulk of her learning occurred extramurally. Carl never engaged in any academic AfLL.

Section 6.1 – Cases of major academic commitment

Two cases, Andrew and Ivan, exhibited major academic commitment. In the case of Andrew (like peripheral case Heather), he learnt an AfL from the beginning of primary school onwards and thus completed all three stages of education with an AfL as a subject. Ivan began in late primary school, but effectively from high school onwards, and continued until the end of university.

6.1.1 ANDREW: the truth speaker

Andrew did not focus on the methods or techniques of his experience of formal AfL schooling and university, preferring to highlight the general approach and outcome, which was geared towards grammatical mastery. This modality of AfLL, however, was complemented with a commitment to proximal immersion that began mid-way through high school; this was the transgressive modality through which his fluency was achieved, prior to graduating from university.

6.1.1.1 Academic modalities: high school and university

Andrew's "isiZulu upbringing was definitely grounded in a grammatical approach." He emphasised that isiZulu as an academic subject at school (and to a lesser extent university) created a good grammatical basis for his subsequent colloquial conversion.

> I had a strong recall of the rule structures, and I understood linguistically how the rules worked, I was kind of able to input new vocab that I learned into pre-existing grammatical structures that I knew... and able to then reproduce grammatically-sound sentences. (**Andrew**)

Thus while his writing and reading skills in isiZulu were well-developed,[284] Andrew "couldn't access it in the spoken form". This foundation also had its habitual "downsides", e.g. not enabling one to "organically and spontaneously produce sentences" and occasionally, if he encountered "metaphoric language, or maybe idioms or phrases", then he would be left "a bit stumped" due to "relying on a language system, like a grammatical system" to interpret them. Beyond the focus on grammar, Andrew did not emphasise the relevance of his academic AfLL.

While his willingness to engage in proximal immersion at the boarding-house began a process of integrating his grammatical AfL knowledge with the realities of AfL use (discussed below), it was only from his second year of university when Andrew's isiZulu actually "became more conversational". Andrew made special reference to his university isiZulu lecturer, who "was a very influential person" for him, and a passionate and supportive teacher. He had a lot of individual attention from her, for at this point in his "second and third year [of university], the classes were very, very small." Under her tutelage – which may have veered into *de facto* mentorship, although confirmatory data is lacking – this is the point at which his so-called "early fluency" was realised.

6.1.1.2 Transgressive modality: proximal immersion

Class-transgressive interactions in isiZulu: school staff

Having moved to the boarding house of his school, Andrew's decision to "get better" manifested in his initiation of interactions in isiZulu with the school's kitchen staff, catering team, security guards – all of whom were willing and encouraging interlocuters:

> they found me intriguing. And I felt like ... maybe there was less judgement, for me making mistakes, than maybe somebody of a different quote unquote 'class'. (**Andrew**)

[284] Referring to his Zulu classmates' spoken isiZulu: "they were obviously far, far more proficient in isiZulu, but just my writing ability and my literacy was probably better overall in general".

Older isiZulu speakers, who were working-class and in relatively low-skill occupations were the ones who "responded more positively" and found him intriguing – potentially because, unlike most other wSAn boys in the boarding house, his use of isiZulu acknowledged them as people rather than service-providers.

Class-congruent interactions in English: peers

The "judgement" referred to above alludes to either indifferent or negative reception to Andrew's AfL use by Zulu schoolmates – with whom speaking *English* was the default:

> my matric Zulu class had, you know, a handful of – maybe eight or so – non-English speakers and I can't think of any of them that really would use the language outside of the classroom. (**Andrew**)

He speculates that this dynamic may have been due to his Zulu peers being more "educated" or of a higher social status, with English at a L1 level. In his view, the "positive" responses he received from the L1Z school and boarding-house staff were a result of "bridging the class divide".

Proximal, habitual interactions with willing AfL mediators

What the boarding-house allowed him to do was "have a lot of people that [he] could just try and converse with, and ask questions, and [keep] on practising". After finishing school, he continued with these habits of conversation beyond the school walls, e.g. with car guards and other security guards: "I didn't have big reservations about talking to people of, quote unquote, a 'different class' to me; it didn't faze me." In his view, this kind of daily interaction – integrated with his academic modality of AfLL – was the biggest factor in terms of learning isiZulu.

> I'd say the biggest thing was daily interaction – the fact that in parallel, I was learning new grammatical structures reinforced my confidence in the rules of the language. And then I was able to... I'd practice a new structure I learned... or had become aware of... [then] I'd hear something and I'd say, "Oh, like, I've learnt about that!" ... and then I got to the point where I was able to actually make inferences ... in a sentence or in a conversation, [I'd] hear a phrase or a word that I might not know, but because of the context, I was able to make an inference about what that meant. So yeah, but it was just through those daily interactions. (**Andrew**)

This was how Andrew, in his words, "started to transfer [his isiZulu] from a written, grammatical, school 'book-knowledge', to a more practical spoken form." What Andrew exhibited in the boarding house and gradually outside it reveals an instance of *proximal immersion*: willingly putting himself in regular TL contact with nearby TL speakers, both within academic, and later urban, extramural contexts.

6.1.2 IVAN: the academic achiever

Ivan committed his biochronic capital chiefly within the context of academic modalities, with its associated forms of discipline and intermediation. His high school AfLL experience appears unique, however – in part due to his AfL teacher, but primarily because he integrated his academic AfLL with the transgressive modality of proximal immersion: transgressing intramural norms of using either English or Afrikaans, and instead using Sesotho with L1AfL peers at school and later university.

6.1.2.1 Academic modality #1: high school

The academic modality of AfLL that Ivan underwent was *unusually* regimented and rigorous, and this in part explains why he appears to have made the swiftest progress in AfLL relative to other cases. While his experience of learning at school emphasised reading and writing skills, a focus on academic literacy was *not* pursued to the neglect of the spoken language. This was because his high school teacher "did things very differently to what the curriculum at that time prescribed". From Grade 10 onwards – likely due to the idiosyncratic approach of his Sesotho teacher – he described his experience thus:

> ... when we got into her class, she never spoke a word of Afrikaans or English, unless we didn't understand anything. So she immediately, if I can put it that way, switched to Sotho mode. And we were – can I say in inverted commas – 'forced' to address her in Sotho; we did an *obscene* amount of orals: I'll never forget that. And we wrote like three or four tests every week. She was like *really* honestly passionate about that. (**Ivan**)

The change from Grade 9 to 10 was particularly difficult, but it appears that this was when the foundations (and indeed much of the brickwork) of his later fluency were laid.[285] By all accounts, she created an artificial (but effective) immersion environment and coupled this with rigorously "drilling in the [language] rules" so that Ivan and his classmates would know "how things intertwine and how words work ... and how you actually formulate sentences". His summary of her teaching was that "the quality of Sotho that we got from [her] was so advanced, it was more on a 'mother tongue' level". One may emphasise the formal, academic nature of Ivan's learning at school, but equally, an emphasis on the centrality of his Sesotho teacher seems appropriate. Her guardian-like investment in Ivan's AfLL, combined with an expert TL mediator status, may be viewed as an instance of L2 mentorship: a modality of SLL in its own right.[286]

[285] In his words, "the foundation was laid at the school level".
[286] For more a more thorough elucidation of L2 Mentorship, see Duncan's case in Part 2 of this chapter.

6.1.2.2 Transgressive modality: proximal immersion

From Grade 10 onwards, Ivan was initially the only non-Sotho student taking the subject – all others were L1 speakers. Two other wSAn students then joined, creating a trio of L2 learners who 'stuck it out' to the end of Matric.[287] Ivan's catalytic friendship with two Sotho peers helped him learn Sesotho academically – but at the same time, they would help him practice speaking colloquially. In exchange, he reciprocated as a mediator and tutor of Afrikaans. Surrounded by L1 Sesotho speakers within class, Ivan followed their example by inserting English or Afrikaans words into his speech, but only when he did not know the "correct Sotho word".[288] Beyond the Sesotho classroom itself, he attributes his fluency to daily conversation:

> I spoke Sotho on a daily basis with my friends and also the domestic [worker]. The best way for a person to learn a new language is to have a [L1] speaker in the *near vicinity*: to actually speak to them on a daily basis (**Ivan**, italics emphasis mine)

Like Andrew, Ivan committed himself to proximal immersion within his academic and domestic contexts.

6.1.2.3 Academic modality #2: University

After gaining considerable linguistic capital during his high-school years through integrated academic-transgressive commitment, Ivan continued to commit (at little biochronic cost, for the most part) in the context of university-level Sesotho classes, where his linguistic capital was compounded still further. This was largely unrelated to his tertiary-level academic classes,[289] but occurred primarily because of the social leverage he gained when L1 Sesotho peers discovered the extent of his Sesotho knowledge. He became something of a celebrity: "...within a month or two of me being on campus, all the Sotho-speaking people knew about me and would automatically speak Sotho to me". Revelling in this apparent social capital, Ivan's fluency continued to deepen. Throughout both the secondary and tertiary stages of academic learning, therefore, Ivan exhibited proximal immersion: engagement with nearby TL mediators with whom he willingly interacted.

[287] While on the one hand he said that this made him more comfortable "in a sense" (i.e. not being the only white student in the classroom), he was emphatic that it did not matter substantially, because the Sotho students welcomed and supported him (even if his pronunciation was occasionally the object of their laughter).
[288] While willing to codeswitch, he indicated a preference for, and commitment to, language purism.
[289] Due to the level of Sesotho he had gained at school, Ivan found that the "the first two years of studying Sotho [at university] ... was quite basic". The third (and final) year of the course "got more challenging", however, and this served to compound and solidify his already-well-established oral and written proficiency.

Section 6.2 – Cases of medium academic commitment

Two core cases, Duncan and Bradley (along with three peripheral cases: Lily, Natasha and Renée – see Appendices B1, B6, and B3 respectively) – undertook a single stage of multi-year academic AfL education: high school for Duncan, and university for the remainder. Unlike Andrew and Ivan, whose major commitment in academic AfLL extended for six years or more, cases with medium academic commitment (~three years of major commitment) made extensive mention of AfL media use as relevant to their AfLL.

6.2.1 DUNCAN: the groove maker

Duncan's commitment took a different form to the previous three cases, one of a subsequent and distinct conversion to colloquial speech rather than simultaneous integration thereof – a pattern also illustrated in Heather's case. His transgressive modality, mentorship, occurred accidentally and *subsequent* to academic AfLL for an intense, year-long period.

6.2.1.1 Academic modality: high school

Duncan experienced learning isiZulu at school as something focused on literacy skills:

> "In school, that was learning how to read and write" ... "we had to write essays and you had to get your past tense and your future tenses and all that right. But ... speaking it is a different story" (**Duncan**)

He described school as getting him to "60%" in pursuit of all-round proficiency.[290] As a school subject, it was "incredibly difficult" but enabled him to "get the basics right" and thereby set the scene for him to acquire the remaining '40%' of the colloquial, spoken language. His class was small (*c.* 10 students), and initially *half* were L1E learners (all white, except for one Indian). The other half of the class were L1Z. The attrition rate was high, however: by the time Duncan reached Grade 12, there were only two remaining non-black L2Z learners: himself and a white boy who had grown up on a farm.[291] Even some of the isiZulu learners had dropped out to take Afrikaans as their Grade 12 FAL subject – testament to the perceived and real difficulty of isiZulu as a FAL. Persevering through this difficulty, despite the fact that even some L1Z speakers dropped the subject, provides evidence of Duncan's *personal* engagement and discipline, beyond the structural discipline implied in academic modalities of SLL.

[290] "And when you are trying to get across... when you're really into the conversation, yeah, you know, it you can't just have your basic past tense and future tenses. You know, you there's a lot more to it. And so, I reckon, school got me to 60%" (Duncan)

[291] The implication is that this boy likely had near-L1 oral abilities in isiZulu – as reported in section 5.1.2.3, this was the school's default expectation for white students who wished to take isiZulu as a FAL subject.

Duncan had two Zulu teachers, both who were "mother tongue" speakers (i.e. L1Z). He recalls that the "first one wasn't the greatest" – who taught him from Grade 8-9, but "the second one [was] just amazing". She taught him for the final, most difficult grades of the subject (Grade 10-12), and she took an approach of speaking almost entirely to him in isiZulu. They had a positive student-teacher relationship; he was appreciative of her support in his academic AfLL, as well as her support for his general interest in Zulu culture and music.

Beyond teachers as TL mediators, further intermediation in the classroom or within the school walls appeared to be limited to academic AfLL tasks, as the English-dominant school culture obstructed peer-to-peer use of isiZulu across the L1-L2 divide:

> many of the Zulu kids in my class would speak English. And so ... I was nervous. It's just how it is: you're nervous when you starting to speak a language; you're nervous to talk to anyone you think knows how to speak it.
>
> ... when I got to grade eight and started learning alongside them, you know, these guys became my close friends – and when I really *couldn't* speak Zulu, I was speaking to them in English. So, it's like ... [I was] nervous to talk to them ... So it's like, 'Do I really need to speak Zulu?' (**Duncan**)

Thus despite the (significant) presence of L1Z speakers in his class and school more broadly, Duncan did not practice speaking it with them. Given that he was "very shy growing up" and the habitual dynamics of English socialisation, this prompted nervous anxiety, rendering him unwilling to transgress contextual sociolinguistic norms.[292] In sum, Duncan would speak "just the basics [of isiZulu], a few words here and there" while in school. Given these personal and interpersonal dynamics within the academic context, Duncan's "obsession" with isiZulu linguaculture was insufficient to motivate the transgressive commitment of proximal immersion, as occurred in Andrew and Duncan's cases.

6.2.1.2 Transgressive modality: mentorship

In Duncan's case, however, mentorship emerged as a special form of proximal immersion that warrants its status as a separate modality: one in which the proximal context is neither academic nor urban, but *a specific person*. Its essence is revealed within the biochronic capital-intense, mutual commitment by both L2 investor and mentor to (the facilitation of) TL communication. A year after leaving school and beginning his professional career as a

[292] He did mention, though, that they might occasionally address him in isiZulu e.g. to borrow a pen ("*Ey Duncan*, cel'uk'bolek' i-pen*") or throw around a few isiZulu words in their speech, knowing that he would understand.

musician, Duncan met and began collaborating with a Zulu musician, 25 years his senior, named Themba.[293] In a relatively short but intense period of time, he became "one of [Duncan's] closest friends and mentors". It was due to this mentorship – in both the craft of Maskandi music and the isiZulu language – that Duncan's knowledge of isiZulu[294] gained the '40%' that it was needed to build above the foundation provided by school.

Upon beginning their collaboration, Duncan relates that "[they] began talking Zulu from day one," as Themba's English skills were not too advanced; this circumstantial accident was sufficient for Duncan to willingly use his still-academic variety of isiZulu. Over the course of six months, they made music together in a recording studio. Soon, they went "on the road" playing music gigs together, speaking while on the road.

> that was why, I reckon, within 6 months, I took everything I learned at school, [and] put it all together. I'd been talking with Themba* for 6 months – and that was it! (**Duncan**)

Qua mentor, Themba would sensitively incorporate English words into his speech, in order to render it more comprehensible, and he would largely avoid the need to repeat himself through nuanced non-verbal communication and moderating his speech for Duncan's benefit ("I don't remember having to ask him to repeat... what he'd just told me").[295] Rather than letting Duncan's language errors slip by, Themba would indirectly correct them:

> then another thing he was really good at – was and still today – is if I'm talking to him in Zulu, and I get something wrong ... anyone else speaking Zulu wouldn't have picked it up [on it], they would have carried on: 'not a huge issue'. But because, you know, we're trying to get really deep here, in terms of the language ...[296] he would repeat a bit of what I'd said, and [then] he'd repeat it correctly. (**Duncan**)

In other words, Themba would recognise and feed Duncan's desire to speak well, correctly – and "deep". Indeed, part of the language mentorship involved use of "deep" isiZulu idioms and proverbs. A mutual interest in both music and proverbial language was a central factor why they were "on the same wavelength", a relational factor that amplified their friendship and Themba's guardian-like investment in Duncan's SLL. While Themba's mentorship was pivotal, Duncan's fluency developed to a lesser extent through his interactions with other

[293] A pseudonym.
[294] Which immediately after school was *not* being sufficiently activated for it to grow meaningfully.
[295] This period of effective immersion was successful because Themba's language mentorship was congruent with Duncan's ZPD, or in Bradley and Krashen's terms, Themba was an excellent 'language parent' and provider of comprehensible input.
[296] At this juncture, he commented on the translingual or 'shallow' ways of speaking isiZulu: "you know – nowadays it's very watered down if you go, especially if you go into the townships" (Duncan).

L1Z mediators: especially within the music industry, but also through the oft-cited talking to car guards, petrol attendants, supermarket staff: the "everyday people that we encounter."

6.2.1.3 AfL media

Given Duncan's "obsession" with isiZulu and its associated culture, the limitations (and difficulty) of his academic AfLL prompted him to commit biochronic capital towards use of isiZulu media, prior to his later habitual interactions with L1Z mediators. Duncan articulated several different kinds of relevant media. Firstly, he found that reading the Bible in isiZulu a valuable learning aide: an idea he attributed to his grandfather, who learnt chiShona and isiNdebele as a clergyman. As Duncan knew parts of the Bible and generally familiar with its contents and themes, reading the "first hundred or so" pages [of Genesis and Exodus] was far more familiar and comprehensible than any other set isiZulu texts he encountered in school. Beyond using the Bible as a reader, Duncan also mentions reading comics about soccer in Grade 12. These were "all basic Zulu" – easier than what he was doing in the classroom – but from which he nevertheless "learned so much". He watched old Zulu sitcoms and TV shows; the subtitles and ability to pause/repeat were helpful for learning. Once he "started watching those, that was a huge help" as they enabled him to "take it to a new level" in terms of comprehending naturalistic language use. Similarly, listening to Ukhozi FM [a radio station] was another source of L2 media that Duncan mentioned. The language employed there was relatively "deep", as he explained:

> Ukhozi FM [is] strictly Zulu. You know, they can't throw in any English into the conversation (apart [from], I mean, nowadays, you automatically throw an English word here and there) – but no English sentences. (**Duncan**)

Finally, Duncan made emphatic mention of 'isizulu.net': a reference media website containing an isiZulu dictionary. In his view, it was one of the best online dictionaries available and something he made extensive use of to quickly check words or phrases.

6.2.2 BRADLEY: the "chaos" bringer

Bradley's form of commitment was similar to the former cases presented; he integrated his transgressive modality – academic and urban proximal immersion – into his academic AfLL, which began and ended in university. Unlike Andrew and Ivan, however, his academic-transgressive integration required several further years of purely transgressive commitment until fluency was reached.

6.2.2.1 Academic modality: university

Bradley's experience of formal Zulu learning at university "was fine, but ... not very effective." He described an overemphasis on drilling of grammar and developing literacy skills: skills that did not suit his initial motivation for AfLL, centred on colloquial speech. As a result of this overemphasis, he had initial problem with unnatural speech rhythms and struggled to engage in genuine dialogue. A Zulu friend told him that hearing Bradley's speech was like hearing "a machine gun" (i.e. mechanical, overly consistent stress patterns). With his brain conditioned by the emphases of university study, he elaborated on the problem as follows:

> I would greet someone, and then switch off to what they were saying. I wouldn't *really* listen to them, because I was in my brain, trying to do grammar rules ... it's just, like, really unnatural and... [produces] stunted conversation. (**Bradley**)

This was an issue which Bradley believed to be the "symptom of learning grammar [...] and just reading stuff" without sufficient exposure to how isiZulu was actually spoken.

6.2.2.2 Transgressive modality: proximal immersion

Over time, Bradley's remedy for grammatical/literacy overemphasis evolved into "[s]peaking to people every day". As an instance of proximal immersion, he would "go for walks around the neighbourhood," becoming friends with "all the street sweepers and all the security guards." This became so habitual that going for "quick" walks became impossible, because "everyone was greeting [him] and wanting to chat". He recounted an instance where he and his university isiZulu classmates were waiting for a lesson to begin; Bradley began chatting with several Zulu construction workers nearby. His classmates reportedly were surprised to find out that they could not follow Bradley's conversation at all.[297] In his words, then: "I didn't learn Zulu at varsity... [it] just gave me some tools [i.e. rules] that I could go out and 'break' on Zulu people", learning through the conversations which would ensue. Bradley identifies security guards[298] as *particularly* willing mediators.

> [There were] many hours spent with security guards ... because they are bored out of their skulls generally ... and so they wouldn't let me leave. I'd get these splitting headaches spending an hour speaking in Zulu [with them]. (**Bradley**)

The mediators who populated Bradley's proximal immersion environment were primarily those *not* in the middle-class, academic sphere, and Bradley was strategic in identifying

[297] The practice of speaking in extramural settings was not something that they engaged in (to the same degree).
[298] Given South Africa's security problems, guards are plentiful.

mediators with whom interactions would be mutually beneficial – where the interaction could go beyond the transactional into lengthier conversations. His willingness to engage with isiZulu mediators beyond the classroom – in large part due to his extroversion, but also due to a relative willingness to transgress safety and class-based norms – enabled him to productively reconcile the two.

6.2.2.3 Strategic use of AfL media

Bradley's experience of learning isiZulu, and soon his experience of tutoring the language, led him to Krashen's heuristic concept of *comprehensible input* (henceforth, CI). Bradley reported that his machine-gun-like speech "sorted itself out with enough [CI]", which he strategically pursued. While he *was* having many conversations with L1Z mediators, finding what he called "language parents" who could help him learn beyond what was necessary – and beyond the machine-gun patterns of speech he learned from university – was difficult.[299]

> So after varsity, I sort of plateaued with my Zulu ability, and just carried on, um. You know I was *teaching* Zulu, straight after varsity I started tutoring, like first years and second years, whatever ... but my Zulu ability wasn't improving much ... it plateaued quite intensely (**Bradley**)

Bradley thus found a technical, impersonal solution to this: extensive consumption of sufficiently compelling audio-visual isiZulu media: TV shows, [300] radio, and even self-made recordings of L1Z friend's speech:

> but the thing with the audio-visual [media], is that I could slow it down ... play it again. Like really *study* it ... I actually recorded a friend – another security guard guy – who was a brilliant storyteller. And I've recorded a few of his traditional Zulu folk tales ... put them on to mp3 format. And I've listened to each of them hundreds of times ... So it's just more the repetition and the ability to listen to it again. And then each time I listen, it gets more comprehensible. (**Bradley**)

Beyond audio-visual material, Bradley bemoaned the fact that he found little compelling reading material in isiZulu which could also provide him with CI. While acknowledging the existence of isiZulu newspapers and magazines, unlike the TV shows or Zulu folktales narrated by his security-guard friends, he did not find written media sufficiently "riveting."[301]

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[299] Those who could moderate their speech so that it was optimally comprehensible (through slowing down, careful diction and emphasis). Bradley also remarks that "it takes a lot of honing, to know when you're getting comprehensible input" – thus it's difficult to find "language parents" who can effectively cut with (what he calls) "the knife-edge" of comprehensible input – words that cut to the quick of a learner's understanding.

[300] Examples of other Zulu media include: *The Lion King* (dubbed/subtitles), *Family Bonds*, *Magic Cellar*.

[301] Given his interest in oral language and a personality geared towards spending time with people, this made sense.

As evidence of commitment discipline, Bradley formulated a learning method of month-long, 100-hour language challenges, in which he would watch and/or listen to isiZulu media for 100 hours – all within a single month. All biochronic capital (i.e. time) committed to the challenge would be logged.[302] He estimated completing at least three such 100-hour challenges, several years subsequent to his university studies. This biochronic capital-intense method reportedly had an "exponential" effective on his linguistic capital gains; Bradley related how a L1Z domestic worker (employed by a family member) was surprised at the qualitative change in his speech:

> I ... went to visit my parents over Christmas or something. And I was, you know, bored. So I did a bunch of this [100-hour] stuff. And ... the domestic worker [at a family member's house] ... I spoke to her a little bit [in Zulu], and she's like, "What? What's happened here? Like, you're speaking really well, all of a sudden ... You're not speaking like you used to" (Bradley)

In lieu of a "language parent" or mentor – like Themba in Duncan's case – the combination of extensive conversation with L1Z mediators, augmented with extensive and engaged exposure to compelling isiZulu media, led to Bradley's fluency in isiZulu.

Section 6.3 - Cases of minimal academic commitment

The final two cases, Tanya and Carl, received little to no academic AfL education. In its absence, their respective commitments in AfLL were fundamentally predicated on circumstantial change from English-dominant to AfL-dominant spaces. The discipline with which they committed biochronic capital depended largely on personal conditions, as did use of AfL media. Interaction with AfL mediators, their primary mode of intermediation, was largely a function of their different spatial and occupational circumstances.

6.3.1 TANYA: the intentional lawyer

With the advent of circumstantial necessity, Tanya's commitment took the form of deliberate cultivation of social relationships with L1X mediators, with whom she habitually interacted, Her enquiry-based technique of social learning was augmented by self-tuition using pedagogical media; during her year-long intermission, this was facilitated by two (very different) tutors. Having reached a plateau in learning – and despite her desire to exceed an "intermediate" level of linguistic capital gains – Tanya's discipline, in conjunction with the catalytic force of her rural circumstances, was apparently insufficient.

[302] Real-life isiZulu conversation was also logged – in other words, the challenge was aimed at contact with isiZulu intermediaries in general, both mediators and media.

6.3.1.1 Prior minor commitments in AfLL

Tanya illustrated minor commitment in AfLL during her first year of university: a small foot-in-the-door that facilitated greater commitment at a later stage. She described her isiXhosa course in university retrospectively as a "foundation" that gave her "enough of a sense of the structure of the language" and facility with isiXhosa phonetics. During subsequent short-term distant immersion trips which she described as "stints of practicing" isiXhosa – prior to the catalytic "work/life/job move" – Tanya experienced the value of contexts with higher catalytic force, and was able there to leverage her beginner isiXhosa linguistic capital to a tangible, though highly constrained, degree. These mini versions of sustained transgressive commitment were practise and preparation for the real thing once moving long-term to eMaphandleni. While it "wasn't scary or intimidating" due to her prior AfLL, she reported that it still did feel – initially, at least – as if she "hadn't learned anything" previously.

6.3.1.2 Transgressive Modality: distant immersion

Upon arrival in eMaphandleni, "one of [Tanya's] most deliberate things" was to socialise with her L1X neighbours and co-workers, rather than retreat into a English bubble.

> I will only get better, by having proper, real relationships with [L1X] people from here. Um, and *not* staying in a bubble. And so for me, that's been one of my most deliberate things ... I [socialise] with my neighbours and [L1X co-workers] ... and then *everything's* in Xhosa, you know, none of the things are in English. And so, friendships and relationships are critical. (**Tanya**)

Thus it was primarily through the intermediation of Xhosa friends, neighbours, and co-workers that she "learned a lot" and reached a stage in the language that she claimed was more advanced compared to other L2X learners (typically with L1E) in the region, even those who had been living there longer.

Tanya's mode of learning through language mediators was primarily enquiry-based, but not only in order to achieve proximate, practical needs through the language (in her learning context, "every word you learn is just practically useful"). She thus used questions in ways that helped her improve vocabulary and systematise her grammar knowledge:

> so initially, it was definitely vocab that I focused on. And then I would just ask people questions: "How do you say that? What's the past tense of that?" So there was some grammar. The grammar learning, I think, was more around asking people questions – because I bought this grammar book while I was living here ... I just found it impenetrable (**Tanya**)

The circumstantial nature of her distant immersion was such that "almost every time" Tanya learned a new word, "the next day" she was able to use it. She described going through a constant process of hearing a new word or structure, asking what it meant, probably

forgetting it soon after, hearing it used by someone else, and then sooner or later being able to access it from her long-term memory. Occasionally, she made notes on her phone.

Beyond learning through immersive contact with L1X mediators in the course of her work and social life, Tanya also engaged in regular autodidactic sessions using pedagogical and self-made AfL media (more or less "once a week"). She "would sit down and actually learn words, to try and expand the vocab" or "doing an hour lesson with [her]self" in the evenings. A learning technique that Tanya emphasised was the use of flashcards, a learning technique of which she called herself "a big fan." She made physical flashcards on the basis of new words encountered, and then reviewed these during her periodic study sessions.

6.3.1.3 Intermediation: interactions with TL mediators and media

A particularly important mediator – exhibiting a degree of mentorship – through whom Tanya invested considerable biochronic capital was a L1X-speaking boyfriend, whom she dated for her first year while living at eMaphandleni – and who she jokingly insisted was "highly recommended as a learning tool." On a more serious note, however, this relationship was "exceptionally helpful" as "he would only really speak Xhosa" to her, except "when it came to the more emotional, conversational stuff": then they would switch to speaking English. While the boyfriend *could* speak English well, "he was definitely much more comfortable in Xhosa" and for this reason she "got the basics down fast" of isiXhosa, through constant exposure and repetition of basic vocabulary and structures related to (for example) cooking, or asking where items were located.

During an intermission from eMaphandleni (for just over a year), Tanya returned to an urban context where isiXhosa was not dominant (Gauteng). As a substitute to distant immersion, she employed the services of two different isiXhosa tutors. The first entailed having lessons once a week, in which Tanya and the tutor – an L1X speaker – would "just chat, basically." She would tell the tutor about her past week, and what was happening the following week – thus "constantly practising future and past tense." This first tutor also gave her grammar exercises, which she found repetitive and rather unhelpful. She then moved to another tutor, a L1E/L1Z linguist with an interest in isiXhosa, who provided her with metalinguistic insights into the grammar and "got [her] more excited" about the language *per se*. Over the course of a few months, Tanya's second tutor discussed with her the internal logic of isiXhosa, "the structure, playing with the words ... how they mutate." She concluded:

> the medium of having someone talk to you about why the [isiXhosa noun] classes exist, and ... what they're rooted in historically, is really, really fascinating, [more] than, I guess, trying to read about it. (**Tanya**)

In terms of L2 media, she stressed the importance of various pedagogical media, particularly in the early period of distant immersion.[303] She described reading *I'solezwe lesiXhosa*, a Xhosa newspaper, because news (in general) was something that she enjoyed. In her opinion, however, "the articles there are so crap; the journalism is really not enticing," and thus she was not motivated to read extensively. Beyond this, she mentioned great difficulty finding something "enticing" to read in isiXhosa.

6.3.1.4 Discipline: no more low-hanging fruit

Tanya explained that a constraint for further commitment was the English-medium nature of her occupation, despite being "in a isiXhosa-dominated environment" – her opportunities for isiXhosa conversation was thus constrained to habitual (non-work-related) social interactions and conversational themes. Potentially for this reason, she articulated a need to go beyond having "the same kinds of conversations with people every day in Xhosa," habitual mediation which at this stage produced only marginal linguistic capital gains. At the time of being interviewed, she had thus reached a point where she stopped feeling "pushed" or "in the uncomfortable space" that fosters further SLA. The challenge she faced, therefore, was "trying to constantly work out how to expand [her] existing vocabulary into different directions." One element of this plateau was that "there is a complete dearth of opportunities for an intermediate learner to move ... [with] supportive resources ... to a better stage" – both in terms of specialised language mediators (i.e. teachers and tutors) who offer tuition beyond the beginner level, as well as a dearth of compelling AfL media aimed at intermediate learners. However, beyond the external constraints in terms of suitable language intermediation, Tanya was cognisant that highly successful learners

> work really, really hard when they're learning another language. It's not like they just *somma*[304] arrived, and then it just happened. You know? And so yeah, I've been trying to adopt practices ... that reflect that now: I've got this understanding ... that I need to work really, really hard. (**Tanya**)

In other words, at Tanya's intermediate stage of AfLL, she realised that further progress required intentional work to systematise and improve beyond the functional communicative level, including engaging with TL mediators in intentional ways that yield greater linguistic capital gains, likely also costing more biochronic capital – i.e. effort.

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[303] Beyond the introductory course materials from her university days, Tanya found Alexandra Bryant's *Xhosa for second language learners, senior school and beyond* to be particularly "accessible," and a source from which she "still learn[ed] things" – despite having reached what she called an intermediate level of proficiency.
[304] An expression difficult to translate, which roughly acts as an emphatic for 'just', i.e. "just like that"

6.3.2 CARL: the immersed enquirer

Carl, the final core case reported in this chapter, illustrated a form of commitment that, once catalysed, appeared to have occurred quite naturally, but with considerable discipline.[305] Upon finding himself in a "very Tswana environment," he made consistent enquiries regarding grammar and vocabulary during interaction with Setswana mediators – leading to a gradual accumulation of linguistic capital. This was aided by seeking out (accessible) expert Setswana mediators and a recent Setswana-English dictionary: two forms of intermediation that helped him nuance his Setswana knowledge.

6.3.2.1 Transgressive modality: distant immersion

Carl's singular AfLL modality emerged naturally from the nature of his new environment and his own personal conditioning for SLL. The dominance of Setswana was geographical, but less abstractedly, this was also true at level of his local community and occupational setting. While Carl did need to use English *qua* English teacher, he nevertheless had constant exposure and opportunities to use Setswana outside, and even during class time. He appeared to have repeated the circumstantial, less intense equivalent of the approach he employed while learning SASL through proximal immersion.[306] At the occupational level, he had consistent daily contact with other teachers and school staff, as well as the entire population of pupils – the majority of whom were L1 Setswana speakers.

6.3.2.1.1 Enquiry-based learning

Within such a context, Carl reported that "[his] main learning came through conversation and also asking people [questions]" – he "never had a [grammar] book ... never had a teacher" for learning Setswana.

> Whenever there was something I didn't know how to say, I would make a note of it ... and then later ask somebody, you know, who I was chatting to. (**Carl**)

The practice of asking questions (and occasionally writing down what he learnt[307]) was pursued in two ways – with students, and with colleagues. In the former case, he would ask some of the more senior students questions about language when performing his boarding-

[305] To use a metaphor that has cropped up previously, the soil – reflecting both the ideal personal conditions of Carl *qua* L2 investor – was prepared for a catalytic seed of the circumstantial conditions of an ideal TL-dominant environment. While organic growth – the SLA processes of his commitment – *appeared* to have been natural, this belied the fact that it took a great deal of intentional discipline, as AfLL was *not* the norm for other wSAns in the same context as Carl.

[306] His SLL process then was to "to go out and socialise... and understand zero. And go again [the] next week, do the same thing, until you understand 5%, and 10%. It's hard and time consuming, and can be frustrating at times" (Carl).

[307] Though he did not do this systematically – preferring to 'learn by ear' rather than 'by the book'.

house duties (it was a residential school); this turned out to be an ideal environment for conversational AfLL.[308] At times, Carl would ask questions systematically, mimicking a form of systematic learning typically mediated by pedagogical media – but done orally instead, using real-life L1 Setswana mediators. For example, consider Carl's attempt to understand how auxiliary verbs worked:

> I remember quite clearly in my first year of Setswana, asking this guy, like, I was just throwing at him a whole bunch of English tenses, and asking him to put them into Setswana. I would say, "we are climbing the mountain / we climb the mountain [*etc*[309]]...", you know, just throwing a whole bunch of different tenses at him ...
>
> I was trying to get [understand] like... how do these auxiliary verbs work? and how these tenses work? ... and trying to kind of get that out of him – and he was throwing them all back at me and I think I remembered maybe 10% of what he told me on that day. But certainly, that was very much the approach that I took with ... the students themselves. (**Carl**)

He also paired learning Setswana with teaching English: if during class his students could not find an English word, or would use a Setswana phrase that they were unable to articulate in English, he would turn this into a mutually-beneficial learning opportunity, sending them to fetch a large bilingual dictionary (see below) which he kept in his classroom. The meaning and usage of words and phrases, when framed in a memorable pedagogical context, aided his acquisition of the vocabulary and structures of Setswana.

6.3.2.1.2 Learning to write

After multiple years of having learned the language as an oral medium of communication, Carl gradually found himself using the language while writing – and wanting to formalise his diction (hitherto solely colloquial). This occurred in written communication with L1 Setswana colleagues and even students:

> [W]hen I started texting people or sending emails, you know, I would write it in Setswana and then put in brackets below, you know, in English and say: "this is what I'm trying to say, am I saying [it] or am I saying something else?" (**Carl**)

By doing so, he "would often get good [written] feedback from colleagues and even students" on how to say things better or in a more genuine manner. Learning to write Setswana was thus in the context of necessary, meaningful conversation.

[308] This shares aspects of Andrew's experience of the boarding-house as ideal for AfLL.
[309] Carl continued thus, gaining increasing complexity: "we would climb the mountain / we would like to climb the mountain / we would have liked to climb the mountain / we wouldn't have liked to have had climbed".

6.3.2.2 Discipline: consistent effort to learn

In such an environment, Carl's pursued his SLL with a great deal of expended *effort* and consistently high engagement. Similar to when he learned SASL and "put in huge amounts of effort into learning", he emphasised that intentional effort was the operative factor in achieving success in Setswana over time:

> "I made a consistent effort to speak the language, even from greetings and other things".
>
> "a lot of time, a lot of effort put into using language on a daily basis."
>
> "I made it a point to greet people in Setswana every day (**Carl**)

He described installing a sign on his front door reminding him to "Speak Setswana", which was the last thing he would see before going to work each morning.[310] While Carl's biochronic capital was constrained – given his role as an English teacher – he still had ample opportunities to interact with staff and students outside the classroom. He intentionally used these to practice and learn, processes he amplified through the 'language learner persona' he exhibited from the outset. This persona habituated L1 Setswana interlocutors into an expectation that Carl *wanted* to learn; they were therefore happy to facilitate exposure to Setswana on his behalf; a supply-demand dynamic for AfL mediation that was apparently absent with most other L1E/A teachers at the school.

6.3.2.3 Intermediation: expert L2 mediators and dictionary use

Carl had institutional access to the school's Setswana department, so "if [he] had a technical question that the kids couldn't answer," he would go and speak to them. In addition, he was "quite good friends with one of the Setswana teachers", which also helped. By virtue of being at an educational institution – in principle dedicated to learning – he was in a position to get " a lot of good input" from L1 Setswana speakers who recognised his needs as a learner – and "most of it was conversational."

Beyond mediators, the sole form of Setswana media that Carl used extensively was the (relatively) recently published English-Setswana bilingual dictionary ("a massive, fat thing")[311] which enabled him to see the "structures written down," or to see verbs "with pronouns that they often weren't used with" (i.e. from the large array of noun classes characteristic of Bantu/siNtu languages). The dictionary was useful because it provided numerous example sentences – "which [Carl] ... could probably have figured out, if [he'd] sat

[310] Whether nature or nurture, or both, this effort – the consistent exertion of energy and spending of time – is what underlies the progress that allowed him to be "comfortable: with spoken Setswana within two years of informal learning.
[311] McMillan (2015).

and thought about them" – though he had no reason to, as his language use in the main pragmatic and context-specific. Carl was largely intentional in his use of the dictionary, using it to find words he needed or clarify words he was unsure of. The dictionary enabled him to see the breadth of potential things that *could* be said, if he wanted to do so. In this way, it helped to "consolidate" the oral skills he had gained.

Section 6.4 - Commitment across cases

Cross-case analysis – across both core and peripheral cases – yielded several insights into the form and extent of commitment involved in achieving L2AfLL success. Where possible, reporting of peripheral case data has been prioritised. Cross-case findings regarding the meta-factor of L2 Investment discipline are presented first. This is followed by findings regarding academic and transgressive modalities across the case sample, in which modality-specific intermediation has been nested. Finally, this section is concluded by an attempt to draw together the overall patterns or archetypes of commitment.

6.4.1 Discipline

Discipline, conceptualised as a meta-factor of L2 Investment commitment and taken to reference the regularity and extent to which (primarily) biochronic capital is committed towards certain modalities of SLL, was not highly theorised prior to embarking on the multiple CS; its nature emerged as case data was analysed within and across cases. Firstly, the distinction between minor and major commitment was found to be central to where discipline emerged: for several cases, AfLL did occur, but the irregularity and low biochronic capital expended rendered the commitment value virtually negligible. Discipline thus emerged alongside junctures of major commitment, typically by independent investors, with varying degrees of engagement. Further measures – AfL maintenance/improvement (on the one hand) and intermissions/hiatuses from AfLL or use (on the other) provided further meta-level indications of discipline.

6.4.1.1 Minor and Major Commitment

During the development of the cross-case table, a natural distinction arose between instances of minor and major commitment to AfLL, which occurred at certain temporal junctures in investor's lives. The definitions of these are not precisely fixed. For example, the initial AfLL commitments made by Tanya and Renée *might* have been major – *if* there had been subsequent language maintenance and no decade-long intermission between further learning. In the main, 'major' commitment refers to the juncture at which investors began making

serious commitments of biochronic capital to AfLL, the point at which disciplined, intentional engagement emerged (to varying degrees). For cases that took an AfL during high school, they typically initiated major commitment around ages 14-16 (the Grade 9-10 juncture), when the choice of subject electives was made. Cases of adult AfLL typically made a major commitment with the advent of university AfLL or distant immersion.

6.4.1.1.1 The extent of major commitment required

As detailed in Table 8: Discipline, the majority of cases exhibited major commitment for 5-7 years in order to achieve an end point in their proficiency.[312] Although overall case data was incomplete for establishing 'early fluency' (i.e. when communication became comfortable, having a sense of what 'sounded right'). This was a concept offered up by Andrew[313] and appears to specify a high moderate level (i.e. high B2). A retrospective analysis of the investment arc for successful cases revealed that just over 2-4 years of major commitment was typically required to reach a point of 'early fluency':

> I became conscious of it probably in year two or three, okay. So it was at least three years into this process. (**Johan**)
>
> But only after two years did I feel quite comfortable. Ja, that I could say a lot of what I wanted to say in Setswana without using the English word (**Carl**)
>
> the speaking part of it all took me about two to two and a half years [to obtain] (**Ivan**)

A relatively-lengthy period of major commitment appeared to be necessary whether or not the investor had made lengthy minor commitments – some of which had value, and some of which were negligible.

6.4.1.1.2 Minor commitment

With reference to Table 2: Investor Characteristics, as might be expected, minor commitment typically appeared in cases of investors who initiated their AfLL in school as dependents (Grade 1 & 8 junctures). Only half the broader sample (6 of 12) exhibited any minor commitment; the other half *only* initiated major commitment in AfLL, suggestive of their increased independence and/or motivation for learning. All cases to whom minor commitment was attributed spent these years either as dependent investors (Andrew, Ivan,

[312] Excluding Tanya, who was still learning at the time of the interview – thus the N/A regarding the early fluency measure.
[313] Derived from this excerpt: "There was a point where actually... yeah, I mean, I've had numerous times (at least in my early fluency), where people would, you know, want to have my number, and I found it a bit overwhelming actually" (Andrew).

Heather, Peter) or as independent investors who had lengthy intermissions between their initial and subsequent commitments to AfLL (Tanya and Renée).

In the main, and where taken, AfL classes in Grade 8-9 were of minor commitment status, largely because it was compulsory in most schools until the grade 10 juncture and received considerably less class-time compared to the senior (Grades 10-12) phase. It was deemed a minor commitment in Andrew, Ivan and Heather's cases, who made no explicit mention of the value of high school tuition prior to Grade 10 (in Peter's case, he alleged it being negligible). In contrast to these three cases, Duncan, given his prior passion for isiZulu linguaculture, was deemed to be 'majorly' committed from Grade 8 onwards.

6.4.1.2 Engagement

The level of engagement largely emerged from the personal conditions of investors, the degree of circumstantial necessity for learning, and the extent to which there was evidence of approaches, methods or techniques expending conscientious "effort" in AfLL within a modal context. Carl mentioned effort explicitly, and others like Andrew (discussed above) and Johan appeared to have put in considerable self-directed effort:

> "I was clearly committed to it ... I was absolutely determined to use the vernacular [i.e. a variety of isiXhosa]" "I listened very carefully. I would take notes ... lots of trial and error and repetition" (**Johan**)
>
> "I think a big factor for me was that, I wanted to actually learn it and I'd made an effort in the classroom" (**Andrew**)

Several cases – Heather, Renée, and Tanya – made explicit mention of putting in less effort than they could have, which appears to correlate with their level of ideal personal conditions and eventual linguistic capital gains:

> "I've got enough sort of to get by ... it could actually increase in leaps and bounds if I really focused on it. But yeah, I mean, that's the thing with languages ... it does take a lot of effort" (**Renée**)
>
> "... when you get to the end of the high school [L2X] curriculum, you've actually covered the majority of the base of language – *if* you've studied it correctly, which I didn't really do" (**Heather**)

There was no evidence of participants "going through the motions" (Dornyei, 2019: 24) during major commitments in AfLL – given that all case participants selected achieved significant linguistic capital (even if not a high degree of proficiency), and were motivated, this is unsurprising.

6.4.1.3 Maintaining and losing linguistic capital: AfL(L) upkeep, intermission and hiatuses

Although arguably relevant to capital gains, the extent to which cases indicated intermissions in AfLL, ongoing maintenance, improvement, or loss of AfL skills, all reflected on their discipline. For the majority of core cases, language upkeep/maintenance was normal and implicit, particularly due to teaching the relevant AfL. The isiZulu trio and Ivan all mentioned a deepening of their AfL skills after completing their respective academic and transgressive modalities; a likely function of living in bilingual contexts, developing the disciplines specific to proximal immersion, or simply the fact that they had reached an end-point of fluency where upkeep only required marginal biochronic capital.

A few case participants made explicit mention of an AfL stagnation or hiatus – a period without sufficient language maintenance, and therefore loss. This was most apparent with Natasha, Heather and Peter's cases, all of whom emphasised skill deficiencies due to a lack of upkeep.

> "after university, I went overseas, forgot all my Xhosa" (**Natasha**)
>
> "... my own Xhosa has often stagnated, you know ... it's not where I thought it would be.[314] (**Peter**)

While Tanya and Renée did have lengthy intermissions between their initial and subsequent commitments, both indicated that the exposure and foundation in AfL grammar these provided – however deteriorated – were still important when eventually initiating major commitment more than a decade later: they prevented the language from being totally alien.[315]

6.4.2 Academic Modalities

Two main findings regarding academic modalities were made: firstly, the typically-negligible value of multi-year AfLL in primary school and early high school, and secondly, the roles that major academic modalities of commitment play in the overall arc of L2AfL investment.

6.4.2.1 Negligible value of compulsory L2AfLL in primary and high school

Excluding Lily, only six cases (Andrew, Heather, Tanya, Ivan, Natasha, Peter) indicated any AfLL access or uptake during primary school. However, of these six, only the first three

[314] Following this excerpt, he provided the reason for this stagnation/ceiling on improvement: "But then I'm also like, "Well, that's because, the reality of society, despite my many interactions with Xhosa people ... it's not required that I get better ... the level that I speak at, is *far more* than sufficient for all the purposes that I have. So yeah, it becomes difficult, despite my own intentions and desires, to really prioritize and motivate to study more." (Peter).

[315] A condition that Renee speculated would have prevented her from engaging in AfLL.

cases completed all seven primary years; while the latter three only completed Grade 6-7. Heather and Andrew – despite learning for seven years – failed to mention primary school as relevant to their AfLL process. Tanya, Ivan, Peter, and Natasha all explicitly downplayed the value of AfLL during primary school

> actually I did a little bit of Zulu in primary school, which was ... literally, I mean, actually so insignificant, I can't even really remember it (**Tanya**)
>
> I think at the school I was at, they had Xhosa at ... grade six and seven. Then I also did it ... the first two years of high school ... But I don't really count them, because everyone did it. (**Peter**)
>
> I think Grade 5 to Grade 7, I learned isiXhosa then as part of a school language, but it was... it was quite strangely taught ... all I remember learning was the noun classes. (**Natasha**)

As mentioned by Peter, the initial two years of high school (Grade 8 and 9) may also occupy an insignificant status, but the cross-case data is ambiguous or lacking on this point.

6.4.2.2 High school and university

Almost half the sample completed an AfL for matric (Ivan, Heather, Andrew, Duncan and Renée), three of whom went on to study the same AfL at university. A further three cases (Bradley, Natasha and Lily) initiated major commitments in AfLL during university. The initial academic modality played a foundational role, which in all cases required a further transgressive modality to actually build the AfL house.

6.4.2.2.1 Grammatical foundation

All cases who pursued an *initial* academic modality reported a strong grammatical emphasis, whether at a high school or university level.[316] The linguistic gains from academic modalities of AfLL provided a kind of theoretical foundation, but one that needed conversion towards, or integration within, naturalistic, colloquial forms of AfLL to be of any use.

> "it's going to school, getting all the, you know, the basics [of the language] – you know, learning the basics" (**Duncan**)
>
> "learning the language at high school was fundamental" (**Heather**)
>
> "I do have the grammar base from school so honestly, I've got a lot of foundation to build on" (**Renée**)
>
> "the foundation which was laid at school level" (**Ivan**)

For two (Bradley and Natasha), university study was the first formal grammatical encounter with AfLs. Bradley had no previous AfLL experience, and for Natasha, university AfLL

[316] Except for Lily, who committed to a transgressive modality of AfLL initially, but soon afterward initiated commitment within a complementary academic modality.

provided the first context she could formally study isiXhosa, and so encountered it there systematically for the first time. Both of these cases emphasised the grammatical focus: a negative for Bradley, a positive for Natasha.

6.4.2.2.2 Nuancing role of university

The earlier role that formal learning in university played in their respective cases differed from Andrew, Ivan and Heather – for whom university constituted a secondary academic modality that served to nuance prior linguistic capital gains acquired through high school and a transgressive modality. While these cases emphasised the grammatical focus during high school; university afforded them with different possibilities, largely because grammar and a core vocabulary was already mastered.

> "But I describe my varsity Xhosa learning experience as like 'Understanding the Nuances'" (**Heather**)

Having engaged in self-tuition prior to university, it appeared to have played a nuancing function for Lily too, in much the same way that it did for those who had two academic modalities.[317]

6.4.3 Transgressive modalities

Unlike academic modalities, the catalytic force required to engage in transgressive modalities like **proximal immersion** and **mentorship** was very low, with no circumstantial necessity present: they presupposed being in a context that neither necessitated nor strongly promoted AfLL (Duncan, Andrew, Ivan). These modalities are thus the most voluntary and require the most intrinsic discipline/engagement to succeed. Proximal immersion and mentorship, in particular, tended to correlate with high or very high engagement levels, lengthy periods of upkeep/improvement (i.e. no hiatuses from AfL learning or use). In all the core cases who engaged in proximal immersion as their primary transgressive modality (Andrew, Bradley, Ivan and Lily), this was always integrated within an academic modality of AfLL. **Distant immersion**, as the third type of transgressive modality found among the case sample, exists on a continuum between AfLL that is unnecessary (Carl, Heather) and necessary (Johan, Renée, Tanya, Peter, also Heather). If no major academic commitments to AfLL were made, this entailed distant immersion as the initial modality (as there were no proximal immersion-only or mentorship-only cases)

[317] Lily was the main outlier in terms of university; before starting a South African AfL, she had a general university training in AfL and linguistics (with Kiswahili in particular); she had studied isiXhosa for over a year informally before returning to do a PhD and then taking isiXhosa at university.

6.4.3.1 Mentorship

Duncan's case illustrates the potential for mentorship to be a distinct modality in its own right; an intense, one-on-one TL immersion for the mentee through the mediation of the mentor. Duncan's mentorship by Themba was sufficient to achieve what Heather's gap-year distant immersion achieved – conversion from narrowly academic linguistic capital into a form of capital more colloquial and usable. While it was the primary transgressive modality for Duncan, mentorship was more often classed as secondary – usually occurring in an academic or romantic relationship context. At least two of the female cases mentioned having an AfL-speaking boyfriend, who were construed as mentors, albeit playing secondary roles in the context of the relevant case.

> "Then I actually, for a while, had a boyfriend who wasn't Xhosa but spoke Xhosa. So that helped a bit because I could, like, ask stuff, I guess" (**Lily**)

> "I dated a Xhosa guy for a year here ... [w]hich was exceptionally helpful. And he would only really speak Xhosa to me, and so I learned a lot through him" (**Tanya**)

In the same way, teachers or lecturers were deemed to be mentors where they effectively played this role (e.g. for Andrew, Lily and Ivan).

6.4.3.2 Proximal Immersion

Two main kinds of proximal immersion were exhibited within the sample: academic-domestic and urban. Academic and domestic contexts have been combined as both represent highly secure middle-class spaces (in relation to the research population). Findings regarding each are presented in turn.

6.4.3.2.1 Domestic-academic forms of proximal immersion

There are several forms of proximal immersion within academic and domestic contexts exhibited within the sample, differentiated by institutional context and social relations. Three distinct forms were exhibited within the sample:

1. *Domestic Immersion* via L1AfL domestic employee mediation.

   This only occurred in one case, namely that of **Ivan**. For all other cases where interaction with domestic workers or nannies occurred, this was during early childhood, and ostensibly had little relevance to their subsequent AfLL.

2. *Academic immersion* via L1AfL peer mediation.

   Beyond the bounds of AfL classrooms,[318] this was rare within the sample: it only occurred in **Ivan's** case, and possibly in **Bradley's** case to a limited degree.[319] **Andrew** and **Duncan** did not engage in such immersion at school; **Heather** mentioned a tense environment for interracial AfL interactions while at university (discussed below), and **Natasha** indicated her AfL-class immersion did not extend beyond the classroom walls.
3. *Boarding school immersion* via L1AfL non-peer mediation

   As a school boarder during the week, this form of proximal immersion was exhibited exceptionally by **Andrew**; it is akin to domestic immersion, albeit with multiple AfL mediators including catering staff, security guards, grounds/gardening staff, *inter alia*.

6.4.3.2.2 Urban forms of proximal immersion

The third main context (or set of contexts) for proximal immersion are the variety of urban spaces where AfL contact might occur habitually.

1. *Suburban immersion* via working-class L1AfL mediation.

   Bradley, Duncan, Andrew and **Peter** all alluded to this: the oft-mentioned security guards, streetsweepers and petrol attendants would fit within this category. In all cases where mediation of this sort occurred, it was reported by male case participants, and the class-transgressive status of interaction was adverted to as a positive.
2. *Township immersion* via context-specific L1AfL mediation.

   Johan and **Lily** are the only two cases who pursued this form of proximal immersion consistently; in the former case, during involvement in sociopolitical initiatives, and in the latter, the research field (a school).
3. *Workplace immersion* via class-congruent L1AfL mediation.

   While a variety of proximal immersion, with the possible exception of **Carl**,[320] this was not found within the sample. Within white collar or middle-class work environments, English is the *de facto* medium of social exchange; no case mentioned meaningful AfL contact in the workplace.

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[318] A further category – 'AfL class immersion via predominantly L1AfL peers' – might be added. However, this amounts to the highly limited, non-naturalistic form of AfL immersion offered by *academic* modalities, and cannot qualify as a proximal modality for this reason. As a sanctioned AfL-dominant space, it is subject to intermediation that is dependent on AfL curricula and assessment constraints. **Ivan, Natasha, Andrew** and **Duncan** all experienced this (and likely **Bradley**) – it appears however that **Heather** did not, as her class were predominantly L2AfL learners.

[319] Bradley's proximal immersion was largely (sub)urban.

[320] His institutional immersion was (at a more fundamental level) a product of distant immersion in an AfL-dominant space.

6.4.3.3 Distant Immersion

6.4.3.3.1 Temporal species of distant immersion

Unlike proximal immersion, which is habitual but seldom sustained (being integrated into normal wSAn urban life), three kinds of distant immersion were found in the sample relating to the extent and kind of biochronic commitment involved. Each involved spatial movement into an AfL-dominant context.

1. *Short-term/seasonal distant immersion.*
   This was largely for maintenance or motivation purposes, and occurred during vacation, periods of leave, or immersion camps attached to academic AfLL (as in **Tanya** and **Peter**'s cases).
2. *Gap-year distant immersion.*
   This form of distant immersion either served as an initial 'crash course' for AfLL (cf. **Peter**), or as a conversion of prior academic learning to more colloquial speech (cf. **Heather**).
3. *Long-term/multi-year distant immersion.*
   This usually constituted major commitment in cases who had undergone no (or only minor) AfLL previously. It was exhibited by four cases and thus relatively common within the sample: **Carl**, **Johan**, **Renée**, **Tanya**. It involved an entire reordering of L2 investors' social, spatial, and occupational lives. Unsurprisingly, it occurred when all were adults, and typically when young adults (though not in Tanya or Renée's cases).

6.4.3.3.2 Distinctives of distant immersion

Unlike proximal immersion, which was distinctive in that it managed to create pockets of habitual AfL-dominant interaction within otherwise English-dominant spaces, distant immersion as a modality of learning involved contexts of AfL intermediation that were distant from the hegemony of English (or other elite languages).

For learners of isiXhosa from the Western Cape, distant immersion in the Eastern Cape was an established trend (cf. Peter, Tanya, Johan, Renée, Heather). The lack of circumstantial necessity in urban and township contexts – "[i]n Cape Town, most white people live in the city centre or suburbs, where it is almost impossible to immerse oneself in Xhosa-speaking communities" (Grohmann, 2020: 13) – was highly relevant to the fact that *all* South African cases[321] from the WC engaged in distant immersion in the EC, either as an initial major commitment or one serving a conversion role to the "vernacular" as Johan and

[321] i.e. excluding Lily.

Peter referred to it. To transgress in this way, however, required a social or occupational alibi beyond that of L2AfL learner: all case participants who undertook distant immersion had active roles beyond that of language learner: typically an NGO worker or teacher role, although in extreme cases like Peter, even a shamanic apprenticeship served as a valid alibi.[322] Within the sample, for those investors whose initial major commitment was distant immersion, the modal forms of learning within the modality tended to be enquiry-based, as explicitly described by Tanya, Carl, Johan, and Peter. For those already with a prior "foundation" – like Heather or Renée – it acted more as a mechanism of conversion or renewal of prior, narrowly-academic linguistic capital.

6.4.3.3.3 AfL mediation during distant immersion

In rural or semi-rural contexts, the status of an AfL as the dominant medium of communication meant that class-congruent encounters could more naturally occur with (NGO or school) colleagues; the sociolinguistic pull toward English was lessened.[323] In smaller community contexts, contact with neighbours and other community members was normal, and because wSAn or L1E/A investors' racial identities were highly remarkable, habitual interactions with various community members easily occurred, circumscribing the remaining scope of mediation beyond the workplace. In a couple of cases of isiXhosa (Renée & Peter), it was found that (older) female mediators were preferable – as males' speech tended to be difficult to understand and used more slang. The bias toward older female AfL mediation was also found in Andrew's case at the boarding-house.

6.4.3.3.4 Variable circumstantial necessity of distant immersion

In a number of cases (e.g. Renée's), distant immersion was viewed as a modality that *necessitated* AfLL, reflecting the ideal sociolinguistic dynamics of distant immersion contexts. However, the presence of English "bubbles" emerged in two cases (Tanya and Heather), challenging the assumption that circumstantial necessity always obtains in rural/semi-rural L1AfL-dominant spaces. Moreover, there are limits in the degree to which necessity leads to consistent SLL: eventually, a plateau in linguistic capital gains may emerge (Tanya, Renée, Johan), which was recognised by all participants as requiring greater discipline and strategy to transcend.

[322] These alibis structured distantly immersed investors' social interactions, such that patterns of discipline and intermediation could be established.
[323] If one may use colleague status as a blunt measure of equivalent class.

6.4.4 AfL media use and its importance

There was a high variance across cases regarding the importance of AfL media (as opposed to the ubiquitous importance of mediators), and while almost all cases used pedagogical media – even when they made no commitments via an academic modality – its importance was equivocal. The cases could be divided among three main groups: those whose AfLL was primarily within academic contexts (Andrew, Heather, Ivan and Natasha), those whose AfLL was primarily external to academic contexts (Duncan, Tanya, Bradley and Peter) and those avoidant or sceptical of traditional academic AfLL (Johan, Lily and Carl).

In general, only dictionaries – reference media – and audible media like podcasts and radio were repeated across multiple different cases as being useful and used. The former were crucial for developing intermediate and advanced proficiency, and the latter were highlighted as being ideal approximations of mediator speech, given the ability to slowly dissect recordings.

6.4.4.1 Cases primarily shaped by academic AfLL

Andrew and Heather, both of whom had extensive exposure to pedagogical media through their multiple academic modalities, did not report media as being relevant at all, preferring to concentrate on mediators. Ivan and Natasha, who were highly academic in their approaches to AfLL, both mentioned the central importance of pedagogical media (textbooks and workbooks) used during their academic modalities, particularly as reference material; beyond limited use of audiovisual media on Ivan's part and flashcards on Natasha's, AfL media did not play much of a role.

6.4.4.2 Cases partially shaped by academic AfLL

These four cases placed a high degree of importance on (and made wide use of) AfL media. The former two were relatively catholic in their taste for media, and mentioned using multiple types: pedagogical, reference, audio and audio-visual. Duncan was unique in his consumption of isiZulu literature, whether 'high' (the Bible) or 'low' (comics). Tanya tried to find literature at an intermediate level in isiXhosa but failed. Bradley and Peter both had little interest in literature, but (as AfL teachers) systematically focused on audio-visual and pedagogical media respectively.

6.4.4.3 Cases sceptical/avoidant of academic AfLL

The final three cases were averse to traditional media of academic modalities, namely pedagogical and grammar media. Where they did engage in media use, it was highly limited,

tended to be audio-based, and for specific purposes (dictionary reference for Carl, audio recordings for research and noun class reference for Lily). Johan's approach in principle avoided reliance on media as a crutch, preferring naturalistic learning via mediators (perhaps with some note-taking): he had an "interesting" relationship with his dictionary, the main form of AfL media he employed.[324]

6.4.5 Overall commitment across cases

Five main overall commitment archetypes were found across cases of L2AfL investment. These are categorically exclusive, and an investor cannot exemplify two archetypes of commitment concurrently. Other commitment archetypes likely exist, however in light of the cases studied, the following general archetypes are confirmed.

Firstly, **purely academic commitment** as exemplified by Natasha (as well as Duncan and Heather, prior to their conversion)**.** In terms of modalities, this is academic-only/major. It does not appear to result in fluency or easily maintained AfL skills, as the intermediation it offers is insufficient to bridge the academic-colloquial AfL gulf.[325] Secondly, **converted academic commitment** as exemplified by Duncan and Heather. In terms of modalities, they are sequential: academic, then transgressive. Academic AfL skills, forming a foundation, are converted into fluency through a transgressive modality of sufficient length and strength. This form of investment is able to result in moderate to high AfL success, though is variable, being highly dependent on the specific transgressive modality that follows, and the investor's personal conditions. Thirdly, **integrated academic-transgressive commitment** as exemplified by Andrew, Bradley, Lily, and Ivan. In terms of modalities, both academic and transgressive are simultaneous. They reinforce each other, typically resulting in a high-to-very-high level of linguistic capital gains. Fourthly, **sustained transgressive commitment** as exemplified by Carl, Johan, Renée, and Tanya. In terms of modalities, this is predominantly or wholly transgressive. It describes a long-term commitment to naturalistic AfLL in an AfL-dominant environment, most typically via distant immersion. This archetype appears to result in moderate-to-very-high AfL success, dependent on the investor's personal conditions and length of time sustained. Fifthly and finally, **converted transgressive commitment** as exemplified by Peter**.** It lacks an academic modality, being constituted by (at least) two

[324] "I did have a dictionary and I used it, and then got frustrated and decided to put it aside and would only pick it up infrequently. And then subsequently, it became an essential source. So I had a had an interesting relationship with my dictionary" (Johan).

[325] This was also exhibited by a number of case candidates not included in the study due to a relative lack of linguistic capital gains.

different transgressive modalities: in Peter's case, an initial period of gap-year distant immersion, followed by a lengthier spell of proximal, urban immersion, with later seasonal distant immersion as a means of AfL maintenance. It can result in high linguistic capital gains, but somewhat precariously, as AfLL and use are not naturally integrated into daily life.

Chapter conclusion

This chapter has sought to present findings on the nature of each case's commitment to AfLL, with a focus on the different modalities by which this occurred. An attempt to emphasise the necessary presence of both discipline and intermediation was made, often dependent on the modality. It emerged that academic modalities of AfLL, while providing the "base" or "foundation" for AfLL, needed the augmentation or indeed replacement of a transgressive modality for high levels of linguistic capital – fluency – to obtain. Within the sample, the transgressive modality differed – either proximal immersion, mentorship, or distant immersion. Having considered each case's commitment in AfLL, the next chapter presents findings regarding the capital gained – the culmination of L2AfL investment.

Chapter 7
Capital Gains from L2AfLL

Chapter synopsis

Chapter 7 presents findings relating to the capital gains of L2AfL investment. Biochronic capital aside, evidence of the remaining three genera of capital for the L2 Investment frame – human, socioeconomic, and zookairotic (as delineated in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3 in brief, and Appendix C6 in full), all obtained to varying degrees, and in various species.[326] The chapter is consequently partitioned according to these general forms of capital, with nested sections on each respective species.

In terms of case reporting, this chapter largely differs from Chapter 5 and 6. With the exception of Section 7.1.1 where linguistic capital gains have been reported on a core case-by-case basis followed by distinct cross-case analysis (similar to previous chapters), all remaining (sub)sections integrate intra-case findings into general cross-case, thematic analysis. As capital gains from L2AfL investment beyond linguistic capital were relatively diverse, findings regarding socioeconomic and zookairotic capital gains were combined *across cases* for ease of presentation and because the underlying data was often anecdotal in nature; combined anecdotes were deemed preferable to scattered ones.

Section 7.1 - Human capital

Two main species of human capital were found: linguistic and occupational. The latter species follows from the former, in that linguistic capital either provided entry into a new occupation, or it added something meaningful to case participants' existing occupations. There is indirect evidence that another species of human capital – character capital – obtained. Carl's case arguably highlights the ways in which L2 Investment, or investment in creative endeavour more generally, may produce enduring character capital that may be leveraged 'naturally' towards further accumulation of human and socioeconomic capital. However, given that data collection was not explicitly focused on elucidating this, there was insufficient data for analysis.[327]

[326] As stated in Chapter 2 (2.3.3), although the *quantity* of biochronic capital cannot meaningfully increase, the market and personal *valuations* of an investor's biochronic capital are nevertheless subject to increase when combined with human capital. biochronic capital becomes more costly, i.e. valuable, due to the expansion of socioeconomic opportunities to which it can be applied, and the extent to which zookairotic capital is returned as an externality/by-product.

[327] Interview transcripts for each case *could* have been subjected to discourse analysis, to 'read between the lines' for the presence of developing character traits – but reporting on both the analytical processes and results of discourse analysis would have gone far beyond the word-limited scope of this PhD study.

7.1.1 Linguistic capital

Given the difficulty in both defining and measuring success/fluency/proficiency in AfLs for L2 learners, this section has attempted to classify the extent and quality of linguistic gains based on self-report data of case participants, whose apparent proficiency was analysed in relative terms. This led to three approximate divisions of linguistic capital gains, with equivalents in parenthesis:

1. moderate (*high-intermediate to low-advanced; CEFRL: B2-C1*)
2. high (*mid-advanced proficiency; CEFRL: C1-C2*)
3. very high (*high-advanced proficiency: CEFRL: C2*)

A status of 'moderate' gains in linguistic capital was attributed to cases of comfortable functional, everyday AfL oral skills, but lacking in higher order oral skills. It may include high gains in literacy skills, but this has been partially discounted. Tanya was considered to have received moderate gains on her L2AfL investment. The status of 'high' gains in linguistic capital was attributed in cases that were characterised by comfortable functional and affective AfL use, with a crucial condition of high oral skills, even if literacy skills were at a lower level. Unlike the 'very high' level, it does not entail cultural fluency. Carl and Bradley were considered to have received high gains on their AfL investment. The status of 'very high' gains in linguistic capital was attributed in cases with evidence of cultural fluency, extremely comfortable oral use of AfL, and a general well-roundedness in language skills, including literacy. Duncan, Ivan, and Andrew all were considered to have obtained very high gains on their AfL investments.

Due to reasons introduced in Chapter 1 above – an interest in the affordances of speaking the language of the Other – a higher weighting has been attributed to AfL oral proficiency as opposed to literacy. Each classification was based, primarily, on self-reported indicators from interview data. However, other factors were operative: initial self-report data from pre-interview communications (i.e. email/instant messaging), and – mediated by my own 'insider knowledge' as a partially successful AfL learner – a subjective sense of fluency from case participants' AfL use during interviews.

Beyond the broad classifications of moderate, high and very high, a further, AfL-specific measure of a deep/formal–translingual/informal continuum has been included. There were qualitative discrepancies in AfL proficiency in each case, distributed along two overlapping but distinct continua: correct-incorrect vs. formal-informal language (relative to the written standard/dialect) and deep vs. translingual language (the 'deep' monolingual, rural varieties vis-à-vis 'translingual' urban varieties). While each case's linguistic gains would

ideally be mapped onto a four-quadrant graph with an axis for each continuum, the lack of sufficient data across all cases prompted the decision to reduce it to a single Deep/Formal–Translingual/Informal continuum (henceforth, D/F–T/I), with a value of one (1) being closest to the D/F pole and five (5) to the T/I pole.

Finally, in addition to presentation of 'narrowly linguistic' linguistic capital, some cases exhibited broader gains of metalinguistic, crosslinguistic and/or multilingual capital,[328] which are appended in each case.

7.1.1.1 DUNCAN: the groove maker

Very high linguistic capital gains in **isiZulu**	~CEFRL: **C2**	D/F | **2** | T/I

Duncan claimed that by 2013, he "was speaking Zulu fluently". He did note, however, that "there may be different sections [of his language abilities] in terms of tenses, or whatever, where I'm not 100%" although he "can still make [himself] understood." He also mentioned some difficulty in formal language settings which are "strictly Zulu" (e.g. being interviewed on Ukhozi FM, i.e. isiZulu radio): "that's where I'm mostly nervous, because it's deep Zulu". Nevertheless, he stated that "being generally fluent, I can pick up phrases if they're talking about something [that] I'm not familiar with ... you know, put two and two together."

> in a casual environment, no matter what the setting is, I'm always chilled. I know that even if I can't ... if for some reason the person is talking really deep Zulu and getting really deep into a subject [that] I'm not familiar with ... I can ask them [to clarify] ... So I'm still chilled. (**Duncan**)

With regard to other isiZulu language skills, Duncan says that he can "read and write fluently" and he has a non-negligible proficiency in use of Zulu proverbs and praise poetry – cultural knowledge mediated through isiZulu. Given the breadth of his knowledge, but his appreciation for more traditional language, a score of two (2) has been attributed to him on the D/F-T/I continuum.

Duncan also presents evidence of further multilingual capital. Co-catalysed by his musical career *and* experience of successful L2Z investment, he began learning one of the dominant European languages in order to communicate with foreign audiences.

[328] As described in Chapter 2 above: "metalinguistic capital (interest and increased facility at the general L2 learning level), crosslinguistic capital (positive language transfer, due to similarity of between TL learnt and cognate languages) and multilingual capital (investment in learning additional languages as a result of the TL investment), *etc*."

7.1.1.2 BRADLEY: the "chaos" bringer

(Very) high linguistic capital gains in **isiZulu**	~CEFRL: **C1-C2**	D/F | **3** | T/I

While Bradley has been placed in the category of 'high', 'very high' might be a better classification, particularly in terms of his oral proficiency. After "watching lots of Zulu films [...] and sitcoms", Bradley describes the effect on his language production: "instead of me thinking about a grammar rule, it would just be there, for me: when I needed it, just 'bam!' [it arrived, i.e. *voila*!]". This stage of his learning was the point at which he achieved automaticity and a sense of fluency (~ 2017). Bradley describes his current proficiency thus:

> I don't know where my [current] level is, but I think [...] I'm still up there, I haven't, like, lost [anything] ... I think I did in the beginning – I was starting to lose... I could feel like I wasn't quite... keeping up. (**Bradley**)

His maintenance was due to "still getting comprehensible input" by consistent listening to isiZulu via Ukhozi FM, various isiZulu podcasts, and working with an L1Z speaker. He mentions that she would "often just corrects little things" that he would say, but that *he* would fail to notice as incorrect. Bradley made no explicit mention of his experience of the diglossic continua, but his experience with both formal academic isiZulu and media – usually 'deeper' – is likely balanced by his experience with informal, urban speech: as a D/F-T/I measure, he thus received a balanced score of three (3).

In terms of multilingual capital, both simultaneous and subsequent to Bradley's success with isiZulu, he branched out into learning French and Spanish, successfully using the month-long '100-hour challenged' of engagement with audiovisual – and written – media to gain comprehensible input. For example, he mentioned reading *Harry Potter*, watching *The Big Bang* series (multiple times, dubbed in a different language each time) – all of which were sufficiently "riveting" L2 media for him to commit to.

7.1.1.3 ANDREW: the truth speaker

Very high linguistic capital gains in **isiZulu**	~CEFRL: **C2**	D/F | **1** | T/I

Andrew notes that he has "probably spoken hundreds, if not thousands, of hours [in isiZulu]" and he elaborates the automaticity of his speech thus: "when I'm speaking isiZulu, it's not like ... I actively have to even think about those [grammar] rules. I've got that, you know, that fluency, I'm comfortable [...]. Yeah, every now and then I might have to think of a word but, you know, I can speak at length. As such, Andrew's "conversational fluency is pretty good". He does find it difficult, however,

> to pin down exactly when I, you know, *when* I became fluent, so to speak – I mean, even now, there's a vast... isiZulu is [...] a very, like, deep language. There's a lot of vocabulary ... there's a lot that I don't know. And certainly ... as much as I can read with confidence [...] if I read the newspaper, I'll still have to pull out a dictionary and look up certain words and that sort of thing. (**Andrew**)

He thus concludes that "I'm not fluent in the same way that a [L1] Zulu speaker will be fluent ... But maybe the way that I choose to phrase things will be a more deep [sic] isiZulu way" – as he prefers using fewer English borrowings in his speech. He does occasionally use English when he forgets an isiZulu word or phrase:

> You know, so I'll maybe just throw in one [English] word every few sentences, and that's quite okay – I don't find anyone criticising me for that. And you'll find that Zulu speakers are doing that, probably more so than me even. (**Andrew**)

Yet while English is a resource he draws upon, Andrew prefers the use of indigenous isiZulu words rather than recent English borrowings – a habit of speech that very likely results from learning "bookish" isiZulu at school and university. In his words, "the way I choose to phrase things will be in a more deep [sic] Zulu way [... using] old school approaches, deeper language."[329] While comfortable with more translingual/informal modes of speech, Andrew sharply veers towards the D/F pole of the D/F-T/I continuum: he receives a score of one (1).

7.1.1.4 IVAN: the academic achiever

Very high linguistic capital gains in **Sesotho**	~CEFRL: **C2**	D/F | **1** | T/I

Ivan claims that he is "completely fluent in [Sesotho], reading, writing, and speaking – all of it" after having been "involved with African languages[330] for 14 or 15 years." In order to become comfortable speaking Sesotho, it took Ivan "about two to two and a half years": a period beginning from Grade 10 until the middle of Grade 12. This was where "the foundation was laid" both for his written *and* oral Sesotho. Ivan confirmed that by the time he had finished school, speaking "was easy" then and he was fluent. His time of studying Sesotho at university simply continued the process of nuancing his language abilities, and this extended to engagement with culture, referring for example to the process of male initiation:

> once I started actually *understanding* the language, and became confident in speaking it, I took it a step further, not academically, but I took it a step further [so] as to understand their culture as well. (**Ivan**)

[329] He is essentially conservative in the kind of isiZulu he has learned.
[330] i.e. Sesotho, and more recently Setswana.

Ivan was willing to apply a translingual approach *while* learning Sesotho, but he preferred to speak in a "correct" manner, for (as he rhetorically asked), "Why codeswitch if there is a proper word in the language, and you know what that word is?" While his competency likely spans most of the D/F-T/I continuum, Ivan's own idiolect favours the left pole, with a score of one (1).

Beyond narrowly linguistic capital, he also gained significant crosslinguistic capital as a result of learning Sesotho. Ivan was able to easily learn Setswana, a cognate-language of Sesotho. This was prompted by a job offer for a Setswana teacher post. It took "a bit of adaption on [Ivan's] side to understand ... how the academic part [of Setswana] is intertwined with Sotho, and also the differences". He highlights a "few pronunciation things here and there, a few subjectival concords that are different", in addition to a few false friends (i.e. words carrying a different meaning) that needed differentiation.

7.1.1.5 CARL: the immersed enquirer

High linguistic capital gains in **Setswana**	~CEFRL: **C2**	D/F | **4** | T/I

In his "first year and second year" of learning, Carl was "able to communicate", express himself, and generally get his point across – he "was understanding a fair bit of what was going on." But, he reported, it was "only after two years did I feel quite comfortable" and had acquired "quite a good working knowledge of the language." In the four to five years following this point, his functional fluency became increasingly nuanced and natural: "I think I got to an 'end' ... I'd been there [teaching at a Tswana school] for six years." Carl did concede that had he been more introspective in his learning approach, he "may have just gotten further down the road than [he is] now" with his proficiency. With regard to literacy skills, he states that "reading and writing Setswana [...] took quite a lot longer for me to actually get into, because I was quite focused on [orally] communicating."

On the D/F-T/I continuum, Carl scored a four (4). He learnt to speak Setswana informally, and his own idiolect was consequently influenced by how Tswana people actually speak rather than the deep/formal Setswana one might hear in a news bulletin on the radio. As a result of his learning approach, Carl followed his Tswana colleagues and students in using English words (e.g. traffic) where he did not know the so-called "deep" version, and he also learned to speak with the contractions and elisions, with "abbreviated tones", that are characteristic of the informal, colloquial varieties of AfLs – thus causing him some difficulty when hearing or reading formal, academic Setswana.

> I think the vocab and structures that one needs for conversational Setswana are sometimes quite different from what one would need for, like formal Setswana, ... Motsweding [radio] avoids using the English word and they'll use the official kind of Setswana word ... That's my big struggle ... those words which are just *super* official, which are very rarely used and very rarely encountered. (**Carl**)

Beyond Setswana *per se*, he also exhibited gains in both multilingual and metalinguistic capital. After learning Setswana to a fluent level, and SASL prior, Carl's attitude towards further language learning was "well – what's stopping me?!" His subsequent learning of French was "introspective" and he was "more aware then" of the required steps to achieve "a level of conversational fluency." Following his multiple L2 Investment experiences, Carl has become fascinated with "the process of language learning" itself.

7.1.1.6 TANYA: the intentional lawyer

Moderate linguistic capital gains in **isiXhosa**	~CEFR: **B2**	D/F | **2** | T/I

At the time of the interview (2020), Tanya self-reported her isiXhosa as "intermediate", with the following aspects highlighted:

> I feel comfortable and confident asking and answering questions, navigating my workspace ... I also don't, in some scenarios, have to even translate in my head. It's like I just understand. (**Tanya**)

She felt competent and fully functional when it came to "the basics" – "I can get by in any kind of scenario and in a Xhosa dominant environment." Yet there were limitations: she was not "conversational" in an emotional sense, as she could not "express emotions in the language," which – in her view – is a crucial component of fluency. Tanya also claimed that her "understanding is better than [her] speaking". In response to an anecdotal request to give a radio interview in isiXhosa, she declined – due to lacking knowledge of "tons of vocab" on the specific topic, and more generally.

Regarding the D/F-T/I continuum, she had "enough Xhosa interactions with different people to know that [she's] learning a dialect", and her tendency to use rural or non-translingual phrasing was illustrated when she would speak isiXhosa in Cape Town – people informed her: "Yho, you're talking Deep Xhosa!". In terms of broader linguistic gains, she reported some understanding "what's going on" when people would speak isiZulu around her – evidence of crosslinguistic capital due to similarity between Nguni languages. In summary, Tanya has a general conversational fluency and good passive understanding to the extent that it carries over into other Nguni languages, but her oral proficiency in isiXhosa has not yet reached a nuanced level where she can speak comfortably on more niche, emotional subjects.

7.1.1.7 Cross-case analysis of linguistic capital gains

Having presented self-reports relating to the linguistic capital gains of core cases, and analysis across core and peripheral cases was performed, the results of which are presented below.

7.1.1.7.1 Level of proficiency: male vs female divide

Lily aside, it was found that male L2AfL investors were more successful in achieving fluency than their female counterparts across both the core and peripheral samples. Heather, Tanya, and Renée made moderate linguistic gains, while Natasha's gains were low-to-moderate. In Heather's case, it was largely due to a hiatus from language maintenance and doubling down on grammatical knowledge of an AfL rather than colloquial fluency. In Tanya's case, given her long intermission from learning and still-recent major commitment, she simply had not yet expended sufficient biochronic capital on "experiential" AfLL via distant immersion (as Renée has done). Renée largely let necessity dictate the extent of her learning, and thus did not pursue higher linguistic capital gains (discussed above). Natasha never went beyond an academic modality, and similar to Heather, had embarked on a lengthy hiatus that stymied maintenance or improvement of her AfL skills, causing significant AfL loss.

7.1.1.7.2 Language skills and D/F-T/I continuum

There was considerable variation regarding linguistic skill emphases. As this measure was based a combination of self-reported AfL use and stated preferences for formal/informal and deep/translingual modes of speech, general findings are suggestive but need further rigorous investigation. Just two cases, Heather and Natasha, had more of a grammar/literacy skill emphasis, which emerged from their commitment to academic modalities and lack of long-term transgressive modalities. Four cases – Lily, Carl, Renée, and Peter – tended more towards oracy (listening and speaking) in their skill emphasis. In these cases, AfLL was primarily aimed at oral communication and its practical, social, occupational or societal affordances. Of these four cases, all except Renée[331] possessed ideal personal conditions for learning, virtually no socio-structural conditions, and only an accidental catalyst (i.e. of low catalytic, non-necessitating force). For the remaining six cases – Andrew, Bradley, Duncan, Ivan, Tanya and Johan – their linguistic skillset appeared relatively balanced, due to pursuing both academic and transgressive modalities of AfLL, and often (with the limit-case exception

[331] Renée shared the same extrinsic motivation for learning, despite her personal conditions being non-ideal and needing a forceful catalyst to initiate her commitment in AfLL.

of Johan[332]) because their motivations were both intrinsic and extrinsic, thus interested in both AfL (and culture) *per se* as well as its social/societal/occupational applications.

In the main, the cases presented tended to use and prefer AfLs closer to the deep/formal pole of the continuum than the translingual/informal pole. This was particularly exhibited in cases with considerable academic AfLL (namely Ivan, Andrew, Heather and to a lesser extent, Duncan). While Bradley shared an interest in 'deep' isiZulu, he gave no indicated of a commitment to 'correct' (academic) language; Tanya's language was deep simply by virtue of learning a rural variety. With the exception of Carl and Peter, male AfL investors tended to have a preference for deep or "correct" speech compared to female investors, who expressed no preference – or in Lily's case, a contrary preference for "translingual" speech.

> "I'm trying to speak more like a more correct isiZulu"
> "But in spoken form, you know, I will try as much as possible to use, you know, pure isiZulu" (**Andrew**)
>
> "I've consistently heard people say to me, oh, your version of Xhosa must come from the villages. Because you speak... a deeper version. And, and I, I will often ... just out of pride ... would sometimes continue to use words that I know are associated with the rural villages, and that are less used in urban contexts" (**Johan**)
>
> "My perspective on this is ... if one is able to actually pronounce, and one knows the correct Sotho word – use that ... [w]hy code-switch if there is a proper word in the language, and you know what that word is?" (**Ivan**)

7.1.1.7.3 Correlates of linguistic capital

In light of the results of the cross-case analyses, wherever distinct patterns of cases emerged, they were tabulated, analysed, and reduced to the underlying factors for each pattern, and classified according to whether they correlated with the primary criterion of L2 Investment success: linguistic capital gains. This may be viewed in Table 11: Correlates of linguistic capital gains (Appendix G10). The attentive reader will note some overlap, as well as contingency in factors included.[333] The analytical process utilised is outlined in Chapter 4 above, and the results of the analysis follow. In what follows, no causation is claimed: only correlation, and all findings are applicable to the sample, not the broader population of L2AfL investors. The correlates have been differentiated according to the extent of linguistic

[332] It may be argued that due to the transformative commitment made by Johan to AfLL, his motivations for AfLL ultimately became irrelevant to the course of his linguistic gains/skill development.

[333] The items included in the table were deemed *sufficiently* representative of the L2 Investment arc and the findings specific to this case sample and kind of L2 learning.

capital gains – high-to-very high, and moderate-to-low – as well as those factors apparently uncorrelated to linguistic capital gains.

High-to-very high linguistic capital gains

There appears to be a strong correlation with higher linguistic capital gains where the sex of the investor was male; where their level of ideal personal conditions was high – and with specific regard to motivation, where it was primarily intrinsic, either involving a strong IL2S or self-ambiguous form of motivation; where the catalytic force for major commitment was low; where the commitment archetype was either academic-transgressive integration, or purely transgressive; where the extent of major commitment was 5 years or greater; and finally, where there was some evidence of AfL upkeep/improvement. There appear to be less strong, but still significant correlations between several other factors and higher linguistic capital gains – these must be interpreted with caution, however, due to sample size.[334]

Moderate-to-low linguistic capital gains

In contradistinction to the above, there appears to be a strong correlation with relatively lower linguistic capital gains where the sex of investor was female; where the level of ideal personal conditions was low or none – and in specific terms of motivation, where extrinsic motivations appeared dominant, exhibiting either a strong OL2S or self-ambiguous motivation; where the catalytic force required for major commitment was either moderate or high; where the commitment archetype was either academic-transgressive conversion (especially where a lengthy intermission was present) or purely academic; where the extent of major commitment was less than 5 years; and finally, where there was no evidence of AfL upkeep/improvement discipline. For several other factors, there appears to be less strong, but still significant correlation with relatively lower linguistic capital gains – these must be interpreted with caution, however, due to sample size.[335]

[334] Given that linguistic capital gains were an outcome, it appears that sex/gender – or the conditional profiles associated with being male and female – were determinative. There appears to be less strong, but still significant correlation with higher linguistic capital gains where the primary transgressive modality was either proximal immersion, mentorship, and distant immersion (if male/or long-term); where the target AfL of investor was either isiZulu, Sesotho, Setswana or isiXhosa (if male)*; where the year of initiating a major commitment was between *circa* 2004 and 2009; where the investor's geographical origin was either KZN, Free State, Gauteng, or – if male, the WC*; and finally, where there was extensive non-linguistic capital gains.

[335] Weaker but identifiable correlates of lower linguistic capital gains were found where the primary transgressive modality was distant immersion (if shorter-term/a female investor) or lacking a transgressive modality entirely; where the target AfL of investor was isiXhosa (if female)*; where the period of initiating major commitment in AfLL was *circa* 2010 and subsequent*; where the investor's geographical origin was the WC (if female) or the EC*; and finally, where there were unreported or lacking non-linguistic capital gains.

Independent factors (Non-correlates to linguistic capital gains)

Five factors appeared to be uncorrelated to the extent of linguistic capital gains. Firstly, the level of ideal socio-structural conditions appeared uncorrelated as both cases with high *and* low levels achieved more linguistic capital. Secondly, the age/initial modality of AfLL did not correlate. High linguistic capital could be gained irrespective of whether the investor began their L2AfL investment as a teenager/at high school, as a young adult/at university, or as an adult/through distant immersion. Thirdly, the extent of minor commitment appeared uncorrelated to eventual linguistic capital gains: high linguistic capital could be gained irrespective of whether minor commitment was extensive, limited, or non-existent (and vice versa). Fourthly, the extent of academic modalities appeared to be uncorrelated: Cases that did not pursue academic modalities could make linguistic capital gains just as much those with two major academic modalities. All cases *without* an academic modality succeeded, however – suggesting its lack of necessity. Fifthly and finally, it was found that the extent to which cases emphasised the use/importance of AfL media appeared independent of linguistic capital gains. No patterns were evident.

7.1.2 Occupational capital

It was found that the linguistic capital gains described above were leveraged towards occupational capital for *all* cases, predominantly related to the education sector – whether this was initially a motivating factor or not. As a species of human capital, occupational capital also straddles the socioeconomic genus, because it concerns the presence of skills and niche knowledge that can be leveraged for economic sustenance/gain.

A core finding in terms of the occupational applicability of AfLs was that almost all cases worked within the education sector, either as teachers or researchers. Across the core case sample, more than half – Andrew, Ivan, Bradley, and Carl – became AfL teachers or were able to use the language in teaching. For Ivan, this was explicitly intentional; for Bradley, it developed organically as the scarcity of AfL tutors/teachers amongst his academic and social networks became clear. The remaining two core cases – Duncan and Tanya – all found occupational applications for their linguistic capital. The peripheral case sample confirms the education-sector focus, with all cases but Renée leveraging their linguistic capital for academic or educational occupations.[336]

[336] Prior to data collection for this study, I encountered a further two successful L2X female learners (both of whom learned in the late 1980s, thus outside of this study's remit) – one of whom established a language school offering isiXhosa classes, and the other who become an academic in an AfL department. Given the paucity of

7.1.2.1 Ability to teach AfLs

After studying isiZulu formally in university, **Andrew** then became a qualified isiZulu teacher, and ever since has been teaching at a primary school. He is clearly passionate about teaching, and fascinated by being able to witness (for example) Grade 1 pupils acquire isiZulu. "It's fascinating to see them beginning to understand," he says. Andrew's interest in people, Zulu culture and the language perfectly combine, therefore, in his vocation.

Ivan claimed to "love teaching" AfLs. His skills in Sesotho enabled him to teach the language – though he is currently teaching Setswana, a cognate language, at the early primary level. Prior to teaching in schools, Ivan taught Sesotho to a doctor part-time during university; he mentioned that he "did exactly as the teacher did who I had [in school]."[337] At the time of the interview, Ivan was also tutoring his younger brother (who was taking an L2 Sesotho course at university). Learning Sesotho "opened a lot of doors for [Ivan] in terms of [his] career" and enabled him to act as a linguistic and pedagogical bridge for others.

Bradley spoke of "the amazing doors that Zulu has opened up for [him], being a white person in South Africa." He began tutoring other L2Z students "straight after varsity", and this developed into a teaching career in the years that followed.

> And in terms of teaching Zulu, you know, with the ... well; it's just the weirdest niche in the world – there's millions of Zulu people all around in Durban. But terms of teaching it, and sort of teaching effectively, maybe – is a big niche. (**Bradley**)

Due to the scarcity of (effective) teachers, formally qualified or otherwise, he has had "a very easy time of it ... working minimal hours". Teaching isiZulu has become his "livelihood"; it's his "thing", which he elaborates as "sharing what [he has] learned with [the] Zulu [language], and to just make people connect with each other."

Within the peripheral sample, Heather (B2.4.2), Lily (B1.4.2), and Peter (B.5.4.2.1) all reveal the opportunities for teaching AfLs *qua* L2 due to the scarcity of L2AfL experts, and the presence of L2AfLL demand in their social circles which they helped to meet.

7.1.2.2 Utility in other occupations

Carl, an English teacher with a majority of L1 Setswana students in his class, found that if students could not find an English word, or would use a Setswana phrase that they were

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L2 Investment in AfLs, let alone success, it appears that successful white L2AfL investors (South African or not) are able to position themselves as experts and legitimate teachers for other L1E/A citizens (white or not), likely because they possess an expert status regarding the contextual processes of L2AfLL (as opposed to an exhaustive L1AfL-like knowledge).

[337] Thereby illustrating her important status as a role-model for Ivan.

unable to articulate in English, he could turn this into a mutually-beneficial learning opportunity.

> I think there are benefits for my *students*. I think that the ability that I had, to be able to explain a grammatical concept in English or even a word, or a theme – being able to explain that in Setswana and have a conversation about in Setswana, and then revert back to English – I think was hugely helpful. (**Carl**)

For **Duncan**, fluency in isiZulu has been ideal in his career as a musician within the Zulu cultural space. At the practical level – planning, practising, recording albums, doing gigs, as well as networking and communicating with Zulu audiences – it is an extremely useful skill to have. In working for an NGO in eMaphandleni, **Tanya** found that the social capital provided by her isiXhosa proficiency enabled her to "do [her] work much more effectively". Because of her language abilities, L1X interlocuters appreciated her and her work more, work that is "more legitimate" than it would otherwise be. In sum, Tanya was "not an outsider" but rather a "comrade", and her knowledge of isiXhosa created an interconnected matrix of social and occupational returns.

Section 7.2 - Socioeconomic capital

From within the socioeconomic genus of capital, only two species were found to predominate: symbolic and social capital. There is no major evidence of cultural capital, except in Andrew and Duncan's cases, however the extent of this was not investigated. Except for instances of receiving gifts – e.g. in Ivan's case, being given a sum of money simply for "speak[ing] such a beautiful Sotho" – direct (access to) economic capital was unsurprisingly not found to result from the accumulation and application of linguistic capital. Insofar as it does appear to produce economic gain, this is mediated through the leveraging of occupational capital, indicative of the scarcity of applied AfL skills, e.g. AfL translation and/or teaching.

7.2.1 Symbolic capital

Symbolic capital – the relative prestige and status derivative of one's social identities and socially-recognised human capital – was found to obtain in two specific ways. Most commonly, it resulted in the attribution of extra-ordinary status to wSAn L2AfL investors, even if grudgingly or by implication. While this finding was near-ubiquitous, a significant minority of participants (Tanya, Carl, Duncan) felt a normative conviction of the importance of ought-to AfL selves for wSAns, and thus discounted the extraordinary status afforded by successful AfLL – even while appreciating the zookairotic capital emergent from it.

Secondly, the relative paucity of the symbolic capital of 'socio-political legitimacy' contrasted with findings regarding 'extra-ordinary status'. While what has been termed 'socio-political legitimacy' was only made explicit by a few participants (Andrew, Heather, Tanya), it was absent in the self-reports of all other participants except Peter, for whom this symbolic gain was implicit. Successful L2AfLL provided (the perception of) increased legitimacy for societal and cultural activism.

7.2.1.1 Extra-ordinary status

At least three cases provided explicit evidence of acquiring symbolic capital, in the sense of possessing an extra-ordinary status as successful wSAn AfL learners/speakers. This status is also (implicitly) the *sine qua non* of instances of social favour, which has been classified as a kind of social capital – and as such, extra-ordinary status was almost a ubiquitous finding across all cases.

In combination with his social extroversion, **Bradley's** fluency in isiZulu provided him with an extraordinary status among most L1Z speakers he encountered or interacted with, hearkening back to the catalytic, extra-ordinary encounter with the white isiZulu lecturer. By gaining and leveraging linguistic capital, Bradley was able to reproduce that status in his own social interactions. He recorded how a friend told him: "Ey, Bradley, you're a chaos! Just going around places, greeting people, everyone going mad – you're a chaos!'". Being a "chaos" – breaking the status quo – required something extra-ordinary.

Duncan's fluency in isiZulu, with the cultural knowledge of "praise names and proverbs" that he has gained over time, prompted a realisation on the part of L1Z interlocutors that he had "gone that *extra* step" and "really made an effort". He did not simply 'speak isiZulu', but in his translation, "[t]his white guy speaks *deep* Zulu" [338] – something extra-ordinary.

Carl's L2AfL investment also produced symbolic returns: his accumulation of linguistic capital represented something remarkable in the broader sociohistorical context of SA. In contradistinction to the unqualified "kudos" mentioned below, his educated, "politically aware" colleagues would articulate why they withheld any congratulations on his successful learning: they stated it *ought* to be unremarkable, a mere given, for South Africans (white or otherwise) to speak an indigenous AfL. They also adverted to the wholly unremarkable nature of their own fluency in English: i.e. praise ought to be either equitable,

[338] "*Ey, lo mlungu lo, ushawumageba*" (**Duncan**, reporting interlocutor speech).

or absent. Nevertheless, by articulating this at all, Carl's colleagues *did* find his acquisition of Setswana remarkable:

> ... then when I started getting interested in the process of language learning and I had Setswana teachers at the school approaching *me* to say, "Well, how did you learn this language? Why is it that you're learning it, and other white teachers are not? Why is it that you're learning it, and white students are battling?" (**Carl**)

Whether effusive or understated, his ability to speak Setswana was received as something symbolic of the ideal – and preferred over the *status quo* of low uptake or lacking success.

In a similar vein to Carl's Tswana colleagues, **Tanya** reported being "annoyed" due to "over-attention about being able to speak Xhosa," something she thinks should not be "so exceptional." Based on her view that wSAn AfLL ought to be an unremarkable norm in post-apartheid society – she discounts the value of extra-ordinary status and the positive reception it could bring. Taking this into consideration, her "favourite" response (indifference) is unsurprising.[339]

Because **Lily** usually passed for being a wSAn, she found that interactions with black L1X speakers often began with "the surprise effect", and then she was asked "Why do you speak?" and "Where are you from?" Upon revealing her German, foreign status, she would receive a couple of typical responses:

> "Yeah, that's interesting – foreigners actually do learn ... [but] white South Africans don't give a shit"
> "No, okay, yeah – I knew this other German girl, and she was also good at Xhosa!" (**Lily**)

According to Lily's own experience (at least within Cape Town township and academic spaces), the success of white foreigners, particularly female ones,[340] was seen as plausible: it rendered her more ordinary.[341] Lily gave her own analysis of the nature of her symbolic effect on black, L1X interlocutors:

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[339] As she stated: "my favourite though, is when I speak Xhosa in Cape Town, and the person who's helping me [in a transactional interaction] doesn't give a shit and just continues with his life. You know? That's my favourite." (**Tanya**). This anecdote, which by implication occurred more than once, highlights the fact that wSAn AfL use may have become ordinary in some contexts, perhaps illustrating the prevalence of (attempts at) transactional isiXhosa use by liberal, middle-class, L1E wSAns in Cape Town specifically (cf. McIntosh, 2018).

[340] Lily remarked that the anecdotes are "mostly girls, and they're German or American or something. In these comments that come up, they come up sort of systematically" (**Lily**). Peter mentioned teaching a (male) German research student isiXhosa – who was "*the best student I've ever had*! He's like, way better than *anyone* – and he's not even that good! He is *way* better than any of my students!" (**Peter**).

[341] Consider the reflections of a candidate case who learned isiZulu to an intermediate level: "I am quite astounded to realise that the people I know who have taken the trouble to learn an African language are not originally from here, but they have certainly made this their home and no doubt learning the language has helped them feel at home."

> first, I unsettle a prejudice of a white person not speaking an African language. And then in some ways, I re-affirm the prejudice because "it's not the white person that I had in mind." This is why it's not so surprising. (**Lily**)

7.2.1.2 Legitimacy for societal activism

When combined with the role/occupation of teaching, successful AfLL provided L2 investors with the perception (and, ostensibly, fact) that their societal and cultural activism – viewed as a kind of bridge-building – had a legitimacy it would not have had otherwise. Both Heather and Andrew exhibited this extensively, each with a different ideological framing and goal – either problematising raciolinguistic power dynamics (Heather) or attempting to move past them (Andrew). Tanya[342] and Peter[343] also provide further, though less elaborated examples of (perceived) legitimate status to advocate for societal welfare, however construed.

Heather's knowledge of isiXhosa positioned her in a way such that she felt able to argue for and live out her socio-political convictions regarding the "importance" of AfLs like isiXhosa. Compared to when she was in school, Heather stated that there is "far more opportunity" now to engage with the youth in her classes about "social and political identities and ideologies and ways of being" in SA. Having learned isiXhosa enabled her to disperse "serious social ideas about the language ... serious understandings of how people interact, why they interact, you know, on what power dynamics people interact." She is interested in providing "that political, that social, that economic understanding of the language, and this is "a focus of how [she] teach[es] Xhosa at the moment." By virtue of learning and then teaching isiXhosa, she has a platform to teach other teachers about "the concept of how language makes you interact, on power dynamics." This is a where she has "access to have conversations with people" about the "social / political / anthropological discussions" in which she is ideologically invested.

Andrew's fluency in isiZulu– in conjunction with his position as a primary school L2Z teacher – gave him a platform to confront issues of race and South African history. He stated an explicit interest in "breaking down social barriers and changing perceptions", and viewed language as "such a powerful tool" for overcoming racial division, especially given

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[342] "I feel – an increased legitimacy to my work as well. Even though I think white people are always illegitimate in South Africa, I think, there is *some* degree of increased legitimacy in terms of my work, and in the way that people appreciate me and my work as well. They feel that it's more legitimate as well" (**Tanya).**

[343] "I was saying in the nicest way possible that like, *'you really need to learn the language* if you don't want to be a constant sort of...', you know, what would be the word called? Like a constant... I don't know, like – 'you're perpetuating apartheid realities,' you know, and for me, [learning and teaching isiXhosa is] a *big* part of healing that past, and dreaming into a new future, making a new future reality... is kind of through an effort to respect people's cultures and their languages and respect *them* in daily interactions" (**Peter**)

that the divisions are not static, but still evolving. He saw L2Z learning and AfLL more generally as a means to prevent further division. In his (relatively) unique position, he expressed the idea that the *status quo* (avoiding SA's racialised issues of both past and present due to fear) only served to "desensitise people to the issues, rather than grappling with them". Andrew's status as a wSAn isiZulu speaker and teacher made him feel that he was "in a unique position to – not necessarily air all [his] opinions – but to definitely challenge ideas and not to shy away" from loaded race-related conversations. Andrew tells the story of how a young Zulu girl at his school gave him a hug, addressing him with (in her view) a rhetorical question (see Appendix F1.2 for the full anecdote): "It's nice to be a Zulu, hey?". His reflection on this unexpected identification by a child was that he had "an incredible opportunity to break" the sticky conceptualisations of race, language, nationality and so on inherited from apartheid.[344] Beyond this platform as a teacher – though importantly linked with that role – Andrew showed evidence also able to contribute to the preservation of Zulu cultural heritage and knowledge by learning and engaging socially with it (e.g. use of clan names and praise poetry):

> certainly at like a very basic level, me knowing some [of the clan names/poetry] really amazes people and makes people feel proud, like, of their heritage – like people feel really proud. (**Andrew**)

Andrew's engagement with the isiZulu language and culture arguably lends him an authenticity and legitimacy that is recognised by L1Z speakers, enabling him in a small way to assert the value of AfLs and associated culture.

7.2.2 Social capital

In order to specify the results of AfL language use and/or the symbolic status it affords, 'social capital' refers to the *strength and range of one's social network*: strength in the sense of positive social regard and socially-mediated opportunities to gain other forms of capital, and range in the sense of access to, or inclusion within, diverse sets of individuals and communities/institutions. Across the various cases, there were multiple instances of what has been differentiated (despite considerable overlap) as *social favour* and *social inclusion*: these instances of social capital appeared to be contingent upon case participants' usage of AfLs where it would otherwise be unexpected. A third category, *social intervention*, could have

[344] For example, he relates how a Zulu supermarket employee did a double take upon realising that the Zulu voice (that was asking her a question) emanated from a white person.

been included – but only two apparently once-off anecdotes emerged, by Andrew[345] and Bradley[346] respectively, suggesting a relatively marginal status. As may be seen in Table 10: Capital Gains (Appendix G9), almost *all* core cases reported a meaningful increase in their social capital: both favour and inclusion were either explicit or implicit in case participants descriptions of what they gained from AfLL. Several peripheral cases did not, however, for reasons discussed below.

7.2.2.1 Social favour

Three cases provided evidence of gaining significant social favour due to AfL use, whether monetary gifts (Ivan), special treatment (Carl) or access (Tanya). As stated previously, these are predicated on the acknowledgement of implicit symbolic capital, of extra-ordinary status.

Ivan described an amusing but significant episode where, while on an academic tour in Cape Town, a well-known black businessman heard Ivan talking with some of his Sotho school friends:

> Something very interesting happened. I spoke Sotho to one of my friends and without knowing it, [the man] walked past me and he actually stopped me and said "Look, young man, you spoke such a beautiful Sotho, here's a R100,[347] go get yourself a milkshake." (**Ivan**)

Ivan's implicit extra-ordinary status is clearly seen in this anecdote. He related several others where his AfL fluency prompted generous, at times gratuitous responses – whereby he is offered shortcuts or gifts in transactional situations, like at a supermarket or petrol station. While some of this could be due to sympathy for his physical mobility issues, Ivan's AfL use was a non-negligible element in his view.

Carl likewise found, in the main, that there were tangible social returns on learning Setswana. At the purely inter interpersonal level, L1 Setswana speakers would sometimes "react effusively" and become "excited" due to the "unusual" nature of the encounter. This

[345] Andrew's knowledge of isiZulu gave him, he claimed, the social and linguistic ability to intervene in "uncomfortable situations" – for example upbraiding a Zulu man acting inappropriately in a bar setting, by making reference to the moral norms of Zulu traditional masculinity. It provides him with a skillset that enabled him to grapple with "diverse sets of scenarios" that a wSAn non-isiZulu speaker would not – "right from the positive... to the negative".

[346] Highly reminiscent of Johnson's (2006) account of watching the premiere of the film *Yesterday*, Bradley tells his own story of intervention thus: "there was a Zulu-only play put on ... I went and watched with a friend. And it was a very mixed crowd and you know, a very forward-thinking crowd: all races and everyone was *there*. They just pitched up to ... especially the non-Zulu speakers, were just there to show support. You could see that they didn't understand everything ... So, it was a beautiful play and afterwards they had a bit of a discussion, and the discussion was in English. Everybody was now debating the play – a play that was *in Zulu* – in English! So I just had to... I raised my hand, and I spoke in Zulu: 'Like, come on guys. We just watched a Zulu-only play. And we're busy talking in English about it. Let's just... let's discuss this in Zulu!'"

[347] Approximately £10.

would mean that Carl would on occasion be treated "in a different or special way". Whether receiving unasked-for favours or leeway with traffic fines, he would get "some kudos" for his ability to speak. For example:

> I remember the one day being at the licensing department and I was a bit lost, and I didn't know which line to stand in. So I asked the guy to help me, and asked him in Setswana, and he said, "Well, because you spoke Setswana, I'm just going to bump you to the front of the queue." (**Carl**)

Similar to both Ivan and Carl's experiences of 'shortcuts', **Tanya** describes an anecdote of when she was "speak[ing] Xhosa at the Home Affairs office" of a large regional centre in the Eastern Cape: "within two seconds [she was] in the head [office] of Home Affairs, having a meeting." Despite Tanya's stated preference for indifferent responses to her AfL skills, this is likely one instance in which she did appreciate the social externalities of gaining an extra-ordinary status: it elevated the "practical usefulness" of isiXhosa to the same level – if not beyond – what it would be for bSAn L1 speakers.

7.2.2.2 Social inclusion

While social favour referred more to the 'strength' of social capital, social inclusion refers to a mechanism of increasing the 'range' or access of one's social experience. Three cases made explicit mention of this, whether in anecdotal form, for example, in an unbidden party invitation (Andrew), or more generally (Carl and Tanya).

Andrew's use of isiZulu – for something as unremarkable as giving a Zulu man road directions, and offering to show him the way (Andrew was going that direction anyway) – gained him an invitation to a pre-wedding party. There, he was the only (somewhat awkward) wSAn amongst many celebrating Zulu strangers. While not knowing anyone was a "little awkward", he was nonetheless well-fed and "wasn't made to feel uncomfortable" in any way.[348] He concluded that "it was a great opportunity ... I've had so many of those, you know, so many, so many times."

This anecdote of inclusion, or invitation, into Zulu cultural life – given to a complete stranger – provides a particular example of something that **Carl**, given his Tswana-dominant environment (and ready-made social network at his school), experienced more generally. For him, learning Setswana primarily had the social effect of "opening" or giving "access" to experiences and opportunities that would otherwise have been withheld/lacking. Referring

[348] The potential for discomfort appears to reference Andrew's gratitude that he did not become, literally, a 'party trick' or a "chaos" in Bradley's terminology. As he described elsewhere: "I've had numerous times (at least in my early fluency), where people would ... want to have my number, and I found it a bit overwhelming actually... Like, I don't want to be a celebrity, and people were treating me a bit like that."

mainly to fellow school staff, it "made people quite a lot more willing to induct [him] into certain experiences" – for example,

> going to weddings, going to funerals, going to pay respects to families when they've lost loved ones, you know – community stuff that was happening all the time, which my white colleagues didn't ever attend or where never invited to. (**Carl**)

For Carl, "community stuff" went beyond the major communal milestones of birth, death, and matrimony. At the more quotidian level, it also "opens [one] up to conversations" like banter during lunchbreak, or socio-political perspectives and dialogue with colleagues – "exposure to different viewpoints" – which he believed "a lot of [his] white colleagues were not privy to". He thereby acquired the 'whole story' rather than the partially-representative social-political narratives spun within the monolingual English-speaking community and media landscape. As he puts it, "if I hadn't spoken Setswana, I would've missed out on quite a lot of that". This exact sentiment was repeated by several other participants.[349]

Tanya, who like Carl pursued AfLL in a non-urban, AfL-dominant space, expressed similar experiences, although her emphasis was on how this social inclusion *felt*: capital gains better described as zookairotic in nature. What produced these feelings, however, was the objective manner in which use of isiXhosa enabled her social inclusion: a "magical way" by which people "just treat you differently" – so much so that she felt "in" instead of "out" (and, she added, "I know the difference"). Because of this, echoing Carl, she could "feel much more connected, because [one] can participate in conversation – or at least know what's going on." In the same way that Tanya felt more connected with "what's going on" socially, this *also* applied to her understanding of African and specifically Xhosa cultural discourse. For example, she cited a new ability to understand Nando's advertisements[350] and jokes made by symmetrically-multilingual South African comedian Trevor Noah.

Duncan found that his fluent isiZulu speech prompted recognition and inclusion from Zulu people, i.e., statements have been made to him like "[y]ou're one of us."[351] On visits to rural Zululand, Duncan described encounters with Zulu elders, whose lives were lived in the

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[349] For example, consider this report from a case candidate not selected for the study: "for a white South African ... it's a chalk and cheese life, speaking languages like Xhosa and not speaking. I mean, you can't compare – there's so much going on in this country that's not happening in English or Afrikaans".
Andrew expressed the same sentiment: "there is really a very different world out there in South Africa that people don't have access to. And I think that language has really open that up to me: to understanding, or at least getting 'a foot in the door' to understanding ... I have a lot of access to a different world" (**Andrew**).

[350] A popular fast food chain with a reputation for funny, though occasionally risqué, advertisements.

[351] A statement he recognises as being "awkward", but nevertheless true. This accords with the experience of Olivia, a white Kenyan informant reported in McIntosh (2014): "When I start speaking Kiswahili to them they'll often say: 'Kweli, we ni moja wetu' [Truly, you're one of us]" (1181).

shadow of *apartheid*. Prompted by Duncan's fluency in isiZulu linguaculture, they made statements like – to translate Duncan's paraphrase – "Ey, you see, we are all people [*abaNtu*]" and "skin means nothing". Inclusion, expressed in words of this sort, only followed from the prior *de facto* inclusion.

Section 7.3 - Zookairotic capital

Successful wSAn L2AfL investment was found to produce *more* than banal occupational or socioeconomic utility. Wherever there was evidence of positive (or negative) affect/emotion – how AfL-mediated encounters made people feel, particularly at a deep level (whether L2AfL investors or L1AfL speakers) – this was typically conceptualised as the presence or absence of zookairotic capital. Referring to epiphenomenal, intangible goods that *may* arise from other forms of capital, zookairotic capital gains were reported in all cases with the exception of Lily's. Given the previous findings regarding symbolic and social capital, it follows that zookairotic capital emerged from these (more tangible) sources. Part 3 has been divided between zookairotic capital gains experienced by, firstly, L1AfL speakers and, secondly, L2AfL investors: the reception given by the former determine the affective experiences of the latter. Finally, considering that some kinds of affect may be discomforting (i.e. not 'good') in the short term, they nonetheless may be beneficial at a deeper, longer-term level – a minor finding concluding section 7.3.

7.3.1 For L1AfL interlocutors

7.3.1.1 Class-based differentiation

It was found that zookairotic gains were often contingent on whether AfL-mediated encounters between bSAn and wSAns were intra-class or inter-class in nature. While on the whole zookairotic capital obtained, this was because the majority – though not all – of AfL-mediated inter-racial encounters were *inter*-class in nature, typically because the modality of immersion (proximal or distant) transgressed both raciolinguistic *and* class borders.

While class was seldom mentioned as a salient factor in almost all positive interracial AfL contact (except by Andrew and Duncan), when contact was *not* positive, identity markers suggestive of an upwardly mobile, educated, middle-class status tended to be attributed to bSAn interlocuters. As such, the findings below are taken to largely refer to class-transgressive encounters with blue-collar/lower-income/less-educated L1AfL speakers, though not exclusively so.

7.3.1.2 Positive reception: joyful surprise

Bradley and Duncan – male, extroverted speakers of isiZulu – gave the fullest accounts of their reception by L1AfL speakers, most of which ostensibly occurred during class-transgressive encounters.[352] Carl, Ivan, Tanya, Renée, Peter and Duncan also largely confirmed their descriptions, to a greater or lesser extent. It appears that many if not most (bSAn) L1AfL speakers gain zookairotic capital – joyful surprise and appreciation – when encountering (wSAn) L2AfL investors.

Bradley described his typical isiZulu-mediated encounter with a Zulu person as being "just absolute magic" and "a beautiful interaction". He highlights, firstly, the astonishment his proficiency in isiZulu engenders. This is soon followed by effusive celebration and appreciation: "people look at you like it's Christmas or something ... like, [with] this absolute wonder, like 'Wow!'". Bradley's implicit analysis – that wSAn use of AfLs has a gift-like status for most L1AfL speakers[353] – helps explain the social capital often gained by its use. While Bradley foregrounded surprise and joy as the consequence of his use of isiZulu with L1 speakers (the kind of reception that catalysed his decision to begin learning isiZulu), he also noted that reception can veer, at times, more into bewilderment or even confusion.[354] In some cases, Zulu people have responded to him in English, not realising the fact that he had used isiZulu to address them. It could take a while before they noticed something strange was occurring. Bradley articulates his experience of a L1Z interlocutor's confusion:

> "Hey man! You're speaking Zulu! What?!" "What is happening? Am I dreaming? There's a white person, but I just hear a black person! I hear a Zulu person speaking!"[355] (**Bradley**)

Echoing Bradley, **Andrew** reported that "[p]eople are overwhelmingly positive. Pleased. Surprised." In his experience, only very seldom would L1Z interlocutors prefer English to isiZulu. He notes that interlocutors appreciated him "trying to speak a more correct isiZulu" and are impressed when he uses "deep" words that they no longer use themselves. Particularly when he uses praise names and clan names – he states that this "really amazes people and makes [them] feel proud of their heritage." Zulu people are "wowed" or "blown

[352] As described in Chapter 6 regarding Proximal Immersion, the majority of their chosen interlocuters for proximal immersion were blue-collar workers: street sweepers, security and car guards, domestic workers, catering staff, builders, and so on.
[353] The question of whether this ought to be the case is quite separate from its current reality.
[354] See footnote 373 for an anecdote from Clegg (2021) that similarly ties AfL and English use explicitly to racial identity.
[355] In all these interactions (the consequence of his Zulu language learning and his decision to actually *use* the language), the fact that Bradley is white is the crucial factor influencing the nature of his reception by the amaZulu/Zulu speakers. Breaking the mould of whiteness is the reason why his interactions are typically "beautiful", "magical" or even 'chaotic'; it is the source of "that feeling [he] goes after".

away" by his application of their language and cultural knowledge, and will exclaim something like, "Oh my god, how do ... Ahhh!".[356] In some instances, *qua* 'truth speaker', Andrew described instances of positive receptions where he took the opportunity to reflect high evaluations of his symmetrical multilingualism back to L1AfL interlocutors:

> People have said: "Hawu, wow, you are so clever, you know, that you can speak Zulu!"
> And I'll say: "Hang on. You can speak English, can't you?"
> [They respond:] "Ja, but not very well".
> And ... I say: "Well, you speak English far better than a majority of white South Africans speak isiZulu, not so?"
> And they say: "Ja, I haven't really thought of it like that." (**Andrew**)

Confirming Bradley and Andrew's accounts of a general positive reception, **Peter's** interactions with most L1X speakers prompted a surprised "Wow!" response; they would "open up" to Peter in ways they otherwise would not have.[357] He described Xhosa people as being "stoked" (excited) and appreciative of him "making an effort to meet them in *their* world and relate in that space." **Carl** found that L1 Setswana speakers would sometimes "react effusively" and become "excited" due to the "unusual" nature of the encounter.[358] **Tanya** described her encounters with L1X interlocuters being generally "great", "joyful" and full of "goodness". She remarked with disappointment, however, that "it doesn't take a lot [of isiXhosa knowledge]" to engender such reactions. **Duncan** found that his ability to speak Zulu consistently "makes [L1Z people] smile, because there are so few whites or English speakers who can actually speak a foreign [sic] language". It caused surprise and happiness – responses he discounted as "bittersweet", given the implication of absent wSAn L2AfL investment. **Renée** claimed that "the joy that Xhosa speakers [have], or even other AfL speakers, hearing you speak Xhosa *even* a little bit ... I mean, it's incredible". This joyful response obtains, she asserted, even in the banal, bureaucratic context of "speaking to the person who is doing your taxes."

[356] People would reportedly want his [cellphone] number, and the effusive responses became overwhelming at points (in his "early fluency"), where he felt too much in the limelight, treated like a celebrity.
[357] "Not every single time, but like, you know, not everyone – I mean, all of this is a generalization – but like so many times (that I've just lost count, you know), people opened up in a different way ..."
[358] Carl's interactions were likely the least class-transgressive of all cases, given the context in which he acquired Setswana; many of his school colleagues were also middle-class, and while they found his successful AfLL implicitly remarkable (see 7.2.1.1: Extra-ordinary status), it did not lead to zookairotic capital gains, but rather to a kind of curiosity or puzzlement (as they tried to understand what made him different from other wSAns).

7.3.1.3 Non-positive reception: from indifference to hostility

7.3.1.3.1 Class-transgressive encounters

Instances of indifference

As an exception to the emergence of joy, "when someone is not really interested" or simply tired, Duncan noted that his AfL use failed to engender a positive response, let alone one in English – with specific reference to transactional situations e.g. with staff at a supermarket. In his experience, however, these non-positive reactions happen seldomly. As mentioned already, **Tanya** also experienced instances of indifference to her AfL use when visiting Cape Town. The transactional circumstances suggest these interactions were class-transgressive, and not an instance of black, middle-class discounting of wSAn AfL use. Duncan's explanation seems valid, although as an added overlay, it also seems natural that in a microcosm where basic wSAn AfLL has become normal, then marginal (or even no) zookairotic capital gains would result.

7.3.1.3.2 Class-congruent encounters

While evidence for non-positive reception is highly anecdotal, it is clear that in at least *some* instances of class-congruent encounter, wSAn AfL use failed to engender zookairotic capital in L1AfL speakers – in some cases, it reinforced the *lack* of zookairotic capital. This could produce confusion, embarrassment, hostility or a deft re-assertion of English as the preferred medium of communication.

Instances of embarrassment and preference for English

When speaking with "well-educated" Zulu people, **Duncan** claimed that they often would prefer *not* to respond in isiZulu: "they'll continue in English". Bradley also related an anecdote in which, while vacationing in Thailand, he bumped into Zulu tourists who had just arrived at the same hostel. He attempted to converse with one of them using isiZulu, but, in Bradley's paraphrase,

> this *ou* [guy] just looks at me. And he's like, [in English] "I'm sorry, I just can't" ... (He's jetlagged!) "Just wait until the morning please! I can't do this right now" (**Bradley**)

In some instances – specifically female students at university with Zulu heritage – Bradley found that his use of isiZulu produced embarrassment, because he apparently spoke "better Zulu" than they did. In these cases, they typically requested he use English instead.[359]

[359] As Bradley related: "But at varsity, with the, like, really trendy black girls ..., you know, speaking English to each other... and I come along, and I speak Zulu to them, and they're like, "Actually, just please *don't*." And there was one instance where the girl was actually just like: 'You're actually speaking... you're embarrassing me, [be]cause you're speaking better Zulu than me!'"

Instances of hostility and suspicion

Tanya described "probably [her] one negative interaction" as being an encounter at a music festival, where – after attempted use of isiXhosa to defuse a hostile verbal interaction with a black, isiNguni-speaking woman, the reception to this wSAn AfL use (in Tanya's paraphrase) was "I don't give two shits that you guys speak Xhosa; you think you're suddenly legitimate if you can speak Xhosa!"[360] While this response encodes an ideological subtext that whites are illegitimate in SA, a weaker, less hostile version of this assertion amounts to the position that **Carl's** educated, "politically aware" colleagues held: white AfL use ought to have no special status.

Finally, **Peter** related an anecdote of negative reception to AfL use of a specific sort: *teaching* an AfL. A L1X man accused him of getting "fat" (rich) off the language of the Xhosa people.[361] This man was "probably the biggest challenge [he] ever faced in terms of a Xhosa person ... you know, saying such a horrific thing," chiefly because, as Peter claims, his personal investment in L2X teaching has kept him "skinny" rather than making him fat (see epigraph of Appendix B5 for full excerpt).

7.3.2 For L2AfL investors

The presence of meaningful zookairotic capital was found in almost all core cases in relation to the security-legitimacy-rootedness and connection-ubuntu spectra, each of which are reported in greater detail below. Several peripheral cases, as may be seen in Table 10: Capital Gains (Appendix G9), were outliers insofar as they failed to explicitly or implicitly report significant zookairotic capital gains. Lily and Johan did not remark on L1AfL interlocutors' reception of joyful surprise as a result of their AfL use, despite reaching high level of linguistic capital – for reasons likely due to their respective social identities and the 'conclusiveness' of their respective arcs of L2AfL investment.[362] Heather and Natasha,

[360] It was not clear whether the woman said this using an isiNguni-group language or English – but the subtext of this anecdote makes it likely that English was used, and that the speaker was relatively well-off (being at a music festival).

[361] "I ...walk[ed] into a place where I was teaching Xhosa at an NGO [...] one of the Xhosa employees said to me, as I walked in ... I think he said, '*Uyatyeba ngokulwimi lwethu*' ... That's like, 'Oh – here's the *umlungus* [white people] getting fat off our language' ... I responded to him in a way that was like, 'Hey, believe me, like I'd be much fatter if I wasn't doing this job': [I] made it into a joke."

[362] While admittedly conjecture, this may be because both exhibited stability in their sense of social identity (i.e. belonging/rootedness) at the time of the interview (as a German and "white Xhosa" respectively). In both cases, their L2AfL investment arcs were virtually complete, and integrated into their broader self-projects. In light of this, the remarkability of positive reception from AfL use was diminished in a manner it would not be in cases where an investor's social identities were still being dialectically related and integrated in the L2AfL self-project. Moreover, in Johan's case, his non-reporting of social favour and joyful surprise is in part due to the wholly-immersed, largely AfL monolingual context in which he initiated his commitment to AfLL: in his rural EC context, speaking isiXhosa was normal, and *necessary* for an outsider.

whose linguistic capital gains were only moderate and in the latter case depreciating due to lack of maintenance, were also outliers in that neither exhibited significant zookairotic or non-human capital gains more generally.[363] A cursory analysis of all four exceptional case profiles suggests the characteristics for those whom zookairotic gains *are* likely to emerge *and* be remarked upon as zookairotic capital: non-limit cases who have reached a stage of "early fluency" through sustained transgressive modalities of AfLL.

7.3.2.1 Connection-empathy-ubuntu

Deep affective experiences of connection, affirmation, care and embrace with/by L1AfL interlocutors – and occasionally to humanise and be humanised (i.e. participate in ubuntu, *humanness*) through AfL learning and use – were reported explicitly in multiple cases.

Duncan, as a musician, often used the metaphor of "being on the same wavelength" to describe the effects of his AfL use, and he emphasised a deeply felt connection and potential for relational harmony. Given the social experience of inclusion discussed above, which explicitly de-emphasised race as a differentiating factor, Duncan's ability to speak isiZulu led to his being affirmed as a fellow human, as someone who participates in *ubuntu*, human-ness – an underlying, binding connection. Moreover, Duncan asserted that his isiZulu fluency enabled him to transcend the barriers of racially-mediated socioeconomic status:

> Your social status ... no longer means anything. I'm not '*just* a white guy', you know, 'with my white privilege', talking to a Zulu car guard or someone ... Everything [i.e. related to race/class status] goes out of the window. (Duncan)

It enabled **Andrew** to better "see aspects of [his] own humanity in others"; this recognition allowed him to be more comfortable around L1Z speakers who would otherwise be opaque to him: he gained "'a foot in the door' to understanding" them and their world.

> it's impacted part of my, I guess, my philosophical approach; I subscribe to certain elements of *ubuntu* – that saying about '*umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*' (a person is a person through people) is quite an important thing for me (**Andrew**)

[363] They did not exhibit significant non-human capital gains (i.e. beyond limited linguistic and occupational capital). Regarding their respective forms of commitment, Natasha did not employ a major transgressive modality for AfLL, while Heather only spent a short time – relative to other cases – undergoing distant immersion. Both cases, however, had biochronic qualities that may explain the lack of social capital gains: shyness (Natasha) and language anxiety (Heather). This correlates with how both explicitly problematised AfL use in relation to L1AfL speakers, in a tertiary academic context (Heather) and in transactional encounters (Natasha); the importance that they placed on respect (towards the perceived needs or desires of L1AfL mediators) appeared to deter AfL use in some circumstances. In summary, both had some non-ideal personal conditions for SLL, exhibited greater extrinsic motivation for AfLL, were aware of the 'problematics' of wSAn AfLL and engaged in AfLL in the least class-transgressive circumstances (with the exception of Heather's gap year). These factors in combination appears to constrain highly positive affective experiences.

Ivan revealed that he was comfortable and could connect with (L1 Sesotho) bSAns in ways that he indicated were not possible for many others in his white Afrikaner community. This comfort was due to an attitude of "mutual respect" instantiated through his use of Sesotho, which consequently engendered a sense of being at ease. In part due to the difficulties relating to his disability, but equally in part due to his knowledge of Sesotho, he "found a sense of caring and understanding from African people [i.e. black, Sotho people] more so than [he] did with [his] own people."

Peter detailed how genuine L2X fluency "brings another level of respect" where L1X speaker's "eyes go wide", and they

> realise [that] actually, they can't just talk normal Xhosa, thinking you don't know what they're saying, you know. So that also breaks through an automatic assumption [of ignorance] and a kind of a barrier to relationship that people carry. (**Peter**)

In this catalyst for deeper connection, Peter's isiXhosa linguistic capital provided him with a mutual humanising mechanism. On the one hand, he became the subject of empathy, and on the other he succeeded in "truly humanis[ing] people through learning their language" in ways that brought *him* great joy as well as pain.[364]

7.3.2.2 Security-legitimacy-rootedness

Within the continuum of security–legitimacy–rootedness, some cases emphasised overcoming fear (i.e. achieving greater sense of security – Ivan, Bradley, Andrew), others a sense of legitimacy (Tanya), and still others – particularly the isiZulu trio – a sense of belonging/rootedness. Among the core cases, only Carl failed to report any zookairotic capital of this sort; within the peripheral sample, Peter reported this extensively.

Ivan's knowledge of Sesotho also provided him with a sense of security where there might otherwise have been fear.[365] He described an occasion when his car's tyre punctured, and he had to stop on a roadside: vulnerable to crime. The arrival of a minibus taxi – something which at first prompted fear in Ivan – turned out to be a 'life saver': the taxi driver and his passengers helped Ivan change the tyre and get him back on the road. Rather than being preyed upon, he was helped. He wondered whether "things might have been different, if [he] hadn't been able to speak their language", attributing a trust-building mechanism to

[364] See Peter's case report (Appendix B5, specifically section B.5.4.2.2), which expands in great detail on the matrix of connection, empathy and ubuntu. As to pain, this is presented briefly in Section 7.3.2.3.
[365] Especially in the context of his disability.

the use of Sesotho in interracial contact: a mechanism which also helped relieve racial anxieties that the advent of the post-apartheid era did little to address.[366]

Andrew reported feeling "at home in KZN" and "grounded" in a way he thought that his hypothetical non-isiZulu-speaking self would not have felt. Knowing the language gave him "a foot in the door" to understanding Zulu people and their world, and for this reason he described being "a lot less fearful ... that [he] was prior to learning isiZulu". He reports how some people have jokingly called him a "white Zulu" – a title he was hesitant to accept – though he did admit that his language-mediated admission into the Zulu world had become "a very large part of my identity."

Similar to both Ivan and Andrew, **Bradley** described his "pre-Zulu" self as being fearful: "I find a lot of white South Africans are quite scared people. And, just knowing Zulu, broke all that for me." There was a wariness and suspicion that dominated his "pre-Zulu" self – for example when walking down a street and seeing a black man approaching:

> Just because there's a barrier, there's an unknown. And so you're wary of each other – you see in the other person's eyes as well, you know: "Ah… there's this *white* guy here" – all these issues that come back to haunt us. But knowing some Zulu, I'll walk past someone in the street, I'm like, "Aweh, howzit bru?"[367] [We would] carry on chatting, there's a bit of like, a surprised "Ahh! Look at this!" – and it's a beautiful interaction. (**Bradley**)

Becoming a "chaos" allowed him to "relax", to "feel part of" SA in a new way; he felt that in learning isiZulu, he "sort of *earned* a place" in SA.

For **Peter**, it helped quieten the fear "that comes from tribalism", and answered for him the questions "'Who can we trust?' and 'Who's got our back?'". In conjunction with his pursuit of teaching isiXhosa, it provided him with a "feeling of contentment" and "... balance that certainly helps [him] to have a lot of peace". Peter has been "deeply, deeply rewarded from the sense of belonging, and ... connection that I have, and also a balance."

In contrast to other case participants, **Tanya's** belief was that, by default, "white people are always illegitimate in South Africa" due to the history of colonialism and apartheid, and thus wSAns cannot be said to "belong" in SA. One can gain a measure of legitimacy, however. In her case, she indicated that she now feels an "increased legitimacy" in her work as a cumulative result of her L2AfL investment. Though she was unwilling to

[366] Consider the similarity between this incident and that of the participant quoted in Sweetnam Evans (2015), referring to her mother's fluent isiZulu: "when we were in trouble as a family, a flat tyre in a rural road and you feel unsafe, but you speak Zulu and suddenly you have lots of friends" (8). The junctures of interracial contact – and fear – are systemic.

[367] In more generic terms, "Hey, how are things?".

characterise it as a sense of belonging, the process and product of her investment has made her "feel more connected to South Africa as a country." Even if the words like belonging or legitimacy are ideological shibboleths, at the affective level, they arguably refer to the same feeling of deep connection to place and people.

7.3.2.3 Positive discomfort

Positive discomfort or vulnerability, recently discussed in McIntosh (2018) and Grohmann (2020), was an unusual zookairotic capital gain that emerged in two peripheral cases (Peter and Heather) through the mechanism of *kenosis.*[368] It appears to be epiphenomenal from the conjunction of deeply felt normative, moral motivations for AfLL and the actual humbling experience of such learning: leading to a sense of deep empathy and understanding for L1AfL interlocutors, which for these two participants was highly valued. Such zookairotic capital gains were rare among the sample, and ostensibly relate to what McIntosh has termed "linguistic atonement" (2014; 2018), whereby an indigenous language is viewed in moral, expiatory terms for settler-descendent learners. For an in-depth examination of this species of zookairotic capital, see Appendices B.5.4.2.2 (Peter) and B2.4.3 (Heather).

Chapter conclusion

This chapter discussed the culmination of successful L2AfLL, structured by the L2 Investment metaphor, with its conceptual emphasis on leverageable capital emergent from the investment process. Beyond the linguistic capital gained by each case, gains in **occupational** capital were evident; these were specific to occupations in which AfL use was the *sine qua non* of participation (AfL teaching) or occupations directed at L1AfL populations.

Among the socioeconomic genus, two species were found: firstly, symbolic capital, which was subdivided between **extra-ordinary status** (ubiquitous among successful L2AfL investors) and perceived **legitimacy for societal activism** (less commonly evidenced). Secondly, social capital, which was subdivided into **social favour** and **social inclusion** – both ubiquitous among the core cases and several peripheral cases.

Evidence of zookairotic capital gains were found, predominantly in the core case sample; they emerged as a by-product of primarily class-transgressive encounters where the likelihood of positive encounters was maximised. For L1AfL speakers, this tended to elicit the species of **joy**. In less common instances, there were reports of indifferent, embarrassed, or even offended reception by L1AfL interlocutors. For L2AfL investors, encounters

[368] A term borrowed from theology which involves a process of self-emptying, effacement, and being humbled. This, in turn, prompts the emergence of positive discomfort, through being vulnerable to other people.

mediated through AfLs prompted the emergence of zookairotic capital that was best described by two main species: the **security–legitimacy–rootedness** continuum and the **connection–empathy–ubuntu** continuum, with individual differences determining differentiation of zookairotic capital gains.

Chapter 8
Discussion

Chapter synopsis

In the foregoing chapter, the discussion centres on issues emerging from Chapters 5 to 7, in order to provide nuanced reflection on the initial research aims outlined in Chapter 1 above. In Duff's (2007) words, an attempt is made "to link back particularities of the individual cases and the study itself to the larger literature on the topic" (190). In light of the expansive (SLA-arc) scope of the study *and* the fact of multiple cases, an adequate discussion within the word limits of a PhD study is impossible. As a result, an attempt has been made to highlight the most central issues relating to the conditions and behaviour leading to successful L2AfLL within the SA context, and to largely sidestep issues applicable to SLA as a general phenomenon. Following the discussion of Section 8.1, articulations of a theory of successful L2AfL investment are presented, for both individual and guardian investors.

Section 8.1 - The dynamics of wSAn L2AfLL

The mechanisms of post-coloniality – particularly in the commonwealth, Anglophone sphere, appear to necessitate that settler-descendants gradually (or swiftly) renegotiate an updated social identity in relation to indigenous peoples, whether as majorities (e.g. NZ) or minorities (e.g. Kenya). In the case of SA, this need for identity reconstruction was arguably postponed by the National Party's policy of *apartheid*, which arrived in SA just as (European) colonialism began its terminal decline elsewhere: "after the adjustments brought about by the 1994 elections, [wSAns] found themselves in a condition perhaps best described as angst-ridden and existentially *homeless*, for they were now strangers in their own land" (Griffiths & Prozesky, 2010: 31). As a result, the need for wSAn identity reconstruction is relatively new and still developing in response to the evolving socio-structural conditions and zeitgeist of post-apartheid SA. Fisher (2010) discusses the case of white identity in Zimbabweans, but the analysis is equally applicable to wSAn identity in SA:

> [t]o belong and be recognised as indigenes, whites must rid themselves of 'separateness' and 'apartness' ... They must ... develop cultural affiliation ... with its peoples, for indigeneity is relational, conferred by what one enacts and how roots are demonstrated. (170)

This would involve "becom[ing] linguistically, culturally, socially and politically competent in the ways of the black majority" (*ibid*: 171). In the section that follows, characteristics of largely middle-class wSAns, in relation to L2AfLL in the post-apartheid situation, are discussed in turn.

8.1.1 Racial / settler-descendant factors

Three main factors relating to wSAns' race/settler-descendant status are discussed. The first related to L2AfLL as a political act; the second considers L2AfLL as a mechanism for engendering settler-indigenous hybridity, an integration of the body politic; the third factor discusses wSAn motivation vis-a-vis other L1E/A, non-black South Africans.

8.1.1.1 Political ideology and white L2AfLL

A motivation that emerged specific to wSAns was related to parental identification with a 'progressive' identity; this was then passed on to children either explicitly or implicitly. For example, Tom* (a candidate case not otherwise reported in this study) mentioned how his "family ... saw themselves as more progressive and that was seen as a progressive thing to do, to learn Xhosa ... it was ... kind of against the government and apartheid and all that"[369] A similar 'progressive' white political identity at a familial level was seen in several cases of this study – Heather, Tanya, and Andrew – but it was by no means ubiquitous. The findings of McIntosh (2018) are thereby broadly confirmed as a *partial* account of wSAn motivation for AfLL in post-apartheid SA, and appear to be the best predictor for parental investment in children's AfLL as dependents.

Parents' 'progressive' identification manifested itself with regard to their children's AfLL in two different ways. For Heather[370] and Tanya, the progressive political framing for AfLL was primarily normative; it was an "important" skill related to matters of political justice, something that could help achieve socioeconomic emancipation for the majority black, indigenous African polity.[371] Within such a frame, Tanya was willing to concede AfLL's potential for increased white 'legitimacy' in SA, but *not* 'belonging'. Hybrid identity, becoming a 'white Xhosa' or a 'white Zulu', appears to be oxymoronic within such a frame. Motivations to 'make good' (Sanders, 2016a; 2016b) or atone (McIntosh, 2014; 2018) are more aligned to this kind of progressive political reasoning.[372]

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[369] Being from a progressive family "certainly played a role" in his AfLL at school and later through distant immersion in the EC.

[370] Heather's willingness to sacrifice her AfLL in order to help L1AfL speakers learn English reveals her motivational priority. While a volunteer teacher in her gap year, Heather encountered the dilemma of wanting to maximise use of isiXhosa (which she used "a lot of the time" in class) while also being attentive to her students' socioeconomic needs for exposure to, and practice in, English. Confronted with this dilemma, she decided that she had to put learning isiXhosa "on the backseat ...to sacrifice learning [it], because *their* learning [of English] is then more important."

[371] A reading of their respective applications of the linguistic capital they accrued – as having societal, occupational applications – arguably supports this.

[372] Consider Sam* in James (2017): "... with my political ideology, I still recognise myself not as an African, not as a South African. I think it's very violent for me to say, 'I am African', or even 'South African'. Rather I still

In contrast to Heather and Tanya, Andrew's parents ostensibly focused on bringing African linguaculture tangibly into the domestic space, rather than creating a normative sense of AfL importance. Perhaps because of this, Andrew failed to describe political expectations for AfLL as being relevant in his own learning. He focused on the potential for AfLL to create a wSAn hybrid identity – an AfL-mediated integration of wSAns into an indigenous "African" polity – based on his own lived experience of integration and identification by indigenous Zulu people – e.g. the young Zulu child who attributed to him a Zulu identity, similar to Johan's case (see Appendix F1).[373]

> "It is an integral part of who I am" (**Johan**)
>
> "It's a very large part of my identity now. I mean, people jokingly say: 'Oh, you're, like, a white Zulu'" (**Andrew)**

The political dimension of AfLL, as per Andrew (and Johan) is primarily, though not exclusively, found in its demonstration and enaction of "cultural affiliation" (Fisher, 2010: 170) rather than *merely* political activism, for indigenous bSAns. This naturally leads to a discussion of the 'hybrid L2 self', a motivational self-guide arguably relevant to L2ILL contexts.

8.1.1.2 The hybrid L2 self

The case of Duncan, whose motivation was highly integrative[374] – taken in conjunction with Andrew and Johan above – illustrates a linguacultural self-identification mechanism that is arguably specific to non-heritage L2ILL. As settler-colonial descendants and conditioned by the colonial and apartheid eras, wSAns have become a distinct – albeit English-Afrikaans-bifurcated – culture that resists reduction to the lands and cultures whence they originated,

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see myself in my colonial [European] state." When questioned if she rejected the "idea of integrating into South Africa" she agreed strongly, stating that the possibility of integration "would all be dependent on what indigenous South Africans feel about it" (76).

[373] As Johan's anecdote reveals, it can also engender a degree of confusion for those bSAn L1AfL speakers unused to the idea of linguistically-enacted white-African hybridity – something that responses to Bradley, the "chaos", illustrate well. In the epilogue of Clegg's (2021) autobiography, he related an undated anecdote, likely in the early post-apartheid era, of a late-night emergency stop at a Zulu homestead in KZN during a storm. Clegg requested shelter – using isiZulu – from a man unwilling to open his door out of suspicion. His interlocuter replied back, asking "[i]f you are white, why don't you speak English?". Upon Clegg's use of English in desperation, the man finally opened the door, saw white skin, and stated "[y]ou confused me ... I didn't know if you were a black man trying to be a white man, or the other way around" (296-297).

[374] Referring to himself and Johnny Clegg, Duncan stated: "With us, we love the people, we love the music, the language, the history; it's become, you know, something deeper."
In Duncan's case, *cultural* identification overlaps with political identification in terms of outcome. Gardner states that where "the Integrative Motive includes the Openness to Cultural Identification (i.e., Integrativeness) as a component, it seems likely that it may be more associated with attaining the ultimate level of achievement ... than other motivational types that lack this component" (2007: 19). The ultimate level of achievement, which Duncan arguably comes close to, resulted in a similar transformation of life, an integration of his identity, and an affirmation of his own participation in *ubuntu* from (at least some) elders in the Zulu community.

despite emerging in relation to them (Griffiths & Prozesky, 2010). Within the post-apartheid era, their previous socio-political rootedness (which for progressives and dissidents may have led to a reactive L2 self)[375] has been lost; it cannot (for both moral and practical reasons) be reclaimed socially or politically. Macintyre et al. (2017) referred to the rooted L2 self as a species of an L2 self that integrated both OL2S and IL2S; this was attributed to those attempting to regain a sense of their ancestral Scottish Gaelic heritage as a settler community in Canada (Cape Breton Island). For many wSAns, the 'rooted self' (language aside) in the post-apartheid era has been increasingly achieved cynically – by emigrating or 're-rooting' in countries where being white is not inflected with sociopolitical identity crises.[376] Due to the ambiguous identity status of white-minority, settler-descendants in analogous contexts like Kenya (Mcintosh, 2014; 2016) or Zimbabwe (Fisher, 2010) – an ambiguity unlikely to clarify until colonial era inequalities are overcome – the prospect for a bSAn-sanctioned 'rooted self' for wSAns appears impossible without enacting indigeneity in some way (*ibid*). Arguably, Duncan, Andrew, and Johan – like Clegg (2021) before them – have achieved a 'hybrid L2 self' which *integrates indigenous cultural-linguistic roots into the settler-descendant self,* rather than hearkening back to the lost cultural-linguistic roots of one's settler-descendent ancestry. They thereby exhibit a kind of rooted L2 self not based on ethnic affiliation – a phenomenon also seen in New Zealand (Berardi-Wiltshire *et al*., 2020) – which the term 'hybrid L2 self' aims to specify.

For the cases mentioned, it is unlikely that a hybrid L2 self exerted motivational power as a self-guide initially (except, arguably, in Clegg's case). Nonetheless, as a L2 self that became increasingly actualised during L2AfLL, the attractiveness of a hybrid white-African identity – named and (mostly) appreciated by the (non-elite) indigenous majority – was made clear in the self-reports of these cases, as well as Clegg in his autobiography.[377] Whether the hybrid L2 self, as exhibited by Andrew, Duncan and Johan, can be a self-guide for future wSAn L2AfL investors depends on the extent to which it enters the social imaginary (Griffiths & Prozesky, 2010) and its discourse – and whether it can do so while highlighting the potential social capital gains (i.e. favour, inclusion) and zookairotic capital gains (i.e. joyful surprise, security, rootedness, connection) from achieving such a self-task,

[375] Something which itself presupposes rootedness. Johan in this study provides a clear example.
[376] No claim is being made here regarding the *reason* for emigration; while the rootedness/rootlessness issue is likely relevant in most cases, the material concerns of economic and physical security are more likely to be primary.
[377]Cf. the boy who referred to Johan, saying "ungumLungu omXhosa", lit. 'he's a white person who is a Xhosa person'. These terms could otherwise be used to assert an us-versus-them distinction.

rather than succumbing to well-intentioned or cynical problematisation of wSAns' identities and behaviour.[378]

8.1.1.3 White versus non-black motivations for L2AfLL

Renée, a limit case due to her racial self-identification as coloured, revealed no significant differences regarding the nature of her commitment to AfLL and capital gained compared to, for instance, a wSAn case like Tanya.[379] Renée's case revealed the possibility of zookairotic capital gains by coloured investors similar to those gained by white investors. There do appear to be differences in motivational conditions, however – evident in my MPhil thesis (James, 2017). The proportions of the L1E sample used for analysis (87 participants in total) were, in racial terms, almost 65% white and 30% coloured.[380] Re-analysis of relevant data in this study yielded helpful insights, discussed in depth in Appendix F2.

Insofar as the findings are generalisable, they suggest weaker L2 motivation in general for coloured L2AfL learners, and suggests that post-apartheid era motivations (discussed above) for most coloured learners of isiXhosa are uncommon or even typically absent – whose primary motivations tended to be communication- or work-driven. Given the coloured population's oppression during apartheid, as well as their ethnic hybridity – and thus in most cases their (partial) indigeneity – it is unsurprising that coloured learners who engage in L2AfLL do not share the non-heritage L2ILL frame that is operative for white, settler-descendent L2AfL learners. While these motivational factors likely have some race-specific implications (in aggregate) for uptake of AfLL and investment discipline if pursued, there is no suggestion that these differences in motivation extend to behavioural differences in the modalities of learning used (or forms of intermediation sought out). Although anecdotal and complicated due to Renée's apartheid-era minor commitment to isiXhosa in high school, her post-apartheid major commitment to L2AfLL is consonant with these findings, as it reflected lower levels of motivation and discipline measures: consider her lengthy intermission, desire to learn primarily when catalysed by circumstantial necessity, and her acknowledgement of lower effort/engagement compared to what she knew was possible.[381] On the balance, an analysis of data collected for James (2017) suggests the need to continue differentiating

[378]This arguably presupposes a non-elite indigenous framing, because problematisation of the hybrid L2 self seems likely within print and established media given contemporary tendencies to emphasise race as an important social differentiator. Social media, on the other hand, has less of an elite filter, and may be the means by which potential selfhood of this sort becomes viral, prompting memetic desire among wSAns (or settler-colonial descendants more generally).
[379] Both had a lengthy intermission after minor academic commitment, followed by distant immersion.
[380] The remaining 5% consisted of two black participants (3%) and one Indian participant (2%).
[381] As discussed in Appendix B5.

motivation for L2AfLL on the basis of race/settler-descendant status, and that in aggregate, wSAns' motivational profile is distinct from other white expatriates[382] and non-black, L1E/A minorities in South Africa.

8.1.2 Temporal factors

While the typical chronology of major commitment in AfLL reflected the generational development of case participants (relative to their ages), it may also have reflected the influence of several national zeitgeists.[383] In his analogous research into the psychoeconomics of creativity, Runco (2014) considers zeitgeist as being "one of the significant influences" on investment in creative capital. His characterisation of zeitgeist provides an approach to the different temporal factors affecting L2AfL investment. The limit cases of Johan and Renée reveal two zeitgeists directly related to apartheid and its conclusion (see Appendix F3, Late-apartheid and transitional zeitgeists), while the remaining nine cases of post-apartheid wSAn L2AfLL point towards the presence of two post-apartheid zeitgeists, which may be differentiated as relatively euphoric (positive) and emphatically dysphoric (negative) in turn.

8.1.2.1 Post-apartheid euphoria

The majority of core cases, in generational terms mid-to-late Millennials, initiated major AfLL commitments between the mid-2000s and early 2010s (i.e. between 2004 and 2012), and not as a reaction against the post-apartheid zeitgeist, but arguably in keeping with it. Only Tanya, Carl and Lily initiated a major commitment from 2012 or afterwards.[384] The absence of younger, Generation-Z candidate cases achieving unqualified success in L2AfLL, despite sufficiently ample time (i.e. eight years from 2012 to 2020 when case sampling began) *may* be attributed to the vagaries of snowball sampling, but there are qualitative reasons to distinguish this eight-year post-apartheid period with the two prior.

The period from ~2004 to ~2012 was characterised by relatively high economic growth rates in SA, the arc of the HIV/AIDs crisis from paralysis to tangible progress during Mbeki's presidency, and the *prima facie* triumph of the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup; few

[382] Consider Lily's case, who displays both a motivational and commitment profile distinct from wSAn L2AfL investors. Anecdotally, Peter described one of his L2X students: "there's one guy here from Germany, doing a research project ... he's German, and *he's like the best student I've ever had*! (**Peter**, emphasis his).

[383] Ideally the German plural, '*Zeitgeister*' would be used; but this is unwieldy and unknown in English.

[384] As a foreigner from Europe, the national zeitgeist of South Africa likely did not shape **Lily's** worldview – something she explicitly confirmed with regard to transgressing racial/class-based security norms. Both **Carl** and **Tanya** had attempted to initiate major commitments in isiZulu from Grade 10 onwards, in the early-to-mid-2000s – but for both, this was thwarted by external factors (a parent and school authorities respectively), and their later AfLL (with a different TL) was situated in contexts where cynical discourse regarding post-apartheid SA and interracial contact was less keenly felt. Their relatively-late L2AfL investment was arguably an actualisation of the *idea* of AfLL that occurred to them more than a decade prior.

public commentators had begun earnest discussions of the demise of the "rainbow nation" or the failure of the post-apartheid project until the 2010s began. In short, post-apartheid euphoria had not yet turned into the discursive dysphoria that began emerging from the 2010s onward, when problematisation of the rainbow nation began in earnest.

8.1.2.2 Post-apartheid dysphoria

While it was certainly critiqued prior to this, the preponderance of article titles emerging post-2010 make this clear, often with increasing severity. Consider: "The Limits of Rainbow Nation Multiculturalism" (Myambo, 2010); "When Visions of the Rainbow Nation Are Not Enough" (Woodrooffe, 2011); "Ruptures in the Rainbow Nation" (Teeger, 2015); "the #Hashtags That Broke the Rainbow Nation" (Chikane, 2018); "Axing the Rainbow" (Turner, 2019). This period included, but was not limited to, the Marikana massacre (2012), the founding of the EFF by Julius Malema (2013), the publicisation of state capture and rampant corruption in the Zuma-led ANC government, the #RhodesMustFall (RMF) and #FeesMustFall (FMF) protests that engulfed South African universities from 2015 onwards (Turner, 2019), and the widespread uptake of social technologies (smartphones and social media) from the early 2010s onwards, which inadvertently served to amplify racists and thus racial tensions, e.g. the widely-reported Penny Sparrow incident in January 2016.

Heather – the youngest and *only* 'Generation-Z' case participant of the case sample – expressed this zeitgeist as experienced within a university context. She described "the intense anxiety of the [RMF and FMF] moment" from 2015 onwards, which involved "huge conscientisation" of the student body with regard to certain forms of post-colonial, post-*apartheid* ideology (RMF) and socioeconomic issues (FMF). Within this environment, there was pressure to signal one's commitment to decoloniality and what gradually came to be known as 'woke' socio-political virtues. As a wSAn, Heather claimed that learning an AfL like isiXhosa was seen as more of a "woke" activity, and thus there was "added pressure" and "necessity to get it right and to ... not disrespect" the language and racially-associated interlocutors. Heather characterised the psychological tensions of AfLL under such a zeitgeist as being "constantly on edge"[385] The increasingly dysphoric sociopolitical milieu that

[385] "[Y]ou're just constantly on edge, all the time, because you're like, 'Ooh, but I've got to engage here, and I've got to do that ... because it's such a social game and a political game and an economic game and *etc etc* ... It's so bloody multi-layered and multifaceted." (**Heather**)

emerged from the early 2010s onwards, particularly in academic contexts, may partially explain the current study's lack of recent L2AfL investors.[386]

8.1.3 Gender factors

In Celeste Kinginger's (2008) review of the 'study abroad' literature (a spatially-transgressive modality of SLL), she draws together several threads regarding gender, study abroad and SLL success. Gender appears to be a predictive factor in SLL abroad, e.g. male gender predicts higher linguistic capital in Russian (Brecht, 1995). Qualitative studies from several countries, including Russia (Polanyi, 1995), Spain (Talburt & Stewart, 1999), Costa Rica (Twombly, 1995), and Argentina (Isabelli-Garcia, 2006) reveal that females are "rarely positioned as competent speakers in interactions involving men and are subject to humiliating sexual harassment in a variety of countries" (Kinginger, 2008: 105). In Kinginger's own study of a cohort of American study abroad participants, the "19 females far outnumber[ed] the 5 males" (reflecting broader demographic trends), something which made the greater proportion of male "success stories" relative to female ones "all the more striking" (*ibid*: 106). Similar gender differences in uptake, experiences, and outcomes of SLL emerged in the current study.

8.1.3.1 Female learners (of isiXhosa)

In James (2017) – for the 2017 academic year – it was found that for every seven (7) females attending university-level isiXhosa classes, there were only two (2) males.[387] This is in keeping with the significantly higher proportion of female learners (and teachers) of isiXhosa at a Grade 12 level found by Dugmore (1991), an instance of the general predominance of female L2 learners elsewhere (e.g. Kinginger, 2008). There is a decades-old culture in Cape Town and the WC more generally of L2X learning by wSAns, albeit minor compared to the learning of L2A (Afrikaans) (Dugmore, 1991; Mbatha & Plüddemann, 2004). When sampling and selecting cases for the present study, a large majority of candidate cases who had learnt isiXhosa to an intermediate proficiency were female – a fact that contrasted markedly with the other three AfLs (where most candidate cases were male). In the end, no selected cases of wSAn female L2X learners appeared to meet the success criterion: Tanya came the closest, but her linguistic capital was still limited; Heather's linguistic capital was

[386] The initial euphoric "Ramaphoria" of Cyril Ramaphosa's presidency (2018 onwards) has since been clarified as *de facto* dysphoria – with better public relations.

[387] This likely reflects the broader structural shift towards majority-female university attendance, language study, and also the prevalence of BEd / PGCE students in the sample, for whom isiXhosa[387] was a course requirement – and who also typically skew female.

highly academic; Natasha's linguistic capital, also highly academic, had not been maintained for years.

The fact that relatively successful female L2X investment (with the limit-case exception of Lily) occurred almost exclusively *via* the transgressive modality of rural distant immersion, or through boyfriend-mediated mentorship – as opposed to urban-based proximal immersion – suggests that personal safety is a factor. This accords with Kinginger's finding that "[t]he young women, on the other hand, tended to express less confidence in their personal safety and to interpret themselves less often as independent agents" (2008: 106).

Another possibility is that due to aggregate personality differences with regard to trait agreeableness, associated with greater levels of interpersonal empathy, female learners of isiXhosa – particularly those growing up in "progressive" families – are more easily motivated for more extrinsic reasons relating to a sense of the socio-political "importance" of AfLL,[388] and thus more likely to be catalysed towards L2AfLL within academic circumstances.

8.1.3.2 Male learners (of isiZulu)

In contrast to the preponderance of female learners for isiXhosa, virtually no female candidate cases were encountered who had learned isiZulu, the most numerically dominant AfL in SA. Of the two who had – including the case of Sharon, discussed in the pilot study – both were markedly older (both in their late 50s or early 60s) and neither had achieved a comfortable degree of fluency, despite considerable academic commitments and attempts at both proximal and distant immersion.

This incidental fact, in isolation attributable to the vagaries of snowball sampling, occurs within a broader tradition of white males learning isiZulu as a L2 – a phenomenon arguably lacking for isiXhosa.[389] It was most recently illustrated in Sanders (2016b), who

[388] This was exhibited in Renée's initial motivation for AfLL in the late 1980s, clearly in Heather and Tanya's cases, and also seen in the motivations of the two female interviewees in James (2017) – both of whom expressed a sense that there was a strong "social/moral duty" to learn AfLs given the post-apartheid situation. At the outset of major commitment, not one of the male cases in this study stressed having a sense of "duty" or the importance of AfLL – Peter, who comes closest to this, described his motivation as a viscerally-felt "lack of integrity" towards his Xhosa nannies, coupled with curiosity about traditional Xhosa culture and religion. An analysis of the data in James (2017) does not reveal any meaningful motivational differences between male and female learners of isiXhosa, largely because the male subsample was too small for any significant findings.

[389] An argument might be made that there is a pre-existing phenomenon of adolescent white males undergoing traditional Xhosa rites of passage (circumcision), or training to become a sangoma (as in Peter's case). These cultural integrations are likely to coincide, in the main, with farm-based white L1AfLL, where (at least historically) white farm owner's sons would be socialised with Xhosa farm labourer's sons from a young age. See Botha (2015) for more.

considered the topic of learning Zulu from his own biographical and preferred psychoanalytic perspectives. Discussing his apparent motivations, Sanders (2016a) states that:

> One could point to the example of Johnny Clegg, who mastered Zulu music and dance, and inspired many people of my generation. He seemed to be saying that you could be both white and African if you learned an African language – if you learned Zulu. (807)

The classic example of a white, male L2Z learner in living memory – Johnny Clegg – wrote his autobiography (posthumously published in 2021) with scarcely any mention of learning isiZulu – so focused he was on describing his encounter with male Zulu migrant and warrior culture. His transgressive modality was mentorship: two male Zulu migrant workers[390] facilitated his broader linguistic entry into the Zulu cultural world, alongside academic modalities of high school and university isiZulu: Clegg's was an archetypal case of integrated academic-transgressive commitment in AfLL, which co-occurred with his "journey to become a Zulu" (2021: 99) – a transformative, self-initiated male rite of passage.[391] The pre-existence of a hybrid 'white Zulu' tradition, with at least one major role-model (Clegg), likely supports would-be male learners in ways unavailable for other AfLs in SA, providing an L2AfLL alibi, a psychological sense of security.

The trio of isiZulu cases considered in this study – Andrew, Duncan, Bradley – all followed Clegg in exhibiting an intrinsic appreciation for isiZulu linguaculture;[392] Duncan – who was strongly influenced by Clegg as a role-model – explicitly mentioned play-acting as Shaka Zulu, the founder of the Zulu nation.[393] All three revealed an interest in Zulu oral traditions, i.e. praise poetry and proverbs (in the same way that Clegg did), [394] the use of which was often correlated with the emergence of joyful surprise in L1Z interlocutors. The trio all showed evidence of habitual urban interactions with L1Z strangers; they reported feeling less fear around L1Z bSAns. Like the successful males in Kinginger's study, all three reported being "received as persons of consequence" (2008: 106). While the precise mechanisms by which gender shapes wSAn L2AfL investment require further research, the relative physical and psychological security enjoyed by male L2Z investors has a degree of explanatory power.

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[390] Sipho Mchunu and Charlie Mzila

[391] "All young men need to go through certain rites of passage, whether self-chosen or prescribed for them. As for me, I had to bootstrap myself and create my own ... Through [the] music, the language, and throught the physicality of the dance ... I was able to develop my own sense of an African identity... It transformed me. It showed me how I could be and how I could construct myself in this world." (Clegg, 2021: 85).

[392] This differed in kind from other male cases, e.g. Ivan or Carl, who had learnt Sotho-group languages.

[393] Cf. Clegg: "I would rather be a mythical Zulu warrior than what was prescribed as my identity" (*ibid*: 99).

[394] Cf: "I came to love Zulu through words ... writing them down in my notebook, I collected Zulu proverbs, idioms and sayings" (*ibid:* 273-5).

8.1.4 Class factors

Within the post-apartheid era, wSAns have tended to interact with bSAns of the same class *intra*-class contact, structured by class-dominated spaces and institutions, is normal.
One may assume that it would be in these 'safe' class-congruent relationships that AfLL would flourish. The findings reveal, however – echoing other contexts like Kenya (McIntosh, 2014) – that class-transgressive interactions were the norm for successful cases of L2AfLL.

8.1.4.1 Class-transgressive AfL use

> *Like other language learners outside formal institutions, study-abroad participants may be included or excluded, welcomed or rejected, received with enthusiasm or with indifference.*
>
> Bonny Norton (2000: 13)

There is evidence that some black L1AfL speakers, "with little access to good proficiency in English" – like the township learners in Rudwick (2004), as discussed by McKinney (2007: 11) – place a higher value on AfL use with their interlocutors, because the inaccessibility of English creates an "ambivalence" towards the latter, prompting a reactive "strong commitment" to African linguaculture and even derision for well-educated, black L1E speakers unable to speak an AfL 'properly'. This, McKinney claims, "is an indicator of the emergence of a new and different kind of cultural or linguistic capital (possibly even sub-cultural capital)" in SA (*ibid*). From a working-class L1AfL perspective, successful wSAn L2AfL learners may be recognised as having gained this capital, and are thus received with enthusiasm rather than indifference.

It is unsurprising that those who speak an AfL as their regular or only medium of communication – and who are intuitively if not consciously aware of their AfL's disadvantage vis-à-vis English – would highly value the archetypal *English* speaker[395] who unexpectedly speaks – *not* English – but an AfL fluently, and in a way not stunted from asymmetrical overseer-worker relations (Kaschula, 1989).[396] An argument for why this occurs may be developed using a Bourdieusian frame. An enthusiastic, joyful response may in part follow from a (mis)attribution of higher social status to white L2AfL speakers relative to other demographics, due to conscious or unconscious recognition of what McKinney calls "white hegemony in the economy and the broader cultural environment" (2007: 10). The AfL used is now "worth what those who speak it are [deemed to be] worth" (Bourdieu, 1977: 651), because usage of the relevant AfL is now "the usage of the dominant class" (*ibid*: 659).

[395] See fn 373.
[396] See fn 131.

Owing to the attribution of high status to the white speaker, a symbolic value is then conferred upon AfLs that white L2AfL investors (have learned to) speak. When such language is encountered by working-class black L1AfL speakers, that symbolic value passes through the language (as a kind of proxy), being transposed into the interlocutors themselves *qua* historical stewards of African linguaculture. An "appreciation" in value occurs – after all, the AfL is (by a Bourdieusian analysis) "worth what those who speak it are worth" (*ibid*): a truism that applies mutually to all speakers, irrespective of race or L1 status. Unexpected white AfL use is tantamount to proclaiming: "this humble AfL, its culture – and you, with whom the linguaculture is associated – are highly valuable, despite all indications to the contrary." Highly fluent L2AfL speech, as proof of a biochronically-costly L2AfL investment, certifies this proclamation as being genuine, rather than a tokenistic "party trick" simply to gain social favour or higher status.[397]

One might argue that this process subtly re-inscribes colonial or apartheid-era power relations (i.e. whites' effort-filled appreciation of indigenous linguaculture is whence indigeneity derives its value), but to make such a claim in the abstract – lacking a hermeneutic for understanding the aggregate level of power shared, absolute levels of power gained, and the value of emergent zookairotic capital for indigenous interlocutors – *due to such encounters* – is an example of cynical utopianism. There is also evidence that the so-called 'linguistic capital' for such re-inscription of colonial/apartheid power relations still exists and is still used: the pidgin Fanakalo.[398] In Andrew's description of L1Z reception to L2Z learner's use of isiZulu, [399] he averred that the latter's speech is "appreciated" because it is *not* Fanakalo; learning "correct" or "deep" isiZulu is understood, in comparative terms, to be paying homage to the fullness of isiZulu linguaculture, making a *remarkable* break from the demeaning language practices used by wSAns in the past.

Given the two main linguistic marketplaces in which the proceeds from wSAn L2AfL investment can be offered – highly bilingual middle-class settings, where English fluency and good education are the *sine qua non* of class participation, or working-class/unemployed AfL-dominant settings, where fluent English and good education are hard to achieve – it is

[397] Cf. Findings regarding the symbolic capital of Extra-ordinary status, especially Duncan's.
[398] See footnote 128 regarding Fanakalo.
[399] Consider: "you'll find that people learning isiZulu and making an effort will, will get... you know (even if they're fumbling and making mistakes) will get praised and encouraged. You know, like, people remark, 'Oh, you don't even speak - ' you know, you know, I'm assuming you're familiar with isiFanakalo, which is like, broken, broken Zulu, which is kind of associated with ... an oppressor giving instructions, commands, you know, like: 'do this, do that.' Whereas, you know, I'm trying to speak more like, a more correct isiZulu. And people appreciate that." (**Andrew**)

unsurprising that successful L2AfL investors tend towards interacting with working-class L1AfL mediators, whose reception ensures win-win social encounters, as opposed to middle-class mediators, whose reception may be indifferent, ambivalent, embarrassed, offended, or even antagonistic – *why* this is the case would be the topic of purely sociological or anthropological research, although some hypotheses may be gathered from relevant case data.

8.1.4.2 Class-congruent AfL use

Johan described there being "a new generation of urban, Xhosa-speaking people who are also upwardly mobile, middle-class, highly-educated, [who] treasure the language and their heritage, etc. But they're also learning to live in the in-betweens". The fact that wSAn, highly fluent L2AfL investors like himself are also "learning to live in the in-betweens" can complicate matters, *especially* if "treasuring the language" is only done only in a nominal, cultural sense by bSAns who were subjected to *de facto* parental divestment from AfLs (i.e. subtractive multilingualism, cf. De Klerk, 2000), leading to more of a 'heritage' rather than 'L1' relationship with AfLs. Encountering a fluent, wSAn L2AfL investor, enacting and demonstrating aspects of indigeneity (Fisher, 2010) through AfL use, may then viewed as a challenge to their in-flux social identities, and thus their sense of self – leading to responses like embarrassment, anger, or even accusations of linguistic appropriation. Given that such dynamics appear to be absent beyond what Tanya called the "disconnected ... 0.001% corridors" of the highly-educated black middle-class: "we can turn all our attention onto them, and give them 90% of the talk time. But I don't know if it's worth doing that" (**Tanya**).

8.1.5 Commitment factors

A core finding in Chapter 6 was that commitment in L2AfLL needed to go beyond academic modalities in their current form if fluency in an AfL was to be achieved. Retroduction – i.e. asking "[w]hat must be true for something to be possible?" (Belfrage and Hauf, 2017: 254) – made it clear that either habitual or sustained *transgression* of sociolinguistic boundaries, whether racial, spatial, or those of socioeconomic class, was a necessary (though insufficient) condition for success. As Grohmann (2020) avers, "[bSAn] languages are usually difficult to learn for [wSAns]. Learning would require serious commitment in terms of time and socialising across spatial and class divides" (13).[400]

[400] Grohmann goes on to highlight spatial division and the biochronic scarcity that constrains any efforts towards its transgression: "[i]n Cape Town, most white people live in the city centre or suburbs, where it is almost impossible to immerse oneself in Xhosa-speaking communities. Learning their language properly would involve living in a township or at least spending time there on a regular basis. How does one incorporate that into a busy family and work life?" (Grohmann, 2020: 13).

8.1.5.1 The constraints of academic L2AfLL

> *I've met many people with incredible knowledge [of isiXhosa], like brilliant grammar, but they are terrible speakers* (**Peter**)

The study revealed that the contextual forms of AfL education termed 'academic modalities' were subject to severe constraints. Tom* mentioned previously, who "learned [isiXhosa] at primary school and then ... for matric at high school" noted that "when I was doing it at school – it was very much a written language: I didn't speak to anyone". Another case candidate described learning isiXhosa at school as something "algebraic" or mathematical, alluding to a grammar-heavy focus in pedagogy and assessment. This experience of 'bookish' AfLL at school and university, overly focused on grammar (Hendricks, 2007) which failed develop 'spoken' compentency, was confirmed in the cases of Renée, Heather, Andrew, Bradley, and Duncan. Non-naturalistic AfL education provided at school or university largely failed to engage with the realities of AfL diglossia (cf. Gxilishe, 1987; 1996), leaving learners incapacitated and discouraged when attempting to use the language extramurally.

The reported hard-to-pass status of the FAL AfL curriculum (Lafon, 2010; McIntosh, 2018),[401] was confirmed in Duncan,[402] Heather and Ivan's cases – with similar claims made by a highly experienced teacher of isiXhosa (at a FAL level) consulted for case candidates in this study. Several cases who pursued academic modalities mentioned that the majority of their classmates (at advanced levels of study) were L1 speakers of the target AfL or cognate AfL: Ivan, Duncan, Natasha, and Andrew, confirming a trend with implications for teacher's pedagogical approach – potentially increasing the difficulty for L2 learners in nominally "additional language" classes (Hendricks, 2007). At least two schools from the case sample (Tanya and Duncan's[403]) revealed high barriers to entry for AfLL subjects, preferring what Bradley called the "same old story" of L1E learners taking Afrikaans instead. These institutional attempts at obstructing AfL uptake by motivated learners matched the parental disinvestment exhibited in Carl's case: both schools' *and* parents' concern with uptake of hard-to-pass AfLs appear to coincide.

[401] Paraphrasing Bev Muller (a former lecturer of L2Z at UKZN), he states that high school students with no prior AfL background "normally stand no chance of passing [an AfL] at either HL or FAL level" (433)
[402] Cf. Duncan's report: "by the time I got to Grade 12, there were two English speakers left in the, yeah, doing matric Zulu. So myself, and a good friend of mine who grew up on a farm. Okay, and the rest of the English speakers dropped out. A couple of the Zulu speakers dropped out and did Afrikaans. I mean, it was incredibly difficult for us."
[403] As Duncan states, "they weren't happy about me taking it, because I didn't grow up on a farm. They were worried that I... they just didn't want to take a chance: they were worried that I wouldn't make it through."

Ivan's case of AfLL, which largely took place within the walls of academic institutions, was exceptional and thus worthy of discussion. Beyond the non-reproducible factors of Ivan's individual differences, two main factors regarding Ivan's academic success emerge worth discussion: the fact of excellent, rigorous teaching that went beyond the prescriptions of the L2AfL curriculum, and (arguably) the willingness to avoid English-medium communication between non-L1E peers.

Firstly, his success was unlikely to have occurred if his high school teacher had not done "things very differently to what the curriculum at that time prescribed", most notably requiring "an obscene amount of orals" from her students. The commitment by Ivan's teacher to conducting oral assessments – which in turn demanded much from Ivan – likely occurred at the expense of his biochronic commitment to other subjects and/or the depletion of his remaining discretionary time.

Secondly, Ivan found a way to engage in proximal immersion through interaction with his L1 Sesotho high school peers; this was unique within the case sample. Potentially due to the fact that English was not his L2, just as it was the L2 of his chosen Sesotho mediators. The interracial peer dynamics of English socialisation exhibited in Duncan and Andrew's cases are specific to the largely bilingual dynamics of KZN; they would not obtain in L1A-dominant spaces, where both L1A and L1AfL speakers learn English *qua* L2 (for the former, perhaps grudgingly). In light of the negative, 'language of the oppressor' status that Afrikaans embodied for bSAns compelled to learn it at school during apartheid, use of an AfL may be viewed as an unexpected compromise that L1AfL speakers are happy to make.

8.1.5.2 Navigating insecurity

While the findings revealed *prima facie* sex/gender differences with regard to chosen AfLs, motivation and eventual linguistic capital gains, the factor of insecurity – often gendered – may explain much of the variance. In Peter's analysis of the general failure for widespread uptake of AfLL by wSAns, he asserted that "many [white] South Africans are ... terrified of going into these black spaces". While terror may be hyperbolic, several cases adverted to a general fear of transgressing race-class boundaries due to increased risk and danger. Lily, whose proximal immersion took her often to eKasi, volunteered an imagined account of the wSAn social conditioning – something she *did not* receive:

> I imagine it's a dynamic like: you grow up hearing about these areas being dangerous, and you grow up seeing lots of taxi accidents; hearing your parents say that maybe "You should never do that"; or: "Don't go to these areas." Y'know... "This and that will happen, blah, blah, blah; the

> people are not bad – but *still* the people *are* bad", y'know, that sort of thing – which I haven't had. So – I just got on the taxi. (**Lily**)

Lily's description of a class-based and/or racialised distrust of majority-black, L1AfL spaces was alluded to by Bradley (consciously) and Ivan (unconsciously), and something explicitly mentioned in Sweetnam Evans (2015) as an issue that (wSAn) symmetrical multilingualism can help overcome.[404] Such distrust, by wSAn and likely other non-black parents and school governing bodies, was described by two high school L2AfL teachers consulted in this study[405] as *the* major constraint limiting or preventing school-mediated AfLL excursions to AfL-dominant areas, a pedagogical activity suggested by Zotwana (1987) as being the remedy for overly-academic AfLL.

On the one hand, this fear may be viewed as apartheid's enduring influence upon wSAn subjectivity. On the other, it coincides with the objective reality of increasing crime and gender-based violence (GBV) in SA, which are, by international as well as local standards, terrifying. Poorer, township areas – which are often black and L1AfL-dominant – bear the worst of SA's crime and violence epidemics (Breetzke, 2018). Some combination of subjective-objective insecurity is the likeliest factor why female wSAn L2AfL investors would be more apprehensive of engaging in riskier transgressive modalities of AfLL, preferring safe academic modalities. Given such an analysis, it is unsurprising that distant immersion in rural contexts, providing the safest of transgressive contexts, was the modality chosen by *all* female cases in this study. Lily, as a "naïve" foreigner, was the glaring exception to the rule.

Even Bradley – an extroverted male, whose proximal, urban immersion unusually involved lengthy habitual interactions beyond domestic, academic or occupational contexts (i.e. all 'safe' spaces) – revealed an attentiveness to security; this may be seen in his 'discovery' of security guards "bored out of their skulls" (in his phrase) as ideal mediators. While he characterised this in terms of their conversational availability, for those susceptible to fear (something to which he explicitly alluded[406]), their status *qua* security guard would invariably act as a psychosocial marker of trustworthiness, and likely ameliorate a sense of insecurity that class-incongruent, interracial contact between strangers might otherwise engender. The transgressive modalities employed by the participants in this study were not

[404] As Sweetnam Evans (2015) reported in the context of a white person knowing an AfL, "[m]ultilingualism is recognised as being distinctly valuable in utilitarian ways too, as a tool to win people over ... In a country known for its violent crime and interracial fear-mongering, this positive attribute can be quite concrete" (8).
[405] Consulted for the purposes of snowball sampling; personal communication, January 2020.
[406] See Section 7.3.2.

oblivious to the realities of physical or psychological insecurity, but succeeded in transgressing the boundaries of security-insecurity in ways that were minimally threatening.

8.1.5.3 The necessity of transgression

> *If study abroad [i.e. a transgressive modality] is to function as an environment for language learning, the students involved must be oriented toward this goal in a profound and enduring way*
>
> Kinginger (2008: 108)

The broad implication from students who undertook academic modalities initially was that while it had "foundational" value, it was insufficient to achieve AfLL success: augmentation or conversion from academic, grammar-heavy AfL knowledge is necessary (Heather, Andrew, Ivan), something implied by teachers and researchers too (e.g. Dugmore, 1991; Zotwana, 1987). This entailed a "deschooling"[407] approach: transgressing beyond an academic space and its norms of classroom-based, non-naturalistic SLL. The necessity has been long understood by anthropologists and missionaries. Consider Roberts (1979), who offered prescriptions for American missionaries learning chiBemba in Zambia.[408] He highlighted the need to counter "the powerful sensation of needing ... book learning" (11). A transgressive modality of AfLL may be best understood as a combination of independence from "texts and artificial sources of security" (6),[409] as found within academic modalities of AfLL, in conjunction with sustained or habitual involvement in the lives and contexts of AfL-dominant people and communities.

As per the commitment archetypes presented in Chapter 6 above, linguistic capital gained from an academic modality must either be *converted* or *integrated* within a transgressive modality, or major commitment must be initiated purely in the latter modality (assuming ideal personal conditions and/or circumstantial necessity are present).

The fact that within the selected core cases – with the highest linguistic capital gains – almost *all* exhibited either proximal immersion or mentorship, was an important cross-case finding. Proximal immersion and mentorship are possibly *the* success-promoting modalities, because they entail sustainable long-term modalities of AfLL within 'normal' contexts –

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[407] Alluding to Illich's *Deschooling Society* (1971).

[408] Drawing from his own AfLL and teaching success as an American expatriate, his central claim was that for successful AfLL to occur contextually, it needs to be "deschooled" (Roberts, 1979: 3). He detailed two aspects that are crucial for a deschooled study programme, namely *independence* and *involvement*: "independence from texts and other artificial sources of security and involvement with native speakers of the target language" (6).

[409] Roberts' characterisation of academic learning as offering "sources of security" is apposite within the South African context too, where classrooms are deemed physically safe in comparison to unsafe, naturalistic AfLL environments.

where most wSAn would live and work. They normalise a *habitus*[410] of AfL use within everyday urban life and contexts. Exactly how this occurs, and occurs successfully, is highly dependent on the specific proximal context dynamics – the degree of transgression required – as well as the personal conditions of the L2AfL learner, as detailed in Chapter 6 above.

Distant immersion largely corresponds with the modality of SLL which has been termed "study abroad" elsewhere in language education literature, although the latter typically specifies 6-months to 1-year stints of distant immersion.[411] As such, there is a body of knowledge regarding 'what works' in distant immersion. As Kinginger's (2008) findings demonstrate, simply being 'in a foreign, immersion context' is insufficient to making the modality a success: "unusual perspicacity and commitment are required to construct a rationale for foreign language learning beyond the basics" (*ibid*: 62). While approximately half the sample who engaged in distant immersion achieved high linguistic capital, this only occurred when it was sustained and long-term, requiring a "complete work/job/life move" in Tanya's words. While engaged in distant immersion, Tanya's intentional socialisation with L1AfL speakers contrasted with Heather's initial socialisation with L1E speakers, which she then rectified by moving into a homestay arrangement, which increased her habitual AfL contact.

The fact remains, however, that longer-term distant immersion is an *abnormal* situation given norms of urbanism and urbanisation (Turok, 2012). Upon return to normal 'proximal' contexts, where spatial apartheid re-emerges along class-based lines through "semigration" practices (Griffiths & Prozesky, 2010: 36), and English acts as the interracial lingua franca, the *absence* of circumstantial necessity (and thus extrinsic discipline) for L2AfLL can easily undermine further commitment – unless a "profound and enduring" pursuit of further transgressive modalities are undertaken for language maintenance or improvement (e.g. Peter's seasonal returns to the EC).

[410] See Thompson's introduction in Bourdieu (1991: 12).
[411] Study abroad has traditionally referred to SLL in a foreign country, where the TL is a foreign language relative to the dominant language of the country of origin; distant immersion is agnostic as to where, and whether the language is foreign: it needs to be an L2/AL.

Section 8.2 - Theorising L2AfL investment success

In the following section, L2AfL investment by individual and guardian investors (as described in Chapter 2) are outlined. Starting with a theory of individual investment success – derived from the cross-case analysis – a theory of guardian investment success is then discussed. Collective investment in L2AfLL (elaborated in Appendix C7) was also theorised in relation to the results and discussion in Section 8.1. Due to word-limit constraints, this section was placed in Appendix F6, and will be the subject of future scholarship.

8.2.1 Individual investment

One aspect of the study's design – the inclusion of limit cases – was aimed at identifying the relevant theoretical boundaries of the phenomenon. The insights derived from these cases are integrated into the foregoing discussion. As a conclusion to the chapter, a theory of post-apartheid L2AfLL will be presented and discussed. A core aim of the chosen multiple CS design was to enable analytical generalisation;[412] theory building is necessary when "there is none available to explain a particular phenomenon or when existing theory does not provide an adequate or appropriate explanation" (Merriam, 1988: 59), as has been argued regarding (non-heritage) L2AfLL.

Theoretical parameterisation enables would-be L2AfL learners (as well as collective entities and guardians) to invest in AfLL with a theoretical, though inevitably still imperfect, understanding of how instance-specific conditions constrain or promote a set of alternate modalities of commitment and stock of eventual linguistic capital gains. The product of analytical generalisation – as an argument about how successful AfLL obtains – will require further testing and experimentation on a casuistic (case-by-case) basis, whether undertaken and documented formally by researchers, or informally by L2AfL investors.

8.2.1.1 Limit cases and theoretical replication

Limit cases both provide insight into the boundaries of the research phenomenon, but also the theoretical boundaries or criteria of AfLL success. The apartheid-era motivations of Johan and Renée differed substantially from the post-apartheid ones exhibited within the normal case sample. Lily's case appears to confirm the SA-centric nature of the phenomenon; her foreign worldview lacked a 'safety filter', enabling her to engage in 'risky' proximal

[412] Analytic generalisation of post-apartheid wSAn AfLL, beyond the multiple cases of this study, was a core research aim. However, as Campbell & Yin (2018) emphasise, the "generalization is not statistical (or numeric)". Rather, "an argumentative claim" is being made on the basis of the multiple case study as a whole. By identifying the (primarily contingent, reproducible) aspects of cross-case AfLL success, the nature of this phenomenon is theoretically parameterised.

immersion – which no other female wSAn case was found to have done. Renée's case reveals that L2AfLL does exist on a non-black continuum, although post-apartheid-related motivation appears to be less operative (James, 2017).[413] The phenomenon does not extend into non-South African, black L2AfLL, however, as the socio-structural and motivational conditions for this form of L2AfLL are very different from non-heritage, non-black forms (Nchang, 2014; Mtumane & Mzoma, 2020; Mesthrie *et al*, 2022).[414]

Although not selected as limit cases for this reason (it was unknown until after cross-case analysis), the fact that Heather and Renée appeared to gain moderate-high linguistic capital confirms that – contrary to objections that only those with an affinity to languages/language learning can succeed – ideal personal conditions *do* not determine AfLL success, but those who lack language affinity *can* succeed (although perhaps not to the highest of levels, barring highly unusual circumstances). Natasha's emphatic self-report of lacking AfL fluency – congruent with the kind and extent of her commitment – confirmed the general necessity for a transgressive modality, providing evidence[415] that a major commitment to an academic modality was insufficient to achieve fluency.

Finally: the study provides some data regarding the centrality of sex/gender to achieving high to very-high linguistic capital gains. There is a suggestion in the data that that being male, particularly in relation to isiZulu (but also other AfLs), is a core predictor for achieving success. Given widespread security concerns, apparently causing South African women to take fewer social risks (cf. Lily as foreign case), it is unclear whether gender/sex *per se* is the underlying mechanism explaining variance in linguistic capital gains.

8.2.1.2 A theory of individual L2AfL investment

All things being equal, the following represents the theoretical conclusions of an analytic generalisation emergent from the twelve core and peripheral cases of this study concerning successful L2AfL investment (i.e. learning). It proceeds most directly from the tabular analysis of correlates with linguistic capital gains found in Appendix G10 and interpreted in section 7.1.1.7.3.

[413] Although where coloured South Africans are phenotypically ambiguous with bSAns, or grow up within a bilingual L1AfL & L1E/A context, this may not be true.
[414] As to bSAn heritage L2AfLL, no evidence has been encountered vis-à-vis non-black L2AfLL; there may be some overlaps, but the sociolinguistic positioning of such learners entails differences within all three elements of the L2 Investment arc. Natasha's Zambian friend provides evidence of this (see Appendix B6.2.4): she experienced far more pressure to learn isiXhosa given her black racial status, and under this pressure she made far swifter progress than Natasha did.
[415] In conjunction with reports from Duncan and Heather.

For South Africans, it appears that being non-black or non-indigenous in one's ethnic origins is of more importance than being white in all aspects, except for the personal condition of motivation;[416] as such, this theory (especially regarding forms of commitment) is likely to apply to all three non-black racial identities still widely used in the post-apartheid era (white, coloured, and Indian). Further qualifications for investors covered by this theory include receiving a good (public 'Model C' or private) education and occupying a middle-class socioeconomic bracket. This theory applies most specifically to learners of the demographically dominant AfLs of SA: isiZulu, isiXhosa, Setswana, and Sesotho, but is highly likely to extend to those learning other (often smaller) AfLs (Northern Sotho/Sepedi, SiSwati, isiNdebele, Tshivenda, Xitsonga). Its applicability beyond L1E investors needs further investigation, although it is unlikely to be substantially different for L1A investors.

Ideal socio-structural conditions for AfLL may be wholly absent as long as personal conditions are sufficiently ideal (at minimum, sufficient motivation to induce the catalyst of circumstantial necessity for AfLL, e.g. Renée and Tanya's cases). Intrinsic and ideal L2 self-identified forms of motivation for AfLL are strongest and most predictive of success from the outset. If ideal personal conditions (excluding motivation) are absent or low, then this deficit must be overcome by a middling-to-high level of ideal socio-structural conditions, principally through successful guardian L2AfL investment. Discussed below, this can 'make up the difference' through enculturating the practice of AfLL within the lives of dependent investors, irrespective of whether their personal conditions are ideal, and potentiating moderate-to-high linguistic capital gains (depending on the forms of commitment followed). Personal encounters with role-models and intentionally obtaining AfL mentorship in the context of a habitual, long term relationship are ideal factors to pursue, shaping both conditions and commitment – and thus linguistic capital gained.

In general, purely academic commitments within L2AfLL *do not lead* to fluency/success. The linguistic capital gained from academic modalities can be converted into usable linguistic capital through transgressive modalities, however. If a potential investor has academic access to AfLL, then such modalities of learning – either high school or university – *are* valuable, insofar as they can provide a grammatical "grounding" or foundation for

[416] See section 8.1.1

AfLL. If these are conducted simultaneous or subsequent to a transgressive modality, it may lead to a potential reinforcing/nuancing function within the arc of AfLL.[417]

Transgressive modalities for AfLL are therefore necessary. In post-apartheid SA, mere interracial contact is a 'transgression' *irrelevant* to AfLL, given dominance of English in multiracial, class-congruent contexts. Class-transgressive AfL mediation appears to be necessary, except for highly extroverted and/or linguaphilic investors (e.g. Carl and Ivan), for whom class-congruent AfL mediation appears to be sustainable, in spite of the middle-class pull towards English.[418]

Class-transgressive AfL mediation is typically achieved through transgressing proximal or distant borders, including but not limited to (a) the physical border between an English/Afrikaans-dominant space and an AfL-dominant (or monolingual) space, (b) for those attuned to heightened safety concerns, the psychological border of safe and unsafe space (e.g. suburb > township; city > village). A social or occupational alibi for class- and spatial-transgression, beyond AfLL *per se*, appears to be necessary (cf. all cases/*contra* researcher's case). Archetypes of commitment to L2AfLL that involve a transgressive modality, in order of efficacy, appear to be:

1) '**Sustained transgressive-only'** or '**integrated academic-transgressive**' archetypes: these two are long-term and biochronic capital-intensive; presuppose sustained spatial transgression, either distant or proximal, and thus the socioeconomic ability to do this; and require sufficient ideal personal conditions. If these archetypes of commitment are embodied for a sufficient period of time (minimally five years), high to very-high linguistic capital gains are a likely outcome.

2) '**Converted transgressive-only**' or '**converted academic-transgressive**' archetypes: these two depend on fewer ideal personal conditions, and shorter periods of transgressive immersion, but *do* appear to require some fortunate circumstances (concerning ideal mediator relationships) for success to obtain; success may take as long as is required to find the locus of conversion (cf. Duncan, Heather). If these archetypes are followed for a sufficient period of time (minimally five years), with sufficient maintenance of acquired linguistic capital during breaks, moderate to very-high linguistic capital gains are on offer.

[417] The difficulty and lack of immediate applicability of academic modalities in non-transgressive circumstances, however, likely causes many students *without* strong motivation (or other highly-ideal personal conditions) to divest.

[418] They can navigate the complex social dynamics in a 'winsome' way: winning over colleagues and peers, who become willing to humour them by speaking AfLs; as they witness genuine commitment and progress by the investor, AfL-mediated interaction then becomes habitual and enculturated – part of the habitus, and L2AfL success increasingly becomes inevitable with sufficient biochronic application.

8.2.2 Guardian investment

Having outlined a theory of L2AfL investment success for individual, ultimately independent investors, a theory of success may be outlined for guardian/parental L2AfL investment – a potential catalyst which eventuates in the ideal socio-structural conditions, and indirectly personal conditions, for would-be independent L2AfL investors.

If guardians/parents are committed to AfLL for sociopolitical or "progressive" reasons as discussed above, introduction of a normative component to AfLL within a domestic AfL policy, whether implicit or explicit, may directly motivate their children *qua* dependent investors,[419] however this form of investment may easily amount to rhetorical or *de jure* (rather than *de facto*) AfL policy (Orman, 2007) if not accompanied by other forms of investment – especially considering that intrinsic and ideal L2 self-identified forms of motivation for AfLL appear to be strongest and most predictive of success from the outset; these do not emerge from an AfL policy, but may only be fostered *indirectly* through exposure to indigenous African linguaculture and people. Beyond rhetorical or discursive guardian investment, which is not costly (and of uncertain worth) – it would involve the application of two main forms of capital: economic (monetary) capital on the one hand, and biochronic capital on the other. Each are discussed in turn.

8.2.2.1 Commitments of economic capital

Guardian commitments of economic capital (and marginal biochronic capital) aimed at fostering dependents' AfLL include, firstly, procuring the services of facilitators for early childhood modalities of AfLL; secondly, guaranteeing access to academic institutions that enable major commitments in L2AfLL, whether high schools or language institutes. The third – providing AfLL-adjacent cultural education – emerges anecdotally from Carl, Duncan and Natasha's cases, and *may* contribute to ideal socio-structural and personal conditioning for AfLL. This would include dance and/or musical education for children: encouraging the acquisition of relevant character capital – i.e. learning to make mistakes in public, gaining performative confidence – and *ideally* where there would be exposure to African musical traditions. The third potential commitment aside, the two directly-relevant economic commitments are discussed below.

Early childhood modalities of AfLL

Economic capital can procure the services of L1 (or fluent L2) AfL mediators – L1AfL nannies or domestic workers – who can facilitate early childhood modalities of AfLL with an

[419] As seen in Heather and Tanya's cases.

explicit intention for sustained AfL interaction with children, something which Lafon (2008) highlights as an "opportunity to learn an African language" (53) for children under their care. Where domestic employees have children of their own, this could be an advantage for horizontal AfL socialisation, although the dynamics found in de Klerk (2000) may nullify any AfLL potential due to the employee's understandable desire for English socialisation for their own child(ren). The presence of nannies in early childhood correlated in some cases with intense affective responses relevant to motivation for AfLL (cf. Peter and Andrew's cases), echoing Sanders' (2016a; 2016b) own motivations for learning isiZulu. Interestingly, no major evidence of (*de facto*) guardian investment in early childhood modalities of AfLL by nannies/domestic workers was found in this study.[420] Anecdotal evidence exists elsewhere (Sweetnam Evans, 2015; McIntosh, 2018), but while there has been sociological research regarding domestic workers in relation to (typically middle class, wSAn) employers (Ngqakayi, 1991; du Plessis, 2011; Marais, 2016), no scholarship regarding their specific role in facilitating AfLL was found.[421] A related AfLL modality enabled through economic commitments is to send children to an AfL-medium ECD centre, particularly those where AfL socialisation is a strategic objective of the centre. While it appears that centres with such an objective are uncommon, such language-focused ECD centres exist in other contexts of ILL (e.g. Northern Ireland, see Craith & McDermott, 2022) and will emerge swiftly if sufficient guardians/parents provide the requisite demand.

Demanding and ensuring access to AfLL in school

Beyond investing their biochronic capital in activities supporting AfLL, parents also choose to spend economic capital in ways that shape "the choices that children make given the investments in and opportunities available to them" (Haveman & Wolfe, 1995: 1836). In this study, parents used economic capital in order to place children in schools offering AfLs, providing nominal or actual AfLL access (Heather, Tanya, Andrew, Duncan), although this was likely unintentional in some cases (e.g. Ivan) and almost certainly unintentional where parental dissuasion against AfLL occurred (Bradley, Carl). Given the findings in section 5.3.1.2 that all eleven South African cases in the combined sample had access to AfLs in high school, and all six core cases either took, or wanted to take, an AfL for matric, there is a clear suggestion of the socio-structural importance attributable to having *access* to AfLL in high

[420] The only significant domestic worker *qua* significant AfL mediator emerged in Ivan's case.
[421] Although Lafon provides no empirical confirmation for his claim, he remarks on the "disturbing" lack of the phenomenon in recent times, something that "was the case [in] years past for a significant number of European settlers" (2008: 53).

school[422] – namely, witnessing the practice of AfLL by peers, *irrespective* of its efficacy in developing extramurally-relevant linguistic capital. The fact of access implies that all South African cases of this study had a minimal awareness – conscious or not – of the possibility of AfLL in their own lives, or lives adjacent to their own (i.e. peers) – a possible L2AfL self that "under some circumstances could be relevant again" (Markus & Nurius, 1986: 957).

8.2.2.2 Commitments of biochronic capital

Cardoso et al. (2010) provide evidence that the choices that parents make regarding their own use of time impacts the activities that children choose. For instance, they point to the "influence that parents may have on youngsters time devoted to socializing and to reading and studying" (500), insofar as they model certain similar behaviours. While Ryan (2020) speaks of 'physical capital' – "the time and energy that parents need to invest to fulfill their vision of bilingualism for their child" (10) – within the L2 Investment framing, this equates to biochronic capital. In this study, parents used their own biochronic capital to facilitate children's engagement with AfL-speaking people and AfL-dominant places (Duncan), promotion of African linguaculture at home (Andrew), domestic L2 or AfL policy (implicit, in Andrew and Heather's cases; explicit in Tanya's case). and thus a willingness to downplay security risks. Emergent from the study, three potential commitments by guardians that primarily require biochronic capital (with marginal economic capital) are outlined.

Role-modelling AfLL and use

In relation to gaining creative capital (of which linguistic capital is arguably a subspecies), Rubenson and Runco (1992) assert that "role models, by facilitating investment in creative potential, lower its cost [for investors] and therefore make it more likely" (1992: 138). L2 Motivation-adjacent research has appeared in recent years on this topic. Muir *et al*. (2021) claim, for instance, that their "findings offer sufficient evidence for the importance of L2 role-models within the process of mastering an L2" (20). In the cross-case analysis, it became apparent role-models were evident in several cases, of broadly two different categories:

[422] Given that AfLL at primary school occurred in less than half of the sample, and appeared both explicitly and implicitly negligible for those who did undertake, its status as a significant modality of L2AfL investment is questionable. This agrees with the largely ambivalent findings in Dugmore (1991) regarding its pedagogical effect, especially in relation to later learning during high school. The highly limited amount of time provided to AfLs during primary school, particularly at public schools, as seen in Hendricks (2007) and alluded to by two AfL teachers in this study (Ivan and Andrew), is the main factor. However, if integrated into a broader guardian investment programme, the consistent school-mediated biochronic commitment to AfLL at such an early age, limited or not, likely entailed that less disciplined commitment was required once independent status was reached (Grade 9-10 juncture) due to habituation from a young age, something which was ideal, especially for those like Heather with no intrinsic linguacultural interest.

1. fluent L1 or L2AfL speakers, usually not a family member[423]
2. non-fluent, L2AfL or pidgin AfL speakers, usually a family member[424]

Further research is required to understand the difference in kind between those who model AfLL without achieving success versus those who model fluent AfL use. A cursory analysis of linguistic capital gains, however, reveals a strong correlation between those whose role-models were fluent AfL speakers (and who also, in Ivan, Andrew and Lily's cases, became mentors).

With regard to guardian investment, this introduces two potential modes of role-modelling AfLL and use for children. In the first instance, it involves committing biochronic capital towards becoming a member of category 2 above: engaging in beginner L2AfLL as a guardian/parent, and creating a domestic culture of (limited) AfL use with other guardians and children, wherever possible. The second mode is less biochronic capital-intense; it involves exposing children to role-models of category 1, i.e. publicly- and personally-known AfL-speakers, ideally those who were L2 learners.

Exposure to indigenous AfLs, culture and people

The principal mode of biochronic capital-intense commitment involves exposing children to African linguaculture at home, as done by Andrew's parents. Whether via indigenous African art, music, literature or audiovisual media generally, such exposure may later foster intrinsic motivation for AfLL. The correlate to domestic exposure involves exposing children to AfL-dominant contexts beyond the home, whether for work-related reasons – as in Duncan's case – or other contexts, e.g. churches/religious institutions (Grohmann, 2020), political gatherings, African cultural events, or even narrowly tourist reasons.

Regarding narrowly social exposure, this study provided no evidence of parents who attempted L1AfL socialisation for their children. One means of achieving this would be through visiting AfL-speaking nanny's and/or domestic worker's domestic contexts, whether urban or rural, as often as possible. Depending on guardian investors perceptions of (in)security, this may involve their own presence, and thus biochronic capital.

[423] The isiZulu trio, Ivan and Lily all encountered role-models of the former sort: Duncan's role-models were Johnny Clegg, his chiShona/isiNdebele-speaking grandfather, and a friend's father fluent both in isiZulu and the guitar; Andrew, Ivan, Lily and Bradley all had an AfL teacher/lecturer as their role-model. Clegg himself details having several AfL-speaking role-models.

[424] Tanya, Heather, Duncan, and Andrew all provided examples of the second category. While these older family members had begun learning an AfL, they remained at a beginner level of linguistic capital – or, in the cases of Duncan and Andrew, knew some Fanakalo.

Chapter conclusion

This chapter served two purposes. In Section 8.1, the first purpose was to discuss various issues emanating from the multiple case study, focusing on racial, temporal, gender, class-based – and in L2 Investment terms – commitment factors for L2AfLL. With regard to race, this included a focus on processes of political and cultural identification that catalysed AfLL in several cases, prompting the emergence of rooted or hybrid L2 selves, in which AfLs became the medium for a transformation of wSAn identity, with implications for motivational conditions and capital gains. The distinctiveness of wSAn motivation was discussed in contrast to coloured South Africans; it appears post-apartheid motivations for AfLL are racialised. Temporal factors – characterised in terms of successive zeitgeists – were presented as partial explanatory factors for the presence or absence of successful L2AfLL, with the current zeitgeist being one of profound dysphoria. Gender-related factors were discussed, highlighting the gendered distributions of L2AfL investors across isiXhosa and isiZulu, and possible reasons for this. Regarding factors of class-transgressive and class-congruent interracial AfL contact, the reason that the former social relation predominated was discussed. Finally, factors of commitment – particularly the necessity of transgressive modalities for AfLL – was discussed in relation to the habitus of class-based and racialised (in)security that fundamentally affects the prospects for successful AfLL.

In Section 8.2, all these issues were distilled into articulations of a theory of successful L2AfLL, based on the results chapter. This was done both for individual (independent) investors as well as guardian investors (on behalf of dependents).

Chapter 9
Thesis Conclusion

Chapter synopsis

In this final chapter, conclusions derived from the findings and discussion chapters are made in Section 9.1, where the research questions are explicitly answered, and the contributions made by this research are stated. In Section 9.2, the research scope and limitations are summarised, followed by suggestions for potential future research. Section 9.3 concludes the chapter, and this thesis.

Section 9.1 – Contribution and summary

As a conclusion to the multiple case study underlying this thesis, the contributions made by this PhD study are stated, followed with answers for the research questions in summative form.

9.1.1 Contribution

In light of the summary of this study's findings in relation the topic, this thesis has made three direct contributions to broader scholarship/knowledge, and one indirect contribution:

wSAn L2AfLL specifically and L2ILL generally: To the degree that these specific topics have not been explored in any depth (let alone theorised), as Shandu-Phetla (2018) claimed regarding L2AfLL, this study has begun filling the gap.

AfLL and social cohesion/nation-building in SA: To the degree that few have grappled with the value of, and realistic prospects for, instantiating L2AfL investment and thus symmetrical multilingualism in contemporary South Africa, this study has made a meaningful contribution.

L2 Investment: This study has sought to offer a reconceptualisation of investment as an attempt to frame the entire SLA phenomenon, binding together several fields/subdisciplines in order to gain a synoptic insight into contextualised SLA, with a focus on scarcities and the achievement of success.[425]

[425] Despite the inevitability of reductionism, it is hoped that the *creativity* of this attempt will prompt those with more rigorous and refined disciplinary or philosophical boundaries to improve their own theorising regarding the learning of skills like language – and thus education more broadly

9.1.2 Summary of findings

Research Question 1: Conditions

What are the factors that conditioned and catalysed participants to become investors in L2AfLL?

In light of the multiple CS and discussion, there are arguably four main socio-structural conditions relevant to participants' – i.e. investors' – L2 African language learning. The first socio-structural condition relates to high school access to AfLs. While uptake of AfLL at this stage was an ideal condition that correlates with parental investment, there is reason to belief that having *access* to school-based AfLL is itself an ideal condition for the development of a possible L2AfL self, which increases its likelihood of being actualised after school. The second condition is one of secure exposure to AfL-dominant spaces and L1AfL mediators, typically initiated and mediated by parents or guardians – such exposure, whether domestic or extramural, was a rare condition in the cases studied. The third condition relates to the presence of AfLL-promoting people in investor's lives, i.e. guardians and role-models; they may inculcate AfLL-promoting political ideologies and interest in African linguaculture, both of which correlate with ideal personal conditions (specifically, motivation), and increase the vividness and plausibility of investors' possible L2AfL selves. The final socio-structural condition relates to the zeitgeist; investors' major commitments to L2AfLL occurred within a relatively euphoric post-apartheid zeitgeist from the early 2000s to the early 2010s, in which the ideals of post-apartheid society were still plausible: suggesting its partial relevance as a non-constraining, or even facilitating, condition.

Within a broader socio-structural set of conditions, investors were individually differentiated according to a set of personal conditions. These could be divided between facilitating and motivating conditions. Regarding *facilitating* personal conditions, it was found that many investors exhibited ideal traits or biochronic qualities for SLL – in particular, extroversion and language affinity – but this was not universal within the sample, as others possessed non-ideal conditions such as shyness, anxiety and difficulty and yet were able to make moderate-to-high linguistic capital gains. While ideal biochronic qualities facilitated L2AfLL, another personal condition performing this function related to prior cognate knowledge/skills, conceptualised in terms of prior human capital gains. Two possible personal conditions are that of sex/gender and L1; regarding the former, it appeared that being male facilitated L2AfLL, likely due to how males are socially-positioned and less risk-averse than female investors. While based on a single case (i.e. Ivan), it appears that L1A

investor status may facilitate L2AfLL in ways unavailable to L1E investors. Regarding *motivating* personal conditions, these appear to be mediated by race. For wSAn investors, their racial identity was found to manifest in – on the one hand – deep affective experiences, which were conceptualised as the presence or absence of zookairotic capital, and led to articulations of motivation. Such zookairotic capital emerged from contact with L1AfL mediators and associated culture (e.g. nannies; Maskandi music). Where present, it typically correlated with intrinsic motivations for AfLL, the presence of vivid IL2Ss. Where absent, it typically correlated with extrinsic motivations for AfLL, including the desire to "make good" via AfLL (Sanders, 2016a; 2016b; McIntosh, 2018).

In the context of socio-structural and personal conditions for L2AfLL, three main catalytic conditions were found to 'make up the difference' between the *status quo* of declining L2AfL investment, and its initiation. Within core cases, guardian investment (parental investment in dependent children's AfLL) and circumstantial accidents (unplanned encounters with people and places) predominated, indicating ideal socio-structural and ideal personal conditions respectively – the most successful cases, unsurprisingly, displayed highly-ideal conditions within both categories. For peripheral cases, circumstantial necessity – through planned spatial movements to a rural, AfL-dominant area – was typical.

Research Question 2: Commitment

How do investors commit to L2AfLL? How do they discipline their allocation of capital towards modalities of AfLL, and AfL intermediation?

Investors were found to embody several distinct commitment archetypes. In each, a transgressive modality was found to be necessary for success to obtain. Substantial academic modalities of L2AfLL – e.g. high school or university – appeared to be unnecessary for cases with ideal personal conditions, and were typically constrained to providing the "foundation" for later transgressive modalities of learning; purely academic commitment appeared insufficient for L2AfLL success. Commitment archetypes reliant on mentorship and proximal, urban immersion were more effective than others in terms of linguistic capital gains, all of which led to high or very high linguistic capital gains. Sustained transgressive-only commitment, in all cases involving the modality of distant, rural immersion, was effective insofar as investors made use of the circumstantial necessity for AfLL that it entailed: for those with more ideal personal conditions, high or very high linguistic capital was gained; for those with fewer ideal personal conditions, a plateau emerged in several cases, indicative of reliance on extrinsic rather than intrinsic discipline for AfLL. Although

found in two cases, converted academic-transgressive commitment was reliant on secondary catalytic conditions for achieving moderate to high linguistic capital gains; as such, it represented a less certain pathway to success than other forms of commitment.

Investors were found to commit their biochronic capital according to several measures of discipline, which may be measured as 5+ years of ongoing L2AfLL, making at least one major, multi-year commitment (to gain a requisite "foundation"), and moderate to high levels of engagement. No investor were found to have 'gone through the motions' of AfLL; all were sufficiently engaged to make meaningful linguistic capital gains.

In terms of intermediation, investors transformed their biochronic capital into linguistic capital gains largely through L1AfL mediators, i.e. habitual conversation while self-positioning as AfL learners. This was subject to class factors; productive mediation was usually class-transgressive, and there were anecdotal indications – requiring further research – that L1AfL women were better mediators (cf. reports from Renée, Peter, Andrew). In terms of AfL media, the use thereof was case-specific and lacked discernible patterns, except insofar as audio and reference media – AfL dictionaries – appear to be generally appreciated and utilised productively as a means for gaining linguistic capital.

Research Question 3: Capital gains

What kinds of capital do successful L2AfL investors gain, and to what extent does their newly-acquired capital promote the welfare of contemporary South African society?

In terms of human capital, the primary gains were linguistic capital – the sample was primarily selected on the criterion of high linguistic capital, a subjective and approximate measure, but indicative of an unusual degree of fluency in AfL speech. In all cases, linguistic capital was typically qualified along certain sociolinguistic continua ('deep', 'correct', 'informal' *etc*) – a factor typically dependent on the extent to which cases had undertaken academic modalities of L2AfLL. In the main, linguistic capital gains within AfLs led to further, adjacent gains in other languages.

Beyond linguistic capital itself, it became apparent that it could be leveraged to increase investors' occupational capital, usually in AfL teaching; it appeared relatively easy to find work within this domain even outside of credentialled teaching, due to the discovery of demand within L2AfL investors' social networks. Beyond AfL teaching, gaining linguistic capital also facilitated NGO work, typically in AfL-dominant, distant immersion circumstances. As a result of L2AfL investment and its human capital gains, there was no evidence of superior economic capital gains in excess of what could be gained otherwise,

except insofar as AfL-mediated relationships, in which higher levels of zookairotic capital obtain create opportunities for economic co-operation, as in Duncan's case.

All non-limit cases of wSAn AfLL in the sample appeared to gain significant gains beyond human capital – if they engaged in a transgressive modality of AfLL. While the capital emergent from L2AfL investment primarily accrues to investors rather than L1AfL interlocutors, the study provided evidence that the latter also gain significant forms of capital as the counterparties of linguistic exchange (Bourdieu, 1977). This study therefore provides evidence that the research phenomenon – when successful – *does* promote SA's welfare, insofar as it engenders microeconomies of interracial AfL exchange, largely *via* the transgression of class and spatial boundaries, with whatever material economic opportunities that may emerge therefrom.

Because of its **extraordinary** symbolic status – a finding across all successful cases – the leverage of linguistic capital by L2AfL investors produced **joyful surprise** in the majority of L1AfL interlocutors, often making investors the beneficiaries of **social favour and inclusion**. Ambivalent or negative receptions to wSAn L2AfL use was seldom encountered by investors, and typically confined to receptions offered by upwardly mobile, well-educated bSAns, who in McIntosh's (2018) words are unwilling to provide the "exceedingly gracious and politically forgiving response" (498) exhibited by those lacking elite status. Non-positive reception arguably illustrated the commitment by such bSAns to elite multilingualism and the status it affords them vis-à-vis those who are uneducated/non-elite.

In a minority of cases, the processes of L2AfLL were found to result in positive discomfort, opening the investor up to hearing and seeing things their previous linguistic frame filtered out, a way of mitigating against "structural oblivion" (McIntosh, 2018) regarding the socioeconomic ramifications of colonial, apartheid *and* post-apartheid times on indigenous people. In several cases, investors' possession of AfL-specific linguistic capital prompted **experiences of ubuntu** (shared humanness): deep, transformative experiences of connection for both investor and interlocutor that went beyond transactional interracial encounters redolent of apartheid modes of interaction. In a minority of cases, the experiential and linguistic capital gains of L2AfL investment could be symbolically leveraged within discursive contexts, particularly schools – positioning the successful L2AfL learner as arguably having **more legitimate status** for engaging with the complex and contested socio-political realities of SA**.** In almost all core cases (or those with high linguistic capital gains), evidence of a **secured/rooted selfhood** emerged for the investor qua wSAn**;** senses of

belonging, legitimacy, acceptance, security emerged, depending on the investor's personal conditions.

Kelman claims that "[a] sense of national identity is more likely to develop out of functional relationships within a society than out of deliberate attempts to promote it" (quoted in Alexander, 1989: 52). Such a claim is consonant with the emphasis from many within LP&P on 'bottom-up' planning (Plüddemann, 2015), as top-down planning is either too coercive, or leads to failure (Orman, 2007). There is evidence that successful individual investment in AfLL leads directly to actual "functional relationships" between wSAn L2AfL speakers and bSAn L1AfL speakers – relationships that are witnessed by others, shaping perceptions of social identities and challenging, if not altering, the norms that govern them. The frame of L2 Investment has stressed the importance of selfhood, and thus social identity, in language learning. Orman calls LP&P a species of *identity* policy/planning, noting that

> acquisition of a language allows for (at least some degree of) participation in its associated culture(s), something which may, although not necessarily, have implications for the identities of the individuals and communities concerned. (2007: 58)

If sufficient individual and guardian (and ideally collective) investment in L2AfLL can be made successfully, despite the many constraining factors, it is likely to alter the linguistic market for AfLs in SA, as suggested by Te Huia (2020) in the New Zealand context.

Section 9.2 - Scope, limitations, and future research

9.2.1 Scope and limitations

The scope of the study encompasses a sample of cases from a notional population of white South Africans who have successfully learned an AfL as an AL/L2 in the post-apartheid era. Although this PhD's core thesis involves an "argumentative claim" (Campbell & Yin, 2018) regarding successful wSAn AfLL, it is in no way statistically generalisable, and cannot be used to predict successful AfLL in this way.[426] By seeking as broad a theoretical frame as possible – maximising variability of case characteristics, given the constraints of the research phenomenon as defined initially – it was hoped to establish a set of theoretical parameters for successful L2AfL investment, which could then be tested experimentally, following Yin's interpretation of the replication logic underlying multiple case studies. Given that the research population from whom cases were drawn could not be enumerated (implying an inability to establish representativeness of the selected case sample), the potential theoretical goodness-of-fit should neither be understated nor overstated for the population at large: the

[426] e.g. for white South Africans learning an AfL as a first language, like Athol Trollip.

applicability of these findings are suggestive, and must be tested through further research, before they have population-wide validity.

Much of the literature reviewed was limited to the Western and Eastern Cape provinces, involving predominantly L1E-speaking wSAns learning isiXhosa. L1 Afrikaans learners of AfL were underrepresented in the case sample, and working-class, non-university educated wSAns did not participate; in such cases, the theoretical generalisation of the findings is limited. While the study's sample managed to partially overcome the bias toward data on isiXhosa / participants from the Western Cape region, a more careful examination of AfLL outside of the Cape and especially Afrikaans-language research is necessary. My competency in Afrikaans was insufficient to accomplish this.

9.2.2 Potential future research

There are a number of possible avenues for further research that stem from this PhD study. Far more could be mentioned, but the following will suffice:

L2ILL in general: more explicit research on non-heritage L2ILL and L2IL learners, particularly with regard to patterns of IL learning behaviour and achievement of success (as opposed to L2IL motivation) in countries where the phenomenon is sufficiently evident. Given that extant literature appears to be constrained to Anglophone contexts, non-Anglophone contexts like South America would be ideal, where settler-indigenous identity and language dynamics have their own unique inflections.

South African L2AfLL in particular: Firstly, conducting longitudinal case study research on potential L2AfL investors, in order to test the theory developed in this study, particularly with regard to the nature of commitment (i.e. modality combinations, the necessity of transgression, *etc*) as it relates to socio-structural, personal and catalytic conditions (on the one hand) and capital gains (on the other).[427] Secondly, developing and refining proficiency assessments for AfLs *qua* L2 that adequately account for the diglossia illustrated by the deep/formal–translingual/informal continuum. Thirdly, conducting single and multiple case studies that examine L2AfLL success by non-white, non-black South African AfL learners (i.e. coloured and Indian South Africans); this would enable determining the precise boundaries of localised L2AfLL. Fourthly, examining the ways in which heritage (i.e. bSAn) L2AfLL differs from non-heritage forms of L2AfLL in South Africa, and the precise factors

[427]This could be done by identifying the markers that predict success among those who have just begun and tracing their language learning investment over time.

which cause these differences. Fifthly, conducting retrospective and longitudinal case-study research of guardian/parental L2AfL investment where cases have been discovered.

Regarding the L2 Investment frame: The application and ongoing refinement of L2 Investment as a framing metaphor for conceptualising the arc of SLA – and in particular, language learning success. At this stage, quantitative research would be ideal, in order to test the coherence and variable emphases of the L2 Investment frame as reconceptualised. A survey design, able to test for causal patterns among conditions and commitment in relation to capital gains to a statistically significant degree, would help establish where the framework specifies the phenomenon of SLA success and where it fails. This would best be done for commonly learned languages (e.g. English, Spanish, French, Mandarin).

Regarding black L1AfL speakers' reception to non-black AfLL and use: Anthropological and sociological research into the dynamics emergent from encounters between non-black AfL learners and users, both L1 and L2, and black AfL users, both L1 and heritage L2, examining the ways in which this affects once-off encounters as well as habitual relationships in different contexts: institutions of state, transactional contexts (shopping/eating out/refuelling petrol, *etc*), schools, universities/tertiary education, corporate environments, religious and other institutional contexts, among others.

Section 9.3 - Thesis conclusion

As an exercise in applied linguistic scholarship, this PhD thesis sought to both understand and explicate the parameters for solving a language-related problem. The parameters for solving the problem – which could have remained at the typical top-down focus of language policy and planning – highlighted the ways in which smaller actors could do the good work required. Much of it has been written for the researcher's sake, a kind of manifesto for change. In this respect, and perhaps naively, "the potential of a study to catalyze change" (Duff, 2007: 102) has been a major concern while writing this thesis.

In the final analysis, this thesis has argued that the development of symmetrical multilingualism – learning to speak the language of one's neighbour – is a good thing. This is being recognised, particularly in post-colonial societies with regard to (typically) lower-status indigenous languages; a phenomenon of non-heritage L2 indigenous language learning is thus emerging, of which L2 learning of African languages by white South Africans is a species. The investment metaphor, *via* the 'L2 Investment' framework developed in this thesis, is helpful in understanding and theorising why and how language learning success obtains, particularly in cases of L2 indigenous language learning, where ideal modalities and

intermediation for learning are scarce or constrained, and *prima facie,* capital incentives are few (from a narrowly-economic perspective). In post-apartheid South Africa, which exhibited ample rhetorical investment in L2 African language learning, a lack of genuine investment (whether top down or bottom up) has meant that it failed to normalise in post-apartheid SA: cases of success are exceptional. This multiple case study has provided insight into the necessary and sufficient conditions required for the research phenomenon's instantiation, given its abnormality. In aggregate, the insights from the study provide an adaptable but clear roadmap for future L2AfL investors to follow; these insights can also be applied to future work on macro- and meso-level LP&P interventions that seek to promote L2AfLL realistically, and thus symmetrical multilingualism more generally.

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Appendices

Appendix A: **Core case profiles**

A1 Duncan: the groove maker

Duncan*, an L1E male in his late 20s at the time of the interview, achieved a grammatical foundation during school (just high school, in his case) but his real success came from prolonged, occupation-based, informal learning. He was born *c.* 1993, just before South Africa's first democratic national elections. He grew up in a town in rural Zululand, and at the beginning of the new millennium, he began primary school. Through his father's work, he was exposed from a young age to Zulu people, their music and culture, and developed an intense interest therein, wanting to be "a Zulu warrior", inspired by Zulu history and myth. He began playing the guitar in Grade 7, and he gradually learnt how to play 'Maskandi', a musical genre popular amongst Zulu people. Upon reaching high school, Duncan started learning isiZulu, and with the support of his parents, managed to convince the school to allow him to continue with the subject as his main additional language (AL) subject from Grade 10-12. By the end of school, he "was singing Maskandi songs" but "wasn't talking Zulu fluently. [He] could get the message across", but was "still nervous then". Having completed school, he spent a year of performing as a Maskandi artist largely in front of Zulu audiences, but primarily used English as his communication medium (*c.* 2012). He then moved to Durban the following year, met a Maskandi artist named *Themba – who became a very close friend, mentor and musical collaborator – and "within six months, [he] was speaking Zulu fluently". "It's hard to talk Zulu (or Xhosa or any other language)," he claims, "without having a basic understanding of the culture ... so automatically, as you get deeper into the language and you're able to bring in praise names [honorifics] and proverbs, you know, that's when, 'Jeesh!', the person realises that you've gone that extra step."

A2 Bradley: the "chaos" bringer

Bradley*, an L1E male in his early 30s who began learning rather late relative to other participants – but achieved fluency through extensive (but informal) isiZulu intermediation. He was born in the late 1980s to an English-speaking family. After starting school around 1996, his family moved to the North West Province in the early 2000s: he began Grade 7 at a new school, where Afrikaans was the medium of instruction. This forced immersion caused Bradley to learn swiftly how to communicate. The following year, he began Grade 8 at a new, English-medium school, but here, the majority of his peers were L1 Setswana speakers.

He reported failing to learn any Setswana, and his family moved to KZN just before his Grade 10 year (*c.* 2005). He chose Afrikaans as his AL for Grade 12, being fearful of performing poorly in isiZulu (though it was available as a subject). He then went to university to study psychology and – after a catalytic introductory lecture – decided to take isiZulu as his second major subject. Referring to the white lecturer, he reports:

> ... he *goois* [i.e. throws] proper deep farm Zulu, '*Sanibona nina nonke!*', and the whole lecture theatre just went wild. Everybody's like '*Hawu*! It's some amazing white guy speaking fluent Zulu!' So I was like: 'Okay – I'm choosing Zulu!' – and so I did. I chose Zulu and did that for three years at varsity ... as well as psychology (**Bradley**)

Bradley studied isiZulu formally until *c.* 2010, and during this time would practise "speaking to people everyday" through habitual conversations with Zulu security guards, builders, *etc*. After his BA, Bradley completed a music diploma while tutoring isiZulu to other students, but he notes that his at this time, his "Zulu ability wasn't improving much... it plateaued quite intensely". In the years that followed, he started listening to and watching large amounts of Zulu media, and – in conjunction with speaking isiZulu regularly – this *extensive* exposure (which eventually became something of a discipline), brought him to a point of fluency. Ever since he began tutoring isiZulu after university, he has occupied the rewarding "niche" of being an isiZulu teacher.

A3 Andrew: the truth speaker

Andrew*, an L1E male in his early 30s, who was likely the most proficient/fluent within the core sample, learned the language formally from the primary to tertiary levels of education, but augmented this with consistent informal interactions with Zulu people. He was born in the late 1980s to an English-speaking family in KwaZulu-Natal. His parents were interested in, and open to, indigenous African culture and language, and his childhood home was filled with indigenous African cultural artefacts. He attended a primary school that offered isiZulu from Grade 1 (*c.* 1995), and he took it as an academic subject throughout high school, eventually selecting it (in Grade 10) as his FAL subject for Grade 12. By Grade 10, he had a good "book knowledge" of the language, but he "couldn't access [isiZulu] in the spoken form". For the latter two years of high school, from when he was around 16/17 years of age, he lived at the school's boarding-house during the week, and it was here where he began using isiZulu conversationally beyond the classroom setting (speaking with Zulu security guards and catering staff). While he "could hold a conversation", his isiZulu still was not flowing naturally by the end of school. After school, however, Andrew went on to study the

language at university (*c.* 2007-9) – it was here where "daily interaction" in the language became normalised for him, and in his second year, apparently the academic isiZulu course became more "conversational". He had an excellent university lecturer/teacher, and received *de facto* personal tuition (due to having virtually no classmates). After graduating –by this point was fluent in the language – Andrew began teaching isiZulu at a school, and remains in the role of an isiZulu teacher to this day. In this role, and given his whiteness and isiZulu fluency, he states that he "feel[s] very at ease; I feel very comfortable and confident to challenge ideas" in a context where there is "a lot of fear of talking about race ... I certainly see that the kids at my school are curious about it, and will ask questions".

A4 Ivan: the academic achiever

Ivan*, a male in his late 20s (as of 2020) was the only L1A speaker among the non-limit cases of the broader case sample. His proficiency in Sesotho (also unique) was acquired largely formally, within academic institutions, but also due to his informal seeking out of L1 Sesotho mediators. He was born in the early 1990s, to an Afrikaans-speaking family in the Free State province. He began primary school in the late 1990s, learning English effectively at an L1 level. For the final two years of primary school, he began studying Sesotho, though with no interest in the language, nor deriving any meaningful linguistic knowledge from the class. Upon reaching high school, he continued learning Sesotho as a compulsory subject – however at *this* point he had "a wonderful Sotho teacher", who gradually awakened his interest in learning, in large part causing him to consciously invest in the subject from late Grade 9 (*c.* 2006) and then for the remainder of high school. He reports the following of his Matric (grade 12) year:

> "I had the honour of being part of the top-20 academic tour group. So we went to Cape Town. Of course, a few of my Sotho-speaking friends came along on the tour, because they also fell into the top 20 group. And what happened was, we were on our way to Parliament ... Something very interesting happened. I spoke Sotho to one of my friends and without knowing it, [a famous Sotho businessman] walked past me, and he actually stopped me and said "Look, young man, you spoke such a beautiful Sotho – here's R100, go get yourself a milkshake." (**Ivan**)

Having become effectively literate and fluent by the end of school, he continued with Sesotho as a major subject during university (*c.* 2010–2012). The first two years of the latter were extremely easy, but he found the third year to be more challenging; on the whole, this post-school academic investment helped to consolidate and nuance his language proficiency. After university, Ivan became a qualified Sesotho teacher, and more recently, he applied his Sesotho knowledge to teaching Setswana, a cognate/mutually intelligible language.

A5 Carl: the immersed enquirer

Carl*, an L1E male in his early 30s, was the only case who learnt Setswana, and he did so wholly informally. He was born in the late 1980s and started his schooling in Johannesburg soon after the transition to democracy. He grew up playing musical instruments, both at home and school, and joined his high school choir, where he had occasion to sing in AfLs. After an initial couple years of both isiZulu and Afrikaans (Grade 8-9), he dropped the former and continued with the latter for the final three years of school. He attended university in order to study music and English, and from his 2nd year onwards began studying South African Sign Language (henceforth SASL), with considerable success – eventually becoming a SASL interpreter after completing his BA. It was during this learning experience that Carl reported "realis[ing] that after a year of that socialising, you've gone from understanding 10% of what's going on to understanding 80% of what's going on" – giving him a frame for approaching future language learning. He began learning Setswana when he took up an English teaching post at a school in a Setswana-speaking area (*c.* 2012): he learnt the language informally, within the precincts of the school and through relationships two sets of mediators: his Tswana colleagues and his Tswana students. After two years, he felt "quite comfortable" communicating in the language (without any need for English), and spent the remaining ~4 years (*c.* 2014-17) of his teaching career consolidating his oral Setswana and investing further in improving his literacy skills in the language. Subsequent to learning Setswana, he has since learnt and become functionally fluent in French, using a similar, though more "introspective" approach (in his words, it was less "gung-ho" than his approach to Setswana).

A6 Tanya: the intentional lawyer

Tanya*, an L1E female in her mid-thirties, studied isiXhosa – largely informally – and had reached an moderate level of fluency by the time of the interview. Her AfLL journey was unusual in that it was stymied for a decade, but she eventually made a major commitment to learning through rural immersion. Tanya was born in the mid-1980s, and began school just before the '94 elections, living in Johannesburg. She "did a little bit of Zulu" in primary school, and then began learning isiZulu in her first year of high school – but only briefly, as her family moved to Cape Town mid-way through the year. She changed to Afrikaans at her new school, being dissuaded or effectively disallowed to take isiXhosa (which was available).

Following school, she went to a rural village in Tanzania for six months, and learned some Swahili there. After this gap year, she went to university to complete a bachelor's degree in the humanities – a triple major and heavy academic load. Nonetheless, she took isiXhosa an additional subject for her first year, though due to her academic commitments, the university "wouldn't allow" her to continue thereafter. Her intention to continue learning, however, "stayed with [her] in heart and soul and commitment." It was, she claimed, "something that always just stayed with me – the thing that I wanted to do, but never quite had the... dedicated time." After completing her BA, Tanya began a Law degree, and in her first year she participated in an "immersive" two-week "Xhosa trip" to the rural Eastern Cape (EC) with "one of the professors in the [isiXhosa] department," with whom she had remained in contact. The immersion trip was "rigorous" and "fun". A couple years later, while completing her articles to become a lawyer, she had hiked along the EC coast again. In the years that followed – working within the human rights legal field in Johannesburg, and subsequently going overseas to do a Master's degree – the idea of working and living in the rural EC remained on her mind. Around 2017 she "decided to move [there], in the pursuit of learning Xhosa". As Tanya reported, "I was willing to make a complete work/job/life move".

After a year in the rural EC, she had "got the basics down" and transformed her rudimentary isiXhosa into something more "comfortable, confident, not having to think, not having to like speak slowly". This was certainly aided by dating a Xhosa man during this period. After returning to Johannesburg for a while, she has subsequently spent a further year working in the rural EC, and during this latter period her isiXhosa has reached its peak in terms of proficiency.

Appendix B: **Peripheral case reports**

The following appendix provides the full case reports for all six peripheral cases. Unlike core case reports, which were integrated fully within the main body of the thesis and highly edited, these reports tend to be lengthier and represent an earlier level of the L2 Investment framework: the headings for each section make this clear. For the sake of consistency in reporting, they have been updated as much as possible in order to achieve a similar tone to core case reporting.

B1 Lily: the foreign researcher

> first, I unsettle a prejudice of a white person not speaking an African language. And then in some ways, I re-affirm the prejudice because "it's not the white person that I had in mind. (**Lily**)

B1.1 Investor Profile

High linguistic capital gains in **isiXhosa**	~CEFR: **B2**	D/F | 5 | T/I

Lily*, a German female in her early 30s, learned isiXhosa informally, but also through semi-formal language tuition (tutoring) and university classes while doing language-related research. She was born in Germany in the late 1980s/early 1990s, and had an unremarkable German upbringing. Her AfLL arc began after finishing school (*Gymnasium*), when she travelled to Cape Town around 2008 for three months. Lily's experience of this time informed her decision to pursue African Studies at university. She ended up doing a Masters degree based on data collected from a school in a majority-Xhosa township in 2013, and later did PhD research in the same context. During these periods, she spent considerable time learning isiXhosa both formally and informally, and even went so far as to tutor and teach the language to other South Africans. With an undergraduate background in African languages and linguistics (principally Swahili), Lily prepared for her fieldwork in SA by learning aspects of isiXhosa grammar. She then spent considerable time in immersion situations for her MA fieldwork, where she focused on developing her communicative skills. After returning to Germany to write up her research, she continued her exposure to isiXhosa through transcribing and translating isiXhosa interviews. She commented that "transcribing is really, for me, almost the best method to learn. You also force yourself into learning the language that whoever you're transcribing is actually speaking – and not something that you find in the grammar book". Lily later returned to Cape Town to do her PhD in 2015, researching a similar topic to her Master's, which involved further immersion in the same township school context and formal attendance at university isiXhosa classes. After

completing the latter, her cumulative isiXhosa knowledge enabled her to become a teaching assistant in the same department. Although, at the time of the interview in 2020, she had been away from South Africa for two years and no longer claimed fluency, she said that if she were to spend a "month or two" immersed in a Xhosa village or (preferably) township environment, this would prompt her language ability to return. She is, however, "pretty good" at speaking isiXhosa while mixing English words and phrases wherever convenient: "this sort of fluid style of speaking, [she] pick[s] up very quickly".

B1.2 Conditions

Lily, introduced in the previous chapter as a 'limit case', is the only non-South African in the sample. She is white, yet not wSAn. The socio-structural and personal conditions attendant upon her own arc of L2AfL investment differ considerably from other cases, except insofar as she possessed an affinity to language. As an outsider, she lacked exposure to typical wSAn discourse about safety, and was thus relatively uninhibited in entering 'unsafe' spaces previously cordoned off by *apartheid* policy. For Lily, like Carl, AfLL was accidentally catalysed by a visit to an AfL-dominant context, where she had an initial experience of (South) African society and some of its educational needs. This prompted a process of study that conditioned her for swift acquisition of isiXhosa when she returned to Cape Town for postgraduate study.

B1.2.1 Constructive conditions: a foreign worldview and language affinity

Due to what Lily called her "external perspective", she arrived in South Africa lacking familiarity with "those discourses" that are likely to emerge in white and/or middle-class South African communities: for example, how minibus taxis or townships are inherently unsafe. Lily's foreign naiveté was therefore an enabling condition for her to invest in learning isiXhosa: she was willing to use 'unsafe' modes of transport to get to 'unsafe' places where English-speaking norms were largely disrupted, and good isiXhosa intermediation was to be found. As she rhetorically asked, "which white South African does that?"[428]

Like several other cases, Lily had a prior affinity to language. While considering what she would study at university during her initial visit to South Africa, Lily recognised that she was "good at languages".[429] This influenced her choice to study language-related phenomena in the following academic year. Years later, Lily finely articulates her interest being in

[428] She had an awareness of her foreign white status vis-à-vis that of wSAns, something to which she attributed her willingness to do unusual things.
[429] – and "not so much numbers": similar to Ivan.

language, but not distinct *languages*,[430] despite being "good" at them. As such, she contended that investment in isiXhosa "was never for the language's sake" but more for the sake of language in general.

B1.2.2 Contingent catalyst: visiting an AfL-dominant context

Lily's three-month stay in Cape Town during her summer vacation, where she volunteered at a township school via a literacy NGO, provided her with more specific vocational direction, which had motivational implications for her path to investing in AfLL.

Prior to recognising the vocational salience of her language affinity, Lily's initial motivation in Cape Town was simply to "help people" with their problems, which she characterised as "a very cliché story of how, like, a European would get involved in an African country, basically". In Cape Town she encountered first-hand the issues raised by a LiEP in which the MoI, English, was an L2 for most, if not all students.[431] This experience made her realise that "it's not for *all* children that their home language actually affords them education, and they need to learn [another] language and content". She remarks that "language in education, education, policy, language practices in the classroom… that has since been my interest", and studying African Studies was a sufficiently interdisciplinary path to "give [her] the option of pursuing language-in-education as a topic". Throughout her undergraduate studies, Lily "always wanted to come back to Cape Town" – confirming the catalytic power of her initial visit. Approximately four years later, she found an excuse to do so.

B1.2.3 Constructive condition: cognate AfL capital

In the intervening years of undergraduate study, she had at least one significant experience of contextual AfLL which led to the accumulation of antecedent linguistic capital, providing a constructive condition for later investment in isiXhosa. During her African Studies programme at a German university, she selected Kiswahili as her language specialisation (isiXhosa was unavailable), and then learned "systematically" how the grammar system ("noun classes etc") of this specific Bantu/siNtu language worked. She also "went to work in Tanzania for a couple of months" and "was speaking [Swahili] quite well at a point". Experience of the processes and capital gains of an investment in Swahili "helped [her] so much" when she eventually began learning isiXhosa.

[430] "I mean, I'm interested in language ... but I avoid using the plural".
[431] In the specific case of this township school.

B1.2.4 Societal and occupational motivation: helping through applied research

Lily's narrow motivation for learning isiXhosa was occupational – it was a means to the end of excellent postgraduate research, itself in preparation for an academic career. The broader *focus* of her research, however, involved trying to solve some of the LiEP issues she initially encountered during her catalytic stint of volunteering at township school in Cape Town: this may be understood as a granular expression of Lily's initial societal motivation: to "help people" with their problems. As an aid to her research, therefore, she explained that her decision to learn isiXhosa was partially motivated by the desire to make "connections... because I knew I was going to do better research, if I could at least speak a little bit [of isiXhosa]". Her motivation to go beyond the basics strengthened when Lily "came back to do [her] PhD research" at the same township school: she knew that "if [she] wanted to do that well, then [she] needed more Xhosa".

The relevance of the language to her research was manifest in a number of areas – it would enable her to "analyse [her] own data" and forego the need to rely on translators, something which was, "to be honest, [her] main motivation". Moreover – perhaps gleaned from her time working in Tanzania – she recognised that that "learning languages [is] also like an icebreaker in research. So it was also a way for [participants] to get to know [her]" so that relations of trust could be established that would provide access to more "sensitive questions that [she] had to ask". In this way, learning isiXhosa facilitated her social access to better research data. Similar to Carl, therefore, there is no evidence of self-identification in her motivation for learning isiXhosa, which was essentially pragmatic or instrumental in nature, useful for social and occupational facilitation. Beyond its generic status as an AfL, isiXhosa did not represent something special to Lily like it did to others in the sample.

B1.3 Commitment

Lily, the foreign limit case, is somewhat similar to Bradley in that she received tertiary level AfL education while simultaneously engaging in proximal immersion. The order of the two crucial modalities of commitment are inverted in her case, however. Lily's stint of academic AfLL was prompted by a desire for more systematic, directed knowledge; she had already begun learning informally as an autodidact: through grammatical study prior to her arrival in SA, and more importantly in her research fieldwork. The complementarity of informal, research field-based immersion and a growing social network of isiXhosa mediators (on the one hand), and formal academic learning and language-related research (on the other),

provided the ideal modal combination for achieving relatively swift success in her chosen AfL.

B1.3.1 Initial autodidacticism: learning the basics outside of SA

Lily's preparatory learning, which began five months before arriving in South Africa, consisted of understanding the "the basic mechanisms of [isiXhosa] grammar" and memorising "the noun classes, which is, in [her] view, one of the only things that memorisation is useful for". Both of these "helped a lot" when she began learning in Cape Town. She also learnt the isiXhosa numbering system, which in retrospect was "useless". She took the approach that the major, systematic commitment of biochronic capital ought to occur once she began collecting data: she would "make the major progress when [she's] there", and so it "wasn't like [she] was focusedly [sic] learning for five months" during her preparatory learning of isiXhosa. It was more sporadic and occasional. The major, systematic investment occurred during the course of data collection for her Masters degree and subsequent PhD research.

B1.3.2 Proximal immersion: the research field

Beyond her initial preparatory learning, Lily intentionally avoided systematic learning of pedagogic grammars and vocabulary lists; she "never did it that way" and moreover, thinks that "it's rubbish". Instead, she committed herself to proximal immersion – i.e. engaging in L2 learning and use whenever intermediation was nearby, and she did so in a context that was deemed unsafe: her "foreign perspective" mitigated against spatial anxiety, that otherwise may have prevented female wSAn commitment to immersion opportunities.

Lily's initial stage of data collection at a school in eKasi (a township) illustrates her general approach to immersion: she asked needs-based questions in order to *understand* the isiXhosa she heard, putatively for the purposes of research. This was her excuse for active engagement in the school context, which was populated by bilingual isiXhosa-English mediators (teachers) and, for the most part, monolingual mediators (school pupils).[432] Lily's learning was active in the sense that it was *reactive* to whatever was occurring in the research context, and she principally wanted to understand what was being discussed in the classroom (whether it related to her narrow research topic or not):

> It wasn't really like, "I need this word for my research. How do you say this?" It was more like, I hear [the teachers] speak and then I'm like, "Oh, what does ... *unxela* mean?" And then they'll tell me, "Oh, that

[432] The latter's monolingualism, in conjunction with the pragmatics of teaching monolingual Xhosa children, created an institutional norm for teachers' sustained use of isiXhosa in the classroom. Without that norm, they may have been far more likely to use English with Lily.

> means to get drunk." And then I'm like, "Haha, OK, so how ... can I use this?" (**Lily**)

Lily employed a "translingual" approach to learning and thus speaking. Approaching isiXhosa in this way increased the relative return on expended biochronic capital, because the base assumption that she began with minimal prior linguistic capital is false: her knowledge of English and potentially Swahili and other Bantu/siNtu languages all become practically usable in scaffolding and testing out during her use of isiXhosa, rather than just theoretically applicable. For example, she would unashamedly use 'Xhosafied' English words e.g. *i-milkshake*. This enabled her to draw upon current linguistic resources, reducing the biochronic burden of learning new vocabulary while focusing on the acquisition of core grammatical structures. There is also the added benefit that this prepares one – as Lily remarks – for "how [isiXhosa is] actually spoken".

Lily's initial in-field language learning consisted of "four and a half months of being ... at the school most of the time, mostly every day, and ... doing [a basic isiXhosa] course online and talking to Lachlan* [an isiXhosa teacher]". After three months of this intense immersion, she "didn't really need the basic classes, but ... wanted like advanced classes" which, when she returned to SA for PhD research, she was able to do at her university (see below). Over time, Lily's immersion environment extended beyond the research field to include the university context and a growing social network of friends and neighbours.

B1.3.3 Academic learning: formal classes and research

Thus alongside this proximal immersion, a mutually-reinforcing learning dialectic emerged in which she would "go to [university], have a class; go to eKasi the next day, and do the informal learning stuff". Lily sought out L2X classes at a university, which she formally completed during her PhD. By dint of her previous self-tuition, she skipped the introductory course and went directly to a second-year level course. Although this modality provided structured discipline and intermediation, her engagement with the course was driven by its applicability to her research motivations for AfLL. She highlights "grammar" as being a central focus of this modality. However, her formal study of isiXhosa was not for degree purposes, and there was no pressure to master niche grammatical forms only found in folktales or the written language. Rather, she could focus on dissecting the language that emerged from her enquiry-based learning in the research field.

This occurred somewhat systematically. Lily would consistently write down all vocabulary, phrases, and questions that she encountered while doing fieldwork: she made

field-notes as part of her research discipline. In Lily's retrospective account, these notes revealed the extent to which her informal 'field' learning was a productive commitment of biochronic capital. The fieldnotes provided her with a bespoke personal dictionary – far more memorable than a generic dictionary or phrasebook – which she reviewed and systematised at a later stage, and which gave her the subject matter for directed formal learning.

Her academic study of isiXhosa also took place through preparation of research data and analysis, which took on the dual function of furthering both her research[433] *and* isiXhosa proficiency. Listening to transcriptions of interviews in isiXhosa afforded her with an excellent opportunity for listening and "re-listening" until she could identify what was being said. The necessities of Lily's research enabled her to replicate Bradley's technique of recording and later reviewing conversations with AfL mediators. The act of transcribing interviews – bespoke TL media – forced Lily to practice interpreting the speech of TL mediators, whose utterances she could slow down and repeat however she wished. When transcribing, her view is that "you force yourself into learning the language that whoever you're transcribing is *actually* speaking – and not something that you find in the grammar book" and this is why she sees it as "almost the best method to learn" how to actually understand and speak isiXhosa.

Because of her formal academic learning, Lily's informal, research-led L2 learning was thus "falling on fruitful ground" as she could gain the necessary academic framing to understand the utterances she encountered on a daily basis in the field and as she processed her data. In her own summary of this mutual reinforcement, she did not "know how the one would have worked without the other".

B1.3.4 Intermediation: instances of important L2 mediators

Concerning the latter, Lily mentioned three specific TL mediator relationships that were important and productive elements of her AfLL. The first was dating a fluent speaker of isiXhosa (though not of Xhosa heritage) for a period of time. She remarked that this relationship "helped a bit, because I could, like, ask stuff" regarding the language. The second ideal mediator was a Xhosa neighbour who became "a good friend of [Lily's]" and who "helped [her] a lot" in learning to speak isiXhosa. In order to forestall English becoming dominant in their interactions (because as Lily remarked, within that context "a lot of [Xhosa]

[433] As presented in the previous chapter, one of Lily's central motivations to learn isiXhosa was to process her research data without needing translation from L1 speakers.

people" find it "natural to speak English"), she discerned an innovative way to maintain isiXhosa as the relational medium: she made use of it as the condition for going out to dinner:

> I would occasionally say, "Hey, I'll take us out for supper, but under the condition that it's going to be only Xhosa." So ... we did that, probably five times or something like that ... she really made a point of it [i.e. speaking Xhosa] ... And if she calls me, she tries to speak Xhosa a lot. (**Lily**)

The final mediator was Lily's university isiXhosa teacher/lecturer, who later became her PhD supervisor. This relationship was "important" because it provided Lily with "a lot of one-on-one meetings" in which they would be discussing her research data. These meetings prompted "a lot of conversation about [isiXhosa] language stuff" and if she had "any questions regarding that stuff, [Lily] would turn to her". In this sense, Lily comments, her supervisor-teacher also became her "tutor".

B1.4 Capital Gains

B1.4.1 Linguistic capital

High gains in **isiXhosa**	~CEFRL: **B2-C1**	D/F | **5** | T/I

While Lily did not think she was "particularly fluent" at the point of the interview, this was in large part because she had moved back to Germany ("I've been away again for like almost two years") and had little consistent exposure to the language or opportunity to speak it. After briefly visiting SA in early 2020, it took her "a week and then [she] felt, like, 'OK' [re: isiXhosa] ... like, it's coming back to [her] now". To reach a particularly fluent stage again, she commented that "a month or two" of immersion in a rural village context or eKasi (i.e. township) would probably be necessary. She emphasised that she is "pretty good" at speaking isiXhosa "translingually", given its centrality in her approach to learning, and claimed she would re-attain fluency even sooner if using this approach, which maximises the value of engaged biochronic capital in learning. In terms of both oracy and literacy, a B2-C1 (at its height) level seems fair; unsurprisingly, she scored five (5) on the D/F-T/I continuum.

More broadly, learning isiXhosa deepened Lily's general metalinguistic awareness and given her more of "a balanced view on linguistics, a critique of it and the use of it" which works well because she can now use both "Xhosa and Swahili examples" in her academic work. She remarked that isiXhosa gives the world a different texture, emanating from "the expressiveness that comes with the way people speak, like the gestures, the clicks". Lily thus has gained a sense of how isiXhosa, vis-à-vis her other languages, affords particular

expressive tools/opportunities?.[434] She also viewed the expression of (non-grammatical) gender in isiXhosa as superior to German, especially given her sensitivity to the desirability of gender-neutral nouns and pronouns. In isiXhosa, "if you don't actually want to, you know, emphasise gender, you can just leave it out – because you've got a different system."[435] This is an element of Bantu/siNtu language grammar that she "loves" because it shows just how differently languages can classify the world. Lily is also aware of the crosslinguistic capital gained: knowledge of isiXhosa, by virtue of its language group, "will make it easier for [Lily] to do research in other southern Bantu contexts" because she will be able to "pick up on the [language elements] rather quickly", a cross-over she experienced from Kiswahili to isiXhosa. In conjunction with her somewhat experimental "translingual" approach to language use, she has used isiXhosa knowledge productively on a trip to KwaZulu-Natal, where she could communicate with L1Z speakers.

B1.4.2 Occupational capital

Lily's proficiency in isiXhosa enabled her to begin tutoring and teaching the language, occupational capital that led both to economic as well as a symbolic (status) capital gains, the latter in the context of a future academic career within African Studies. During her PhD based in South Africa, Lily formally tutored isiXhosa students in university, set up her own private classes (both one-on-one and small-group), worked with another isiXhosa teacher at a language school on the side, and ran a 12-lesson isiXhosa course with two friends in a coffee shop. Beyond this part-time teaching work, Lily's "knowledge of Xhosa is like an essential building block that made [her] do the type of research that [she] did". It made her "attractive for the [academic] position" that she had at the time of the interview, as she had "resources in a language that nobody else [at her institution] ... has resources in". As such, Lily's investment in isiXhosa became instrumental in her vocational development.

B1.4.3 Symbolic Capital: being received differently from white South Africans

Because of Lily's whiteness, she found that interactions began with "the surprise effect", and then she was typically asked "Why do you speak?" and "Where are you from?" Upon stating that she is German,

> then mostly [the response is] ... "Yeah, that's interesting – foreigners actually do learn ... white South Africans don't give a shit" sort of

[434] E.g. "it's nice to be angry in Xhosa, and to be funny"

[435] This is enabled by a particular feature of isiXhosa (and thus Bantu/siNtu) language structure – the presence of 14 noun classes – which she described as its "reference tracking system" and which divides up the world, to use the closest Indo-European terminology, in 14 or so 'genders', some plural and others singular.

> thing, ... like, "No, okay, yeah – I knew this other German girl, and she was also good at Xhosa"

The success of a white foreigners, particularly females, is seen as plausible – and sufficient anecdotes appear to exist (at least within the Cape Town/isiXhosa space).[436] Lily comments on the symbolic effect her isiXhosa proficiency has on black, L1 isiXhosa interlocutors.

> ... first, I unsettle a prejudice of a white person not speaking an African language. And then in some ways, I re-affirm the prejudice because, yeah, it's not 'the white person that I had in mind'. This is why it's not so surprising that [I learnt isiXhosa] ...

B2 Heather: the activist teacher

> whether it stemmed from my family or me, I have no idea – but there was definitely an awareness of inequality of languages, and there was definitely an awareness of schools treating it as an unequal, y'know, social thing. But I don't think [that] at a young age, I would have been able to break that apart. There was some type of an awareness that 'Something's different here.' You know: 'This is not like Afrikaans; this is not like English; there's something else happening here.' (**Heather**)

B2.1 Investor Profile

Heather*, was an L1E female in her mid-20s (c.2020) who achieved a moderate level in isiXhosa due to extensive formal education in the language as well as informal consolidation through rural immersion. As the youngest participant of the sample, she was born c. 1994, just as South Africa transitioned formally over to a multiracial democratic system. Raised in Cape Town, she attended a primary school that provided isiXhosa as a language subject. Then she went to a high school that likewise offered isiXhosa – and it was in Grade 9 that it "occurred to [her] that there was some type of necessity to learn it", although her motivations were somewhat inarticulate at the time. She chose to do the subject for Grade 12, rather than take Afrikaans. Upon completion of school, she did not claim to have achieved fluency in isiXhosa, but "more [academic] proficiency than fluency". During a gap year, she became a volunteer teacher in a rural Xhosa village. It was here that she "bettered [her] language skills tenfold". In the first semester of volunteering, her learning of isiXhosa was minimal – largely due to the need to teach her subject in English, living with other Anglophones, and relatively minimal extramural use of isiXhosa. She reports that

[436] Lily remarked that the anecdotes are "mostly girls, and they're German or American or something. In these comments that come up, they come up sort of systematically".

> ...[in] my second six months, however, I spent with a family just down the road. They only spoke Xhosa; they spoke very minimal English. So my entire interaction with them, and their family, was [in] Xhosa. So that is where ... I will say unequivocally: I know it is the place that I learned my Xhosa. **(Heather)**

She later reaffirms that during this period, "I learned more Xhosa than I have ever learned prior or post. And it's become my foundation ..." After this year, in which her isiXhosa became "non-academic" and "about communicating", Heather returned to Cape Town to attend university, where she decided to major in isiXhosa as a subject. She describes it as enabling her to go beyond functional fluency to "actually say things" that are "worthy" and "important", and able to have "a natural conversation" in isiXhosa. It allowed her to understand and apply the nuances of grammar and diction – "the top layer stuff" – to a far greater degree.

B2.2 Conditions

In Heather's case, guardian (specifically parental) investment was found to be the primary catalyst in her L2AfL investment, which occurred despite her lack of affinity with and enjoyment of (academic) AfLL. This starkly contrasts with Andrew and Duncan, who were primed by nature/early nurture towards AfLL. Although Heather's relationship to language learning and her AfLL experience was ambivalent, she nonetheless developed an awareness of the societal (i.e. sociopolitical) importance of AfLL during high school, which provided her with sufficient motivation – in L2 motivation terms, a compelling-enough OL2S – to persist in the subject once it ceased being compulsory.

B2.2.1 Primary catalyst: parental investment in AfLL

The primary, and likely necessary, catalyst in Heather's case of L2AfL investment was her parents' decision to send her "to both a junior and a high school that offered [isiXhosa]". This appeared intentional on their part: learning isiXhosa was "encouraged" and seen as "a positive thing" in the household. Heather had an older sibling who chose (and later dropped) isiXhosa as an elective subject during high school, who could "speak it very basically." She also knew an aunt who had learnt isiXhosa to a degree of proficiency. As a consequence, learning the language "was just something that had already being spoken about in the household."

Heather had an initial desire for more meaningful social connection and engagement with Xhosa people beyond the classroom, as well as a somewhat "confused" awareness of isiXhosa's inequality and importance. Whether derived from the AfL ideology of home or

school, or mutually reinforced within both contexts (Heather was unsure), she alludes to having an early "awareness of inequality of languages" and a recognition that learning isiXhosa (given such inequality) was "an important thing to do". Unlike Andrew or Duncan, she does not highlight any explicit domestic positivity surrounding African linguaculture *per se*; the catalytic investment made by her parents was primarily in terms of educational access, and secondarily ideological (i.e. normative). She states that her only exposure to the language was at school – and her interactions with (black) L1X classmates was mediated in English.

B2.2.2 Restrictive conditions: lack of language affinity / classroom anxiety

Despite her own and her household's positive view of learning isiXhosa, Heather nevertheless found that she lacked "an affiliation to language", "found it really difficult at school" and "really wasn't particularly good at it". She was not "intrinsically interested in the breakdown of the language": isiXhosa, *qua* linguistic system, never "thrilled" her. This restrictive personal condition co-occurred with anxiety-inducing experiences of AfLL during high school: she describes being "struck with fear" upon entering the isiXhosa class and generally "terrified", whether due to being "weaker" compared to her classmates in isiXhosa, not wanting to make mistakes, or (possibly) due to the high expectations of her teacher.[437] For these reasons, she did not – and at the time of being interviewed, still did not – see herself as a 'language person'. She did not see herself as someone who has "the ability to go into an environment and pick up a language; I'm not one of those people". In the absence of sufficiently compelling L2 Motivation, Heather's lack of language affinity and anxiety in the classroom would likely have resulted in her dropping isiXhosa.

B2.2.3 Emergent societal motivation: an internalised OL2S

A sufficiently robust OL2S prevented her from disinvesting, however. In Grade 9, when Heather was required to decide whether to take isiXhosa as a matric subject, her motivation began to clarify and strengthen; she describes wanting to understand why isiXhosa was sociolinguisticaly "different", and what caused the "inequality of languages" between (for instance) Afrikaans and isiXhosa in terms of subject uptake at school. It was at this stage when "it started to occur to [her] that there was some type of necessity to learn it". Despite her lack of aptitude and discomfort in the classroom, she was persuaded by the dominant discourse surrounding isiXhosa at home as well as her school (which she described as having an engaged socio-political culture), giving her reason to think that "this is more valuable than learning other languages ... it's the right thing to do." This normative conviction, moreover,

[437] The interview data is ambivalent as to the main reason for this.

was shared by the core group of isiXhosa learners who intended to persist with the language; as a group, they tried to "convert" others to join them in taking isiXhosa (i.e. instead of Afrikaans). Heather explains how, as one who takes a "second additional language",

> your class is very small. And so that kind of became a very much identity amongst the thirteen of us ... that then studied [isiXhosa] up to Matric: it became very, like, a group identity of trying to, kind of, convert others to wanting to do this language. (Heather)

Peer encouragement likely played a non-negligible role in buffering her OL2S, and thus her decision to persist beyond Grade 9.

Heather's motivation "developed, the older [she] got, into something ... [she] could put into words". Essentially, it was pragmatic: she came to strongly believe that isiXhosa was a means to the societal end of greater political equality. This motivation became even more clearly articulated during her university years, when in the temporal context of the #MustFall student protests[438] she found that isiXhosa provided her with the ability to inhabit a certain "political identity" or to pursue a certain positive "political agenda", which coincided with her "champion reason" for learning isiXhosa – that it "intrinsically had a social benefit long term." In motivational terms, Heather began to develop (what became) a compelling OL2S from a young age, one that appealed to a felt need for societal transformation and equality, similar to the cases of Sam and Jenny described in James (2017). This externally-derived 'ought' to develop an L2X self was internalised and gradually situated within a broader self-calling: to promote the interests of SA society through education, which later took concrete form in becoming a teacher of isiXhosa.

B2.3 Commitment

Heather revealed a case of AfLL that was highly dependent on a formal academic modality – which performed a "grounding" or foundation-laying function in her overall AfLL arc – but which was also limited as a result. For her to achieve fluency, the transgressive modality of distant immersion was required, during which she converted her extant linguistic capital into something more conversational. The cumulative gains from these two stages of learning were then reinvested upon return to a "re-academic" modality of learning in university, although this was subject to its own limitations.

[438] 'Rhodes Must Fall' & 'Fees Must Fall' were two protest movements that swept South African universities from 2015 onwards.

B2.3.1 Academic learning: high school AfLL

Like Andrew, Heather had, and took, the rare opportunity to learn isiXhosa formally for an entire schooling career. In the area where she grew up in Cape Town, she states that she only "only had access to it in school, in the classroom". Moreover, as discussed previously, the extent of her commitment in school was moderated by learning anxiety and by her sense of being "one of the weaker students" who "found [isiXhosa] really difficult." It is perhaps for these reasons that Heather claims that she did not really "study it correctly in school" – an allusion to a lack of productive engagement with formal classroom study. Heather glossed over her study of isiXhosa in primary school, focusing on the nature of learning in high school.

Similar to Andrew, the approach was largely "academic", concerned with "learning the [grammar] rules, getting vocabulary sheets, drilling the vocab about kitchen words ... and learning how to write 'I like the cat' in both the future and the past [tenses]." The approach to AfLL at her high school was largely "algebraic"[439] and highly structured: "Write down the rules, learn the rules and apply the rules to the vocabulary that you knew". In phrasing echoed in other cases, Heather characterises "the way that [she] had been learning the language at high school" as being "fundamental" and as something providing an important "grounding" for her later study: school taught her "the rules." She reported that by "the end of the high school ... you've actually covered the majority of the base of language ... *if* you have studied it correctly in school." Despite her demurral of not learning "correctly", this outcome – producing a "complete basis" for developing communicative skills – appears to be largely true in her own case.

Heather vividly experienced a gulf between the academic "grounding" in isiXhosa and an "ability to speak it", a dichotomy that did not emerge for either Andrew or Ivan whose experience of intramural immersion reconciled the diglossia of academic and colloquial language. Upon completing school, Heather's "language abilities were purely academic ... [she] knew how to write ... how to read, but ... had no ability to speak it" properly. From her own experience and that of others, she noted that academic isiXhosa learning (of the sort she received at school or university) typically produces "second-language speakers" – but *not* those who can "hear" (i.e. understand) the isiXhosa spoken by L1 speakers. As such, "they don't know how to hear it ... and hearing mother-tongues [L1X

[439] As a non-selected participant of this case study described it.

speakers] *speak* Xhosa is a completely different bloody ballgame."[440] Heather's gap year experience of distant immersion in the rural Xhosa context of eZilalini – once it became active – provided her with a learning modality sufficient to bridge the diglossia between academic and colloquial speech.

B2.3.2 Distant immersion

Heather's period of volunteer teaching in the rural Eastern Cape, a form of active (purpose-driven) immersion, lasted "just over a year" and was "instrumental" to how she came to understand and use isiXhosa: it magnified her language skills "tenfold". The enabling condition for this was the "grounding" of isiXhosa at school – without it, Heather did not think she "would have been able to, you know, plonk [her]self in a Xhosa-speaking environment and pick it up". While she did use isiXhosa in the context of teaching, Heather faced a dilemma of wanting to maximise her use of isiXhosa (which she used "a lot of the time" in class) while also being attentive to her students' socioeconomic needs for exposure to, and practice in, English. She decided that she had to put learning isiXhosa "on the backseat ...to sacrifice learning [it], because *their* learning [of English] is then more important."

Beyond the self-limited occupational affordances for AfLL, Heather's case reveals that not all forms of distant immersion lead to meaningful learning experiences. For the first five months of her stay in eZilalini, outside of volunteer teaching, "the majority of [Heather's] time was spent with other English-speaking people".[441] While motivation to learn isiXhosa was a crucial reason for her presence in eZilalini, mere *spatial* immersion failed without concomitant *social* immersion, which would constitute a genuine commitment of biochronic capital.[442] Consequently, Heather initially lacked a learning modality which could provide structured interactions with isiXhosa intermediaries (whether people or language resources), and in the absence of these, any intended discipline had no target. Heather did sporadically engage in learning activities during this initial period, for example by participating in a 5-new-isiXhosa-words-a-day learning group with other L1E learners of isiXhosa, which given her prior education had a *de facto* negligible effect.

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[440] She elaborates as follows: "You can know exactly the vocabulary if it's written down on a page, and you hear it – and you literally have no idea what the person is saying. Simply because: it's nuances, and mouth movements ... L2 speakers just don't know how to move their tongue, and they don't know how to say it like *that*."

[441] This included her housemates, all of whom were volunteering at the same NPO.

[442] It is likely that she did have many transactional and formulaic encounters in isiXhosa within the community – interactions useful for beginners, not intermediate learners.

For the remainder of Heather's time in eZilalini – a further six months – she spent living "with a family just down the road" – an older couple with grown-up children, all of whom had left the nest. This new domestic arrangement provided her with the opportunity for consistent and sustainable[443] interaction with isiXhosa mediators through whom isiXhosa "became very communicational" rather than a set of "rules". All Heather's interaction with her host family was in isiXhosa: they "only spoke Xhosa ... very minimal English.". She describes their interaction as *not* being a lot of "Let's sit down, just chat about the world". But it *did* consist of doing suppers together, which "was a point of connection". Beyond this, "it was a lot of just kind of being in and out of each other's lives ... I would check on them every now and again, they would check on me."[444] She had a room on their homestead but separate from their living quarters – and thus "had a lot more autonomy" to come and go, participating in their life to the extent that she wanted to. It was within these socio-structural constraints, as Heather "unequivocally" states, that she "... learned how to communicate ... learned how to hear [understand] it".

Heather's decision to move to a new domestic living situation enabled her to invest far more biochronic capital into learning how to hear and speak isiXhosa through consistent, semi-regulated, semi-organic mediation of her Xhosa landlords and the comparative absence of English. Thus in contradistinction to her initial five months in eZilalini, during her latter six months she "did engage" in the mode of active immersion. As a consequence, "there was extreme learning."

B2.3.3 "Re-academic" learning: university

After her gap year in the Eastern Cape, Heather went on to study isiXhosa at university. Due to matriculating with isiXhosa (completing the senior phase), she was able to skip the introductory first-year course and go directly to a second-year level. In these two years of tertiary study, during which she "studied the language very meticulously", Heather developed an understanding of the "top layer stuff" – but only because this was preceded by the

[443] Heather remarked that "if you're playing the long-term game – then you have to have your own autonomy, you have to have your own way of engaging. Because ... that's going to keep your mood up. That's going to encourage you to re-engage more". Despite undertaking an immersion period that seemed sustainable in this way, she does assert, somewhat regretfully, that she "would have gained far more" in terms of exposure and gains in fluency had she lost her autonomy. For example, she described L1E colleagues and friends who were living in homestays in which they "were very much 100% part of that family's environment, and they stayed in the same house ... that wasn't [her] set-up".

[444] While she describes it as "a tenant-like relationship", she did experience it as being much "closer" than a mere contractual relationship: one where everyone involved had "a person to go to: both for me, and I think for them." This arrangement appeared to strike the balance for Heather, both at the ethical level – she was planning to leave eZilalini after the year and did not "feel very comfortable with kind of throwing [her]self completely into this family's life ... and then leaving" – as well as at the emotional level.

communicative gains of oral isiXhosa through active distant immersion.[445] In other words, her initial commitment to the modality of academic "rule-based" learning (the 'bottom layer'), when supplemented by the modality of (active) immersion, enabled her to gain far more out of what she called a phase of "re-academic" learning during university. Heather classifies the re-academic stage as learning to "understand the nuances" of isiXhosa, such that the language "suddenly became an avenue to not just communicate" (i.e. the function of conveying information), but it became "a space" where questions of diction, register, emotive force came to the fore. This "top layer" knowledge enabled her to "say ... things that are like worthy and like are important, you know; I can suddenly have like, a *natural* conversation." While learning the "top layer" of language enabled her to say worthy and important things, the ideological climate of her university context posed some barriers to acutal use of isiXhosa *qua* wSAn, appearing to be an affective stumbling block to proximal immersion. Heather refers back to "the intense anxiety of the [#RhodesMustFall] moment" from 2015 onwards, which involved "huge conscientisation" of the student body with regard to certain forms of post-colonial, post-apartheid ideology. Within this environment, there was extreme pressure to signal one's commitment to decoloniality and what gradually came to be known as 'woke' socio-political virtues. Heather reported that learning an indigenous AfL like isiXhosa was typically seen as more of a 'woke' activity, and thus there was "added pressure" and "necessity to get it right and to... yeah, not disrespect" the language or people racially associated with it. With this in mind, she alludes to experiencing a measure of anxiety regarding her AfLL and AfL use within the broader expectations of decolonial ideologies.

B2.4 Capital Gains

B2.4.1 Linguistic capital

Moderate gains in **isiXhosa**	~CEFRL: **C1-2 (**literacy**), B2** (oracy)	D/F | **2** | T/I

While Heather, in terms of literacy, might be placed in a higher bracket of returns, her oral proficiency (which is weighted more highly) was relatively lacking. Due to the gap between the conclusion of isiXhosa study at university and the present (~5 years), she asserted prior to the interview that while she "do[es] obviously speak Xhosa," she is "not nearly fluent but rather [her] skill lies with the learning/teaching of the grammar/language of the Xhosa" – a

[445] Heather's academic and informal learning collectively prepared her to develop nuanced proficiency in isiXhosa: "I think I only realised that that's what [learning isiXhosa at] university was giving me ... because in conversations, in my year off, I kind of knew what you were saying. But like, "Ooh, I don't know why you've said it like that." And then varsity allowed me to understand, "Ooh, this is what's happening here. Oh, okay!" – you know, so it was, like, the top layer stuff ..."

skillset of which she feels is "proficient enough ... to be able to teach it to others." The extent of her formal academic education and her current teaching of the language makes a CEFRL C1-C2 level likely in terms of literacy. In terms of fluency, however, Heather gives little evidence of consistent, non-academic oral use of the language following her gap-year immersion. This is despite highlighting an ability to engage in "natural conversation" from her university tuition: a B2 level seems likely. Unlike most other participants, Heather did not emphasise issues of diglossia, beyond the gulf between learning to "hear" and speak isiXhosa: given the extent of her formal academic study of isiXhosa, and distant, rural immersion, it is assumed that she tends towards the deep/formal end of the D/F–T/I continuum.

B2.4.2 Occupational capital

At the time of the interview, Heather was a high school isiXhosa teacher for Grades 8-9. She bluntly states that she "got a job because [she] knew how to speak Xhosa", although the fact that she majored in the subject at university and obtained teaching certificate would also have been important. She highlighted the significant "amount [she] learn[s] the language via teaching it", particularly in the context of a three-year gap between last formally learning (and using) isiXhosa and then starting to teach it. Heather hoped, however, that her AfL teaching focus would change towards teaching L1X speakers another science-related subject using isiXhosa as MoI – "but certainly at the moment, there is that vocational element" to teaching isiXhosa *per se*.

B2.4.3 Zookairotic Capital

Through *kenotic* processes precipitated by Heather's sustained language investment, she has gained the zookairotic capital gains of epistemic humility and "positive discomfort" (McIntosh, 2018: 499), both of which have major positive applications in her teaching vocation (especially given her privileged educational background), not to mention her life more generally. Learning isiXhosa gave her an experience in which she "sometimes had no idea what was going on, not one clue" which brought about "that feeling of not knowing" and the "anxiety of not being in control." She explains how

> that humbling thing, and that thing of not being on your own terms, is something I'm so grateful for, in the way that I teach and just general daily life, but specifically how I teach [...] I am grateful that I'm able ... be cautious with my learners, and know that when I interact with mother-tongue [i.e. L1] Xhosa learners in my class, that there's a connection point there. **(Heather)**

Her gratitude arose from the fact that an experience of *kenosis* – being humbled or laid low is something that L1 Xhosa speakers within L1 English educational contexts often go through, which she calls "the struggle of speaking African languages in [what is] seen as 'white' schools." Having undergone *kenosis* provided her with increased empathy and understanding, and these qualities were useful given her focus on socio-political progress. Moreover, she appreciated the conversations she was able to have as a result: "I like the conversation that I'm able to have because I learned [isiXhosa]."

B2.4.4 Symbolic-occupational capital

Heather has obtained a further return in the sense that her knowledge of isiXhosa positions her in such a way that she has a legitimate platform to argue for and live out her socio-political convictions. This manifests in a number of ways.

Firstly, Heather stated that there is "far more opportunity" now to engage with the youth in her classes about "social and political identities and ideologies and ways of being" in South Africa. Having learned isiXhosa enabled her to disperse "serious social ideas about the language ... serious understandings of how people interact, why they interact, you know, on what power dynamics people interact in." She was interested in providing "that political, that social, that economic understanding of the language", and this was "a focus of how [she] teach[es] Xhosa at the moment."

The response Heather received when using and/or teaching isiXhosa in educational contexts – and possibly with the added factor of articulating her socio-political views – was not always appreciated by L1 isiXhosa speakers. She describes how to some young, well-educated, English-speaking, black middle-class South Africans,[446] learning isiXhosa as a white person came across as "grasping" or "trying super hard" (i.e. to be "woke") but inadvertently identifies the learner as someone "condescending" to black people, and for this reason worthy of suspicion rather than embrace. However, in a generous dialectical move, Heather was willing to be a scape-goat, to accept attributions of learning in bad faith, because critics might well "benefit from being able to see somebody and criticise somebody and make sense of it [i.e. white people learning African languages]" – thus Heather saw an indirect pedagogical opportunity here for socio-political transformation. This accords with her desire

[446] Who are studying and living in social milieux previously reserved under apartheid for white people – and are thus grappling with a hybrid 'in-between' identity composed of (to briefly simplify) two monolingual worlds in tension: the white English urban *bourgeoisie* world and the underprivileged black African rural/township world.

– despite the enduring racial divides of *apartheid* – to reflect and affirm the identity of others in her classes, most relevantly those of a Xhosa background. She commented that

> ... with younger people, I think the ability for them to be able to reflect themselves slightly in you is … something that doesn't happen often in South Africa: people are not able to reflect themselves in others.
> **(Heather)**

As a final vocational return, by virtue of learning isiXhosa, Heather was positioned institutionally such that she had a platform to teach other teachers about "the concept of how language makes you interact, on power dynamics." This is where she had "access to have conversations with people" about the "social / political / anthropological discussions" in which she was ideologically invested and interested.

B3 Renée: the non-white learner

> [Y]ou can give me any Xhosa text and no matter how complicated, I can read it for you, because it's also a phonetic language [...] to be honest, pronunciation is not that hard, I mean, there are three clicks, right? But besides the three clicks, the rest of it is phonetic. [isiXhosa] is actually quite easy to read and ... not understand what the hell you're reading!
> (**Renée**)

B3.1 Investor Profile

Renée was the only participant interviewed by recorded voicenotes[447] who made it into the sample: there was less data on her AfLL experience compared to other cases (in large part why she was placed in the peripheral sample). As a limit case, she represented a non-white female with a L1E upbringing, who by her mid-late 40s had achieved an estimated moderate-high level of isiXhosa fluency, primarily via informal learning. Renée was born in the mid-1970s into (in historic and contemporary South African terms) a coloured family in Cape Town. She was raised with English effectively as her L1 and sent to an English-medium primary school, despite Afrikaans being her heritage language. She began high school in 1987, at a time when political tensions were fraught, and the anti-apartheid movement was gathering pace both within and without South Africa. Her high-school offered isiXhosa as an L2 subject (unusually so at the time), and largely for political reasons she studied the language, developing a narrowly academic proficiency – her speaking and listening skills were largely undeveloped. After completing school, she did not meaningfully improve or use her isiXhosa for 13 years, losing much of it (though not all). She began working for an NGO in the rural EC *circa* 2004. There, she began learning isiXhosa again, largely by necessity.

[447] via WhatsApp.

Her learning accelerated from 2009, when she went to live there permanently instead of making periodic trips. She developed her isiXhosa to the point that it was "conversational" over the ensuing 16 years (up to 2020), although she said that "there's still loads of room for improvement."

B3.2 Conditions

Four major conditions were relevant in Renée's L2AfL investment. The first was her upbringing as an L1E speaker in Cape Town's coloured community. The second related to her personality and lack of affinity to language/language learning. The third related to the sociolinguistic constraints that obstructed her extramural commitment to learning isiXhosa during high school. The final and crucial condition was her vocational and geographical move to Ndawoni – a catalyst – where learning isiXhosa became a necessity.

B3.2.1 Racial and linguistic heritage

Renée "was classified 'coloured'" in racial terms, a non-derogatory identification within South Africa that is historically linked with speaking Afrikaans *qua* L1. In her case, however, English "is essentially [her] first language" – this was because her L1A parents' generation[448] spoke "broken English" to her generation and sent them to English-medium schools wherever possible. Renée explained that this was because "there was a sense that your prospects in life would be better if English ... became your first language". With regard to AfLs, neither her "parents or relatives had any language levels in African languages", and she does not indicate knowing anyone within her Coloured community who could speak isiXhosa or another AfL.

B3.2.2 Personality and language affinity

In light of her experiences of learning isiXhosa during school, Renée came to believe that she had no "natural ability to learn languages". She had "to work very hard at it", and this may partially be explained because she does not "enjoy language learning *per se*", but only does it "as a chore".[449] Moreover, at a personality level, Renée was "very, very shy" as a teenager, and this impacted the potential for language learning to become socially motivating.

B3.2.3 High school AfL access and the political context

Renée was quite "politically aware" and "politically involved during [her] high school years", and this was a large motivation for her isiXhosa study (given that it was not a compulsory subject). She "really felt it was an important thing to do" because it would enable her to

[448] Three of her four grandparents were L1A-speaking.
[449] "Chore" was a term I originally used in my questions to her, which she cited repeatedly throughout her answers.

"communicate with other South Africans" who were engaged in the struggle against apartheid, and in the context of the then-Cape Province, this meant people of Xhosa heritage. She was fortunate enough to begin attending one of the first Coloured high schools to offer isiXhosa as a subject in 1987, a particularly heightened period in the struggle against *apartheid*. With her politically-influenced motivation, Renée studied isiXhosa as an L3 at school, alongside Afrikaans as an L2. For a number of reasons it became something of a "chore". Beyond the actual methodology and approach of the class, this was due in some small part to the sociolinguistic constraints of *apartheid*, the segregation of races (which prevented consistent language contact) and English being the 'language of the struggle'. She thus "didn't have many opportunities to speak Xhosa with people". When Renée *was* around L1X speakers as a result of involvement in political (in her case, student) movements, English (her L1) was the linguistic norm. Despite her shyness, she "tried a couple of times [to speak isiXhosa with L1 speakers] and people would laugh" at her. As a result of this, she gave up attempting to speak isiXhosa extra-murally: which in retrospect she regrets, as it was "a bit too soon" given later events. Indeed, there was a considerable time gap – thirteen years – between her high school study of isiXhosa and then beginning to work, and eventually live, in a rural Xhosa context. This gap caused major deterioration of her isiXhosa knowledge, as she "hadn't really worked on it much" in the interim. This gap "was not really useful in being able to build on the base" of her prior school learning.

B3.2.4 The catalyst of necessity: moving to Ndawoni

Despite this lengthy gap, a latent linguistic foundation in isiXhosa still remained. When she began working at the organisation based in Ndawoni (moving there permanently five years later), she found that she had retained "a lot of foundation to build on" from her school years. Ndawoni, a very rural village deep in the Xhosa heartlands, was therefore where she "picked up a lot [of isiXhosa] because [she] had to ... was forced to". Vocational necessity gave Renée another chance at investing in isiXhosa – and apparently, she "quite enjoy[s] it when [she's] forced to" learn, likely because language learning ceased being a "chore" once it became relevant and useful to her daily life.

B3.3 Commitment

With regard to the processes of investment, Renée's case revealed that while her learning of isiXhosa at school left much to be desired, it still prepared her epistemically and psychologically for facilitating her investment in learning the language at a later stage. She invested the requisite biochronic capital in learning to hear and interpret isiXhosa as it is

actually spoken, and this was achieved primarily through daily encounters with mediators – some of whom, she found, are more helpful intermediaries for learning than others.

B3.3.1 isiXhosa at High School

Renée's experience of learning isiXhosa at school was ambivalent, and the extent of her investment in the subject was likewise ambivalent. She was taught to pronounce and 'read' isiXhosa, i.e. there was a superficial phonetic and literacy focus: actually "reading for meaning and understanding" was not the pedagogical focus, and for this reason failed to engage her as intrinsically interesting. She describes having "sort of learned the grammar" there, which "wasn't well taught" and in terms of an oral focus, it "wasn't very conversational". All of this served to promote a disjuncture between Renée's academic learning and "the way people speak" – a constraint which likely caused her to minimise her investment during school, because it failed to satisfy the underlying socio-political, communicative desires that had initially motivated her to take the subject. This academic vs real world gulf is something she has had to navigate, and the core issue she has witnessed in many other L2X learners during her time working in Ndawoni.

> I also find that people who learned Xhosa sort of formally, even now – even ones that are very good and ... [have] very high marks in their formal training – their conversation skills are terrible; they don't understand people, you know. So they're very good at their set-works and very good at their schoolwork in Xhosa, but the way people speak Xhosa is quite different to reading and writing. (**Renée**)

Despite this unfortunate aspect of her isiXhosa experience at school, the grammatical knowledge gained there nonetheless provided her with a "fantastic base" and helpful framework for her subsequent return to the language.

B3.3.2 Immersion

Renee began working with her Ndawoni-based social development organisation in 2004, and then moved there full time in 2009, which (as of the interview in 2020) entailed spending around five years taking occasional immersion trips, and eleven years of being in a 'full immersion' environment. When she began learning through necessity, she explained that "the fact that [she] *knew* how different [isiXhosa, as a linguistic/grammatical system] was, helped [her] to be able to pick on the areas that were most useful", and to know where the "complications" or "difficulties" might lie. She said that this foreknowledge, despite the lengthy gap in learning, was "invaluable" for her return to isiXhosa at a later stage of life. In other words, knowing the rules beforehand gave her a 'way in' – and without it, she "can't imagine even wanting to understand or progress at all". Having done the chore of grammar

learning while at school, the lesser (though still strenuous) chore of activating that knowledge became plausible. She initially consulted grammar books – "a lot of it came back to [her]" – when beginning to work at Ndawoni, and this "grammar base helped [her] to use dictionaries a lot better", for example helping her to understand why some isiXhosa words transform phonetically like *umlambo* (river) becoming *emlanjeni* (in/at/to the river). Beyond refreshing her grammatical knowledge and using dictionaries to clarify vocabulary, she stated that "you will improve just naturally living in an environment like this, but you really have to work hard at it." This comes back to necessity and "being forced to". She situates much of the hard work in learning to "hear" the language, which requires a significant biochronic commitment in actively – *attentively* – hearing the language often and a lot, something which, she remarked, never occurred during her school years. Consistent allocation of engaged biochronic capital is crucial, i.e. "putting in the effort" and "keeping at it ... every day, at least". The capacity constraints of an adult working life mean that often she found herself wanting "to chill [i.e. relax] in the evening rather than study": her discretionary biochronic capital was thus valued at a premium, but was still the only means by which any further linguistic gains were made.

B3.3.3 Mediators

In line with Renée's emphasis on learning to speak and interpret (and thus converse in) isiXhosa, she could articulate and evaluate a number of isiXhosa mediator profiles (differentiated by age and gender) with respect to her own experiences in Ndawoni and its rural surrounds. When conversing with Xhosa youth, she found that "they're a bit impatient" if she cannot speak quickly enough, and they are nowadays "starting to speak more and more English, so they will just switch [to English]" instead. Older Xhosa men seem to "speak quite fast, speak in idioms ... [it's] hard to follow what they're saying". Moreover, she found that they were more focused on conveying information to her, rather than being sensitive to the medium of conveyance (and her incomplete mastery of it). Renée distinguished both these groups from (in her case) the positive intermediation she has experienced with older Xhosa women, who, unlike older men, are "much more focused on just trying to communicate in the way that *you* communicate best". They are "gentle" and "helpful" and typically made her feel comfortable when talking to them. She said that they "just like to talk" and tend not to "worry so much" about what learners understand (or not). From these evaluations, it was clear that Renée identified that some mediator profiles require more upfront biochronic commitment than others in order to have learning utility, and that their particular approaches to

intermediation point any learning-through-conversation toward different domains of language skill.

B3.4 Capital Gains

B3.4.1 Linguistic return

Researcher's subjective measure: moderate-high | CEFR: B2 | Primarily oral

Renée characterised her isiXhosa returns as mostly coming "from living [in Ndawoni] permanently over the last 10 years or so". There, her language skills "have improved ... a lot in the sense that it's conversational". Given her school-derived foundation in isiXhosa grammar and literacy, she noted that she "could speak a lot better Xhosa than what she actually does" – implying that her investment has been constrained sufficiently to prevent developing grammatical accuracy or nuanced vocabulary. She thus has "enough [isiXhosa] to get by" and is "building it on a daily basis, but tiny, tiny, tiny smidgeons of increments" – a measure of her investment, which, if she "really focused on it", could "actually increase in leaps and bounds".

B3.4.2 Non-linguistic returns

As a result of her developing conversational fluency in isiXhosa, Renée's "life in this country has been incredibly positive", and "the reward is ... multi-fold". In her opinion, the skills she has acquired represent an "effective tool" to help heal the post-*apartheid* South African nation and to move it forward; if there were more uptake in AfLL, SA could go an "incredible length of the way toward positive nation-building and to healing from the past and to move on from the past". She emphasised primarily the zookairotic returns on her investment, which may also be understood in terms of symbolic and social capital.

B.3.4.2.1 Zookairotic return – joy, bridge-building, empathy

Renée gave a glowing review of the zookairotic returns gained by learning, and then using, isiXhosa, for example, "the *fun* that you have" by doing so. Using the language has prompted "an outpouring of joy and love and positive interaction and it just breaks down ... the racial divides": divides that have impacted her own experience of living in South Africa, despite not being white. She remarks that "the joy that Xhosa speakers [have], or even other AfL speakers, hearing you speak Xhosa *even* a little bit ... I mean, it's incredible". She asserted that this joyful response was noticed in even the banal, bureaucratic context of "speaking to the person who is doing your taxes".

Renée found that even "a small amount of effort" to speak isiXhosa, where "you don't even know how to speak the language properly", helps bridge racial and cultural division in ways that are "just indescribable", i.e. positive. This connects with the empathetic affordances of learning an AfL, in that it has provided her with a greater "understanding of fellow South Africans and what they're going through and how they relate to you and what they appreciate". The bridging and empathetic affordances positioned relative fluency in isiXhosa – for someone who unexpectedly possesses it – to be symbolic and socially disruptive. Renée implied as much when stating that people "see you differently; they react to you differently: and even if they're not Xhosa-speaking". In her experience, therefore, investing in isiXhosa skills – as a non-white, coloured woman – has produced "incredibly positive" zookairotic returns, with attendant social and symbolic effects.

B4 Johan: the conscientious objector

> [W]henever I needed something, it would be the motivation to go ahead and acquire [it]. And so, yes, there were moments when I was consulting, you know, language textbooks that took you through processes [of grammar]. And... there were times when I was conscientious [in learning isiXhosa] ... And then I would, you know, wander away from [learning]; ... it was by no means what I would call systematic acquisition. (**Johan**)

B4.1 Investor Profile

Johan was the eldest participant in the sample (late 50s when interviewed) and also appeared to be exceptionally fluent in isiXhosa within the context of an already-exceptional sample. He studiously avoided any institutional/formal tuition in isiXhosa, which he learned 'stubbornly' via full, rural and township immersion in the years prior to 1994. Born in the mid-to-late 1960s to an L1A family, he was sent by his parents to an English-medium high school in the early 1980s. After school, he moved to the Transkei in order to avoid being drafted for military service in the army. As a conscientious objector in "inile"[450], Johan became involved in an NGO for the next five years – wanting to serve, but *not* in the apartheid state's military. Recognising that learning isiXhosa would be necessary, he intentionally decided to use a methodology for naturalistic SLL out that required conscientious effort, which Johan provided. As he stated: "orality was the most important dimension for me ... trying to communicate orally". He thus learnt to communicate through active immersion with his Xhosa co-workers and those involved in the NGO project – and simply by the fact of

[450] Exile, yet within South Africa's borders (as the majority of the international community saw it).

communicative necessity. Leaving the Transkei as apartheid began to unravel, he realised the need to improve his isiXhosa skills beyond orality within an academic research career. He went on to marry into a Xhosa family, and isiXhosa was chosen as the home language for his children. As an L2 learner, Johan did not attach many superlatives to his overall proficiency (c. mid-2020), although he arguably could have: "I read, write, and speak isiXhosa ... my speaking [ability] is, I would say 'proficient', and some would say better [than proficient] ... my reading is fairly good. My writing is okay ... My strength lies in translating from Xhosa to English ... I have the ability to pick up the nuances in the vernacular."

B4.2 Conditions

The major antecedent factors that conditioned and motivated Johan's investment in learning isiXhosa were, firstly, his personality. Secondly, his childhood and adolescence involved the movement between an Afrikaner "linguaculture" (Risager, 2012; 2019) towards an English one, and left him curious about others that were largely inaccessible due to *apartheid*. Thirdly, he faced the dilemma of military service, which catalysed a vocational and geographic movement which in turn produced the necessary conditions to learn isiXhosa. After achieving proficiency in isiXhosa, Johan's investment in the language was compounded in multiple ways by marrying and raising a family with an L1X speaker.

B4.2.1 Personality conditions: conscientiousness and openness

Perhaps more so than any other participant, Johan starkly exhibited three personality (and character) traits in his investment arc of learning isiXhosa. The first was a stubbornness, a willingness to be contrarian – in personality terms, *disagreeableness* – in that he insisted on doing what he believed to be best, both ethically and educationally, irrespective of social pressure to the contrary. For example, he stated that "[i]t's not in [his] character" to ask people to explain things to him in English, and upon return to Cape Town he would doggedly insist on using isiXhosa whenever spending time in eKasi (the township). Not unrelated to this was *conscientiousness*: he showed a stubborn commitment to persevere to the end of his chosen path, and not to settle for mediocre, half-baked outcomes. For example, he expressed having a desire to speak isiXhosa in a way that "impresses the audience that [he has] the ability to communicate fluently" and was "adamant" that he would do his research/data collection "in the vernacular" rather than rely on interpreters or translators.

These two traits were augmented by a third, *openness to experience*, which manifested in terms of a keen curiosity and interest in worlds beyond the one Johan inherited. He stated that "curiosity was what probably drove [him]" towards the Xhosa and their

language; his (elder) brother has described him as "irritatingly inquisitive" because he would always ask (too) many questions. These were derived, he said, "from books". Johan saw "language as an embodiment of worlds", which is equally applicable to his investment in reading books as well as learning isiXhosa. Johan's three personality/character traits assist in explaining to a large degree the historically-conditioned fact, extent, and success of his investment in learning isiXhosa.

B4.2.2 Familial and community conditions

Johan grew up in a home with what he called "conservative Afrikaans" parents. Beyond home, his "field of exposure" in growing up was within so-called '*verkrampte*' Afrikaner culture which supported *apartheid* and (white) Afrikaner nationalism. For reasons that emerge below, his lack of identification with this culture and segregationist ideology caused "grief" to his parents who did not "understand what [he] was doing". Afrikaans, as the proximate vehicle for Afrikaner culture, became associated in his mind as "quite an oppressive language".

Due to unhappiness at his "conservative", Afrikaans-MoI primary school, he moved to a comparatively liberal English-MoI high school for the remainder of his schooling. There, from the onset of adolescence onwards, he was socialised in English language and culture, to the extent that it became his second and *de facto* 'L1' – illustrating the denotative inaccuracy of the L1 construct. isiXhosa was offered at his high school, but it "wasn't even an option" in Johan's mind that he might take it as an elective subject for Matric; he came from a "business family", and it was simply an incontrovertible given that he would take subjects like economics and accounting.

Johan reported that he "almost had no contact with Xhosa-speaking people growing up", and "the little bit in junior high" that he did have, "didn't draw [his] attention, strangely enough". His curiosity regarding the Xhosa people and isiXhosa only started in his later high school years – once he began reading and questioning more about the fraught political status quo of SA and the nature of *apartheid*. Indeed, his reading created the important ideological conditions within which isiXhosa became "an option" in his mind: he "became extremely interested in politics" and "aware [of people] who had very different experiences" of South Africa. This "laid the foundation for the desire to enter into a world that, up until that point, [he] had had very little access [to]".

B4.2.3 Initial Catalyst: conscientious objection

Upon completing school in the mid-1980s, Johan then faced a dilemma of how to avoid military service but still do a form of "community service". Given, firstly, his curiosity about the hitherto-inaccessible world of bSAns and secondly, his ideologically-informed refusal to undertake military service for the apartheid state, Johan conscientiously channeled his objection in a productive linguistic direction. He made connections with a family based in the former Transkei, who helped facilitate his "inile" in that region. He went first to a large town in central Transkei, and then later to a town on the north coast, "language space[s]" where isiXhosa and closely related dialects are spoken.

B4.2.4 High catalytic force: necessity as taskmaster

In his new vocational context of working for a social upliftment organisation, Johan "needed to communicate" and described being "motivated by communication". In stark terms, he "couldn't do [his] job if [he] didn't acquire the language as quickly as possible". Learning isiXhosa was thus "need-driven", a "means to an end", and he took a "very instrumental" approach to the language. Initially, there was not "much love at all" for "the technicalities of the language" as isiXhosa turned out to be a relatively complex instrument, and one which he experienced as being "frustrating".

Beyond the domain of oral communication, over time Johan had need to produce "acceptable" public utterances during public meetings. As a result of this, a further motivation emerged to "to know more about the language" in order to write formal language notes from which he could speak – and "to write in a way that made sense". For him, an awareness of his "deficiencies" and "deficits ... encouraged [him]".

B4.3 Commitment

With regard to the processes of investment, Johan's case revealed that there were three distinct stages: the first two, rural and township immersion, were united in modal terms (learning approach/methodology) and intermediated largely through people (mediators). Johan's rural immersion was the fundamental period of investment in the language, particularly orally; the township stage, building on the former, diversified and strengthened his isiXhosa in other dialectal and lexical domains. The final, academic stage of learning required a shift in intermediation: Johan utilised specific pedagogical media to invest in domains of language relevant to his research vocation and academia more generally.

B4.3.1 Stage 1: Distant Immersion

B.4.3.1.1 Learning Culture through Language: the 'B&B' approach

Johan decided to follow the Brewster & Brewster (henceforth B&B, 1976) anthropological approach to language learning. He described this as "cultural acquisition through language" with two main tenets: 1) being positioned – i.e. having a defined role of some sort – in the TL's cultural context for a long period of time, and 2) speaking and listening within that context. The approach therefore emphasised naturalistic oral interactions as the primary site of SLL, which presupposes the need to develop relations with L1 speakers, in this case of isiXhosa. In terms of L2 Investment, this approach largely restricted the form of intermediation to non-teacher L1 mediators, actively discouraging any serious investment via (objective) language media or academic modalities. Johan was committed to such an approach – he had a "deep commitment to remaining in the vernacular" – and "made a decision at one point not to rely on the book ... the written word".

The B&B approach, in light of the second tenet Johan described, simplified the scope of learning in that it focused on "context-bound vocabulary and language acquisition" – Johan did not attempt to learn anything beyond the needs of his day-to-day oral communication; he could invest in learning elements of language that were proximate, which is to say, the elements which reoccurred and likely caused his initial "frustration". In summary, the approach did not "give excessive detail" regarding the processes of learning; it provided a "map to follow" that Johan found to be sufficient:

> [it was] a non-technical, non-clinical, non-analytical approach to the language, [which aimed] to assimilate, trying to absorb and appreciate the nuances, the meanings and the context and the people and the conversations. (**Johan**)

It was "non-technical" in the sense that his focus was on "communicating a set of ideas and then to understand responses" – he was neither encouraged, nor interested, in the abstract realm of grammatical "rules". While he "did, obviously, after a while see patterns, [he] didn't see them as [fixed] rules". His approach was grammar-agnostic and focused on the language people actually spoke – the construct of standardised isiXhosa was simply irrelevant.

B.4.3.1.2 Intermediation

This approach manifested itself in the context of a social upliftment project, "where every day [Johan] was speaking to people who were speaking one of the dialects that are loosely called Xhosa". The project was aimed at children "in trouble", thus he had significant contact with them (particularly at the beginning stages of learning), few of whom, if any, could speak English. He also had Xhosa colleagues, and they could speak English too. Across these two

groups of mediators, an average day would be a 70%-30% split between isiXhosa[451] and English – thus he did initially communicate with his colleagues using some English (likely by necessity) – but he "progressively ... began to abandon English" in favour of isiMpondo/isiXhosa alone.

His daily investment in learning isiXhosa was therefore mediated through children and co-workers, and Johan highlighted some of the ways in which this occurred. Working with L1X children on the project created a sense of being on "a journey together" as the children knew that he "was a learner, and that they had skills that [he] did not have, and vice versa". As mediators, the fact of his own genuine investment in learning their language – despite the hierarchical reality of his role in relation to them – likely encouraged them to facilitate his learning to a greater degree, as it introduced a form of mutuality that would otherwise have been lacking.

When confronted with misunderstandings, he preferred that his interlocutor would "repeat what they said" and avoid using English as a scaffold (when that was possible). Other than this principle of 'English avoidance', he stated that he never had a meta-approach to conversations with colleagues – and never got the sense that they "dumbed down" their language for him. He granted that they may have spoken more slowly, but only if he indicated misunderstanding. In other words, he was largely treated as if he *could* understand isiXhosa.

Johan explicitly stated that "acquiring an ear was central to [his] learning experience" and that "[he] listened very carefully". Based on what he heard, "[he] would take notes and ... just repeat". This method of notetaking was a way of objectifying the ephemeral language encountered via mediators, and enabled him to continue investing biochronically through review when mediators were absent (likely in the evenings). Johan initial learning thus involved stringing words and sentences together through "lots of trial and error and repetition", motivated as ever by the necessities of pragmatic communication. With language per se *not* being his aim, he was not *systematically* conscientious in his investment strategy, but rather *pragmatically* conscientious.

B4.3.2 Stage 2: Proximal Immersion

Given the contextual and occupational changes prompted by Johan's return to Cape Town in the early 1990s, he embarked on a new stage of language investment by means of periodic

[451] As well as isiMpondo, a closely related dialect spoken in the northern Eastern Cape, with some language features like isiZulu. Henceforth, it is included within the term 'isiXhosa'.

township immersion. He would “spend enormous amounts of time in eKasi” and had “regular meetings” through involvement in political and community structures there: these provided new “language spaces” in which he augmented his isiMpondo-influenced isiXhosa with the more fluid forms of township isiXhosa: he diversified and broadened out his investment in the language. Johan also had an additional reason to visit eKasi: courting his wife-to-be.

By this stage, Johan’s isiXhosa was sufficiently fluent to the level where English avoidance was less a pedagogical principle and more a function of his personality and language ideology. In eKasi, people did at first try using English with him, but he “insisted stubbornly that the language that [he] communicated in was isiXhosa”, even when initially addressed in English. He reported that after a while, they “didn’t bother speaking to [him] in English anymore”. He described how Xhosa residents of eKasi (and elsewhere in Cape Town) would comment to him: “Oh, your version of Xhosa must come from the villages. Because you speak ... a deeper version”. These comments emanate from the fluid “way in which Xhosa is spoken in the city [of Cape Town]”, which Johan calls “Xhosa-lite”. It is an “urban version with other vocabularies from English and Afrikaans mixed into it”. Again, by this point in Johan’s learning journey, different language varieties posed little problem.

B4.3.3 Stage 3: “Academic” Immersion

Because Johan’s B&B-influenced approach was “haphazard” and non-systematic, he found that when he moved into the postgraduate academic/research “language space”, there was the need to “upskill” in terms of his writing skills and academic vocabulary. Johan had, however, reached “a plateau in [his] methodology” (i.e. the B&B approach) which was no longer fit-for-purpose given his new academic language needs. He thus invested considerable biochronic capital through grammatical and reference media – principally dictionaries – to refine his lexicon and standardise his register. The dynamics of this process was not covered in the interview but given the conditions of his extensive oral proficiency and some writing skills, the use of pedagogical media prompted a “huge jump in [his] vocabulary and… technical ability”.

B4.4 Capital Gains

B4.4.1 Linguistic returns

Researcher’s subjective measure: highest level | CEFR: C2 | Receptive skills slightly better

Johan did not attach many superlatives to his overall proficiency (c. mid-2020) in isiXhosa, yet it appeared to be the strongest level witnessed across all participants. Johan stated that he

could “read, write, and speak isiXhosa”. He elaborated on the relative strengths of his language skills as follows:

> my speaking [ability] is, I would say ‘proficient’, and some would say better [than proficient] – depending on who you talk to. And ... my reading is fairly good. My writing is okay. I need people to check my work and to correct it where I’m making mistakes. (**Johan**)

He situated his greatest strength in “translating from Xhosa to English”, whether orally or in writing. He attested that he is “very good at that”, having “the ability to pick up ... the nuances in the vernacular [i.e. isiXhosa as used by L1 speakers]”. As a result of continued use in his vocation, not to mention his domestic life, he has “become, over the years ... increasingly competent”.

B4.4.2 Non-linguistic returns

Beyond the narrowly linguistic capital that resulted from Johan’s investment in isiXhosa, the gains he emphasised most were zookairotic in nature. His investment arc also clearly suggested occupational (in terms of his social and political work, and academic research), economic (to the extent that isiXhosa makes his vocational skills more economically valuable) and social returns (most particularly, his marriage to a Xhosa woman and extensive Xhosa social circles).

B.4.4.2.1 Rooted in Hybridity

In contradistinction to other participants, isiXhosa has become Johan’s world in a real sense, to the extent that he takes great pride in its acquisition, deriving a certain richness from inhabiting it. For example, he explained how he prefers (“probably just out of pride”) to use the so-called “rural” or deep words of the isiXhosa language –this “distinguishes [him] from urban isiXhosa speakers” by speaking in a “richer deeper way”. But this is a somewhat superficial zookairotic return. The fact that Johan’s “axis shifted”, “the axis ... from which [he ...] saw the world and understood the world” meant that (isi)Xhosa became “a way of life now”. It was not merely “something [he] dip[s] into”, but rather “an integral part of who [he is]”.

As a result of this profound shift in *Lebenswelt*, he was able to feel “at home” in some contexts, for example “in [his] wife’s extended family”, where he felt that “people accept [him] for who [he is]” – an acceptance facilitated through his isiXhosa, which “helps to build those bridges”. Likewise, in the context of involvement with an organisation in eKasi, using “English and isiXhosa interchangeably” has been an “integral part of the process” to creating “a very close-knit, small community of people who are journeying together” – fostering a

sense of camaraderie and mutual recognition, outcomes not unrelated to a sense of belonging and being "at home" with others.

Beyond this and his familial relationships, however, Johan implied that "the biggest challenge" for him, having entered into the linguacultural world of isiXhosa, "is learning to live in the in-betweens" and feel "comfortable" there – in much the same way that "urban Xhosa-speaking people who are "upwardly mobile, highly educated ... are also learning to live in the in-betweens". The reason for this was that – despite having entered the world of isiXhosa, certain raciolinguistic and historical constraints remained on the possibility of belonging or feeling "at home". Even when there are moments that "isiXhosa provides [him] with a linguistic home", he was soon reminded: "I'm never going to arrive home in that space because of who I am physically" – being physically *white*.

In light of his contemporary experience of part-belonging, part-homelessness, Johan related a fascinating story in which the hybrid identity of "*umlungu omXhosa*" ("a white Xhosa") emerged naturally from the mouth of a Xhosa child, a "reconstruction" that envisions an alternate present, and thus a potential future. This anecdote, well worth reading and related in full in Appendix F1, represented an "extraordinary moment", in which Johan was "connected" to [the child] in an "empirically-based way", and not in way constructed out of extant, historically-conditioned discourse. The boy's identification of Johan arguably demonstrated the imaginative "power of language to reconstruct identities" and create connections that are (on socio-historical and political grounds) otherwise impossible. In Johan's words, this identification "disrupted" but did not "deconstruct" – instead, the boy's attribution of a hybrid identity "reconstructed" something.

B5 Peter: the skinny teacher

> ... [I was walking] into a place where I was teaching Xhosa ... this one guy said to me, one of the Xhosa employees said to me as I walked in ... I think he said, "*uyatyeba ngokulwimi lwethu*" [you're getting fat/rich off of our language] ... you know, I responded to him in a way that was like, "You know, hey, believe me – like I'd be much fatter if I wasn't doing this job!" – I made it into a joke. And the funny thing is, he's still one of my best Xhosa friends [...] he was probably the biggest challenge I ever faced in terms of a Xhosa person, you know, saying such a horrific thing to me: that I'm getting fat off the language. Because it's the one thing that I *certainly* am not; I'm a skinny bean still! Especially financially, compared to all my friends. (**Peter**)

B5.1 Investor Profile

Peter, an isiXhosa teacher in his late 30s, was born in the early 80s – generationally an 'old millennial'. He learned isiXhosa informally, initially through rural immersion, and later within a city/township context. Compared to other cases, he is the earliest successful AfL learner within the sample from the post-apartheid era. Growing up in Cape Town, Peter was looked after by Xhosa nannies and thus (in his words) "theoretically" exposed to isiXhosa at a young age. He finished primary school as South Africa transitioned to democracy around 1994, and from Grade 6 to 9 learned isiXhosa as a school subject (though he claims this amounted to very little *actual* knowledge). After finishing school, he went on to university and studied various humanities subjects. Spurred on by this formative period of study, he then took a gap year in which he lived as a shaman's apprentice in a Xhosa village in the Eastern Cape for eight months, while learning isiXhosa in earnest. The following year, he volunteered part-time for around 8 months at a Xhosa high school, continuing to learn the language. Soon after, he began teaching isiXhosa to friends and acquaintances, and this quickly escalated to become his full-time job. During the subsequent 5 or so years after his initial learning in the mid-2000s, his isiXhosa gradually attained its peak level of proficiency through self-tuition and a series of immersion trips, solidifying his own isiXhosa to the point of highly functional (though, he insists, still-imperfect and increasingly rusty) fluency. Since then, he has largely maintained, though not improved, his skills through limited urban use and periodic (but brief) trips to the rural EC.

B5.2 Conditions

The major factors that were antecedent to Peter's investment in learning isiXhosa were, firstly, his (ineffectual) exposure to isiXhosa during school and while being brought up by Xhosa nannies; secondly, a cultural and spiritual awakening during and after university;

thirdly, the way in which isiXhosa became the necessary linguistic vehicle for creating social connection and "being of service" and finally, the motivations emergent from initial learning which prompted Peter to invest in learning isiXhosa further.

B5.2.1 Early Schooling and Nannies

Peter* began learning Xhosa in Grade 6 (i.e. late primary school), and continued until Grade 9, when he was permitted to drop the subject. Throughout his childhood and adolescence there were Xhosa nannies in his family's employ. As a result, Peter notes that he was "theoretically" exposed to isiXhosa at a young age, to whatever extent it affected his later acquisition. But even his 4 years of compulsory isiXhosa at school left him with an active "10 word" vocabulary that he would use as a teenager: "I wasn't particularly any better [at isiXhosa], or even necessarily more interested" than his white, L1E peers. Between these early years and his post-university travel & immersion in the rural Eastern Cape, he did not pursue the language and only the vestiges of his early learning remained (consciously accessible, at least). He describes how much he loved the Xhosa nannies of his youth, but there existed a major disconnect between their own private lives – including their language – and that of Peter and his household, which was culturally English and white.

B.5.2.1.1 Spiritual/Cultural Interest & Awareness of social gap

The first precondition for Peter's decision to learn isiXhosa was his educational journey at university. While studying philosophy, psychology and reading about the major spiritual traditions, he became "more socially conscious and more spiritually conscious." By this, he means that he began seeing the importance, at the level of the human *psyche*, for "being in service to community/society" – which many spiritual/religious traditions stress as a core element of the good life and right living. This was not a theoretical, intellectual realisation, but something that cut to the very quick of his conscience: he experienced "a feeling of being out of integrity with my own heart, with my country, with my own people in my family, that I loved". He refers here specifically to the three "Xhosa nannies" as examples of 'family' – who he had loved only on his own, one-sided terms, not ever trying to enter into their world. Recognising this chasm between himself and others produced an "intuitive, subconscious drive to connect... a deep desire and a calling to connect to people". He elaborates further, that "[there were] all these beautiful people that I even had great relationships with, but knew nothing about and had this big gap. So the first intention was really just to get to know them on a more even ground" which manifested in the plan to "go live with them in their villages, learn about their culture. Be in their space and be the one who's out of [his] comfort zone".

B5.2.2 Language: a vehicle to serve and connect

In his early twenties, with an intuitive desire to regain a sense of integrity, Peter therefore sought out a rural village context in which he could learn about indigenous African culture and as he puts it, "be of service". Peter's mother put him into contact with a white *sangoma*[452] who then invited Peter to live in a rural Xhosa village in the Eastern Cape, and there to undergo training to become a *sangoma* himself. This corresponded with Peter's interest in "spiritual healing" and finding a way to "contribute" in the context of a traumatised, "screwed" up South African society.

The cultural immersion that Peter consequently underwent as a means to 'connecting and serving' had an inevitable linguistic counterpart: learning isiXhosa (or a dialect thereof, as he later found out[453]) was the necessary means to the end of 'knowing what he didn't know', sketching the map of his cultural ignorance and learning to navigate it in an appropriate and constructive way. His initial motivation in learning, therefore, was to facilitate his cultural and spiritual immersion – language was secondary.

B5.2.3 Emergent Motivations and Language Models

As Peter began learning – and later, learning alongside teaching isiXhosa to others – his motivations expanded in scope: firstly, he realised that isiXhosa was "a beautiful, amazing, incredible language that I have a deep love and respect for" and secondly, that "it was the non-negotiable aspect for cultural bridging". He also received some pushback from Xhosa people who accused him of getting fat [i.e. rich] off of their language: this kind of encounter, he says, "would motivate [him] to learn more". [why?]

As already mentioned, it was through a white, Xhosa-speaking sangoma that Peter began training as an *ithwasa* and learning isiXhosa in earnest: this man appears to have been the primary personal gateway, at least initially, for Peter's journey in AfLL – and he likely played a mentor role, who both represented the linguistic possibility [i.e. here is a white man who knows isiXhosa] and a concrete role-model to emulate. Peter also mentioned meeting "an old guy who lived in Coffee Bay"[454], who was "one of the few [white] people I met who was perfectly, 100% fluent" in isiXhosa. He had taken a particular interest in Xhosa culture, the people and their language, and Peter recalls that "every single Xhosa person [he] met said that guy spoke better Xhosa than them... so perfect and deep was his Xhosa!" Encounters

[452] A healer/shaman within (Southern) African traditional religion/culture.
[453] isiMpondo, which has some features more akin to isiZulu.
[454] A coastal town in the centre of the Wild Coast (the former Transkei coastal region).

with these two men likely provided added impetus in his own efforts to master the language (to leave aside their mastery of the Xhosa cultural canon).

B5.3 Commitment

With regard to the processes and constraints of investment, Peter's case reveals five main themes. The first stage of investment involved an intense period of learning isiXhosa via rural immersion, followed with semi-intense volunteering in a L1X-dominant classroom. The second stage involved consistent urban use of isiXhosa along with brief rural immersion periods (all while teaching the language). Thirdly, his investment was conditional on the fact of 'fostered necessity' as the prime factor for accumulating linguistic gains. Fourth, Peter emphasises certain isiXhosa media and modes of learning as being crucial factors. Finally, the extent of his learning investment was constrained by certain cultural and linguistic factors that impact the learning process.

B5.3.1 Modalities: gap-year distant immersion then proximal immersion

Peter's learning began as soon as he arrived in a rural Xhosa village. Initially, he was clueless beyond what his white *sangoma* guide interpreted on his behalf. He describes a number of dynamics at the early stage of immersion: it involves "at least 10 hours of sitting there listening to people, and you are going to be repeating the same things over and over [e.g. greetings ritual, general biographical questioning]... it suddenly reaches a point where you are actually being asked different things – or people are ignoring you, thank God, at last! – now you have to figure out how to say something new". His specific circumstances – being in the "keep" of the *sangomas*, meant that he largely spoke only when spoken to. However, beyond interactions with them, he also describes how convalescents would stay at the homestead to regain their health. One in particular (Nono*), a lady who knew some English, helped Peter "translate [Xhosa] songs and write down the lyrics" and she would answer his questions about the language, helping correct his speech. "She was a huge help", he recalls – and she was present for at least a full month of the 8-month *ukuthwasa* period. Peter also emphasises the crucial bridging role that the white sangoma played at the beginning, helping to interpret, and likely helping to teach the basic linguistic signifiers that enabled him to navigate his new role as an *ithwasa*.

The second stage of learning – after his 8 months of life in a rural, Xhosa village – was volunteering for eight months at a Xhosa high school in Cape Town. Peter soon became aware that "most of the things [he] could say were relating to village life [...] were not

immediately usable in a township or city environment (besides the basics of Xhosa)".[455] He realised that he had not learned 'standard' Xhosa but rather the isiMpondo dialect, which shares some features with isiZulu. Moreover, he soon realised that the influence of English on colloquial, township isiXhosa was much greater: "you go into this weird realm where it becomes unclear exactly what you need to learn and not learn... you just kind of get by with... a functional mix of Xhosa and English." Nevertheless, Peter reports that "it was very helpful being in that space" for broadening out his vocabulary and learning to understand the influence of English; the boys also helped him learn, e.g. "they would make corrections."

B5.3.2 Learning through Teaching

As Peter moved into teaching isiXhosa,[456] this prompted him to continue deepening his knowledge. He achieved the basis of his fluency in the early years of full time teaching, during which he delved ever more deeply into grammar and textbooks, seeking to find effective ways of re-presenting and contextualising pedagogical material for students who aimed to communicate orally – and via this process allowed his own language knowledge to settle and become automatised. Beyond 'bookish' learning and interacting with the many L1X speakers in Cape Town, Peter also describes a number of rural immersion trips: e.g. a walking trip down the Pondoland coast, which led to many "interesting encounters" and opportunities to converse in isiXhosa. Then, with some regularity,[457] he would organise immersion camps for his students. These lasted typically for three weeks, and would require him to live in a nearby hut, negotiate food and board with the local community members who were hosting his students, and facilitate the immersion and learning experience (while immersed himself). In some sense, these were 'refreshers' for his own isiXhosa knowledge. During the immersion camps described above, he found that it took a few days for his brain to realise: "Oh shit – I actually *have* to speak this language ... and suddenly it start[ed] doing that". Necessity of this sort would make him quickly begin "hearing better, speaking better."

B5.3.3 Necessity: the ideal taskmaster

Peter attests that *necessity* to use isiXhosa is what would invariably lead to progress in learning it. This took the form, typically, of interacting with people who *could not* communicate effectively in English, thus forcing him to bridge the communication gap with

[455] This serves to emphasise the *specificity* of immersion experiences: not all kinds of immersion are 'equal' for the purposes of learning.
[456] See following section for more details.
[457] Initially this was a few times a year, but he explains that "the sad reality for me is that, you know, going only once a year, sometimes only once every second or third year (especially in the last decade)".

his isiXhosa, and promoting learning. Necessity, in Peter's case, was introduced indirectly but still *voluntarily* – he accepted and thereby *chose* to follow various vocations – as *ithwasa*, volunteer, and teacher/immersion facilitator. Each role respectively introduced needs, and those needs were coextensive with learning and practising isiXhosa. To put it in another way, using isiXhosa was always a means to a vocational end; Peter was *actively* engaged in a task (e.g. walking along a coastline) – and isiXhosa was the necessary communication medium.[458] Peter mentions one of his students from Germany who, required to swiftly develop proficiency in isiXhosa in order to effectively perform academic research, was the "best student [Peter had] ever had, *ever* [in over 15 years]." The ironic reason for this success – from a German foreigner – is "because he [i.e. the student] *had* to learn."[459]

B5.3.4 Language learning media

Of the three things that Peter identified as being fundamental to his learning – besides the two language mentors (the afore mentioned 'white *sangoma*' and 'female convalescent') – "two books were absolutely vital for a foundation." This was an isiXhosa textbook by Anne Munnik, and an isiZulu textbook [possibly J. Nyembezi's], which accompanied Peter on his initial immersion in the Xhosa (Pondo) village.[460] In the context of active immersion, Peter sees textbooks and reference books (grammars, dictionaries) as "brilliant and amazing once people are speaking". He attests based on his own experience that if one were to "take any book, and go live in a village for three months", then "that book will be gold." As such, he clearly subordinates (text)books as a maieutic element in language learning: rather than helping to conceive or form language competency ('linguistic offspring'), such resources ought rather to help a language emerge from the womb, and become something independent. When volunteering in the Xhosa high school, he notes that when he "didn't know what [the kids] said, [he] would be more motivated to go home and study some of [his] books" – in the context of oral communication problems, books are comparatively perspicacious and often clarificatory. Of the "crate full of books" for learning isiXhosa that Peter owns, he gives special mention to a core few: Anne Munnik's ("for beginners"); Alexandra Bryant's ("for

[458] None of Peter's immersion experiences were passive, i.e. he never simply arrived in a village, organised a place to live, and waited around to soak up isiXhosa like a sponge. The current researcher, unfortunately, fell into this error.

[459] Peter thus implies that his other students, the great majority of whom are white South Africans, lack this need to learn (even if they do not lack the desire to learn).

[460] The latter book illustrates the overlap between Nguni languages, which make up four out of the nine indigenous official languages of South Africa. The grammatical structures Peter learned in the isiZulu textbook could be carried over to isiXhosa easily, with certain adjustments for phonological, morphological, and lexical shifts – but otherwise these languages are mutually intelligible for L1 speakers. Successful L2 speakers, however, struggle to comprehend isiXhosa if they learned isiZulu, and vice versa).

the next level")[461] and then Sidney Zotwana's *Xhosa in Context* ("for basically anyone who's in a particular context"). He also mentions the *Xhosa Newspaper Reader and Lexicon*[462] as being excellent, but very difficult to obtain.

With regard to notable methods or techniques for learning, Peter remarked that he was not a fan of flashcards – but he did find that making "long lists" of vocabulary items was crucial for his learning, and far more effective than simply letting words 'stick' (i.e. become part of one's active vocabulary) organically. He elaborates: "I wouldn't go and learn pages out of dictionaries, because they would just be forgotten. But I would make lists of words that were really useful to me, or had arisen in conversations, or I'd learnt out of books – and they became integrated".

B5.3.5 Constraints on commitment and linguistic capital

Peter has long been at a point where "the level that I speak at is far more than sufficient for all the purposes that I have. So yeah, it becomes difficult, despite my own intentions and desires, to really prioritise and motivate to study more". In Peter's experience, "the reality of society, despite [his] many interactions with Xhosa people – is that it's just really not required [...] that [he] get better" in isiXhosa. This learning ceiling is likely specific to his urban environment. This is no doubt in part because "in a *kasi* [township] environment, no one is speaking [...] deep, pure Xhosa." In a country with 11 national languages, "[African language] soap operas are mixing five, six languages in one sentence", and these popular TV shows (e.g. *Muvhango*) only serve to strengthen the fact that "there is no *status quo* [...] there is no normal, standardised ... version of Xhosa."[463] With such a sociolinguistic backdrop, Peter is certainly correct when stating that "it becomes tricky for the learner to decide [...] the best way to learn."

Despite being an advocate for language immersion, Peter is not an idealist that rural village or township immersion always works, nor that it will be an unqualified success for AfLL: "Not everyone's gonna dig [immersion], and the world is changing rapidly." Referring to Xhosa culture (particularly rural), he comments that "the reality is that it's changed ... and it's changing rapidly"; he has found many of the changes difficult to affirm or accept. His critique centres on the (often unintended) negative sociological aspects to – without going

[461] He is highly praising of Bryant's book: "it's like a Bible for me. It's like a compendium of everything in the system. It's got stuff I've never seen elsewhere."
[462] By D. Julian Lloyd & Linda Murphy Marshall (The author was not R. David Zorc, as Peter first mentioned – tracking down this particular resource was like entering into a world of a detective novel).
[463] Or of the other colloquial forms of SA's African languages.

into specifics – infrastructural, educational, and economic progress within Xhosa communities. For example, when he visits Xhosa people, he says that he prefers interacting with the women because he "find[s] them more interesting", whereas engaging with the men is "just, like, *hard* work."[464]

B5.4 Capital Gains

B5.4.1 Linguistic returns

Researcher's subjective measure: high-very high | CEFRL: C1-C2

Peter is unwilling to claim "fluency" in an unqualified sense. He notes that some Xhosa people can speak to him and he has "no idea what they're saying", whether due to dialect, accent, or simply because the specific interlocutor might "speak in a mumbly, rapid way". For this reason,

> when people say, "How long did it take you to get fluent?" I'm like, "Well, it's been 18 years [of learning] now. And I'm still not." But like, then on any other day, I'll see someone, have a 20-minute conversation in Xhosa, you know. (**Peter**)

It seems likely that given the gradual urban dilution of standard or "deep" forms of isiXhosa towards Anglicised forms has caused some attrition of his isiXhosa proficiency, as his periodic immersion trips to the Eastern Cape become more infrequent. Nevertheless, he is confident that he has a deep enough base in the language such that domain-specific fluency could be easily achieved: "if the day came, where I got a job working in a lawyer's clerk's office: speak to me a month later, and I will be waxing lyrical in Xhosa, you know, especially relevant to the law clerk's office."

B5.4.2 Non-linguistic returns

Beyond the narrowly linguistic capital return on learning isiXhosa, Peter emphasises primarily two kinds of return on his language investment: a vocational return in the form of teaching isiXhosa and a general zookairotic return, which is divided in terms of joyful, affirmative encounter on the one hand and the psycho-social implications of *kenosis* – allowing oneself to become humbled and vulnerable – on the other.

[464] Precisely *why* Peter feels this way is an interesting question, but the mere fact (of preferential gendered interaction) illustrates well that intercultural contact is seldom easy. Alterity or 'otherness' necessarily inflicts a price on the one who would encounter it; strategic commitment is required in order that the learner (whether of language or otherwise), not become overwhelmed and/or defeated.

B.5.4.2.1 Occupational Gains: teaching isiXhosa

Many people, both L1X and L1E, requested that he begin teaching potential L2 learners. The idea came from his encounters with Xhosa people in Cape Town, who he reports as saying "by the thousands" to him, "Yho, please teach other people!"[465] Once the white, L1E people in his social circles witnessed his ability to use isiXhosa, they also requested something to the effect of, "Yho, please won't you teach us; we really want to learn as well!" Peter eventually acknowledged teaching as his calling or vocation:

> I was camping with a whitey friend of mine who spoke in Xhosa since [he was] a child, and we were drinking whisky under a tree (not much, just a little). And I suddenly had this moment where I was just like, "Oh my god, I'm supposed to teach Xhosa." And it was, sort of, an acknowledgment that I needed to teach. (**Peter**)

The opportunities to teach "kind of quickly escalated", indicating meaningful demand for facilitating the learning of isiXhosa, a skill he learned on the job: "it's not like [he] was instantly the professor of Xhosa at a university." Peter describes teaching as being "humble work" at first, both in terms of teaching the lowest, beginner level of language,[466] and also in terms of the remuneration he received from it.[467] After some time, though, he "ended up teaching the directors and managers" of a corporation; this confirmed (at least contemporarily) the longer-term economic viability of his isiXhosa teaching career.

Peter positions himself as knowing "the pitfalls" of learning isiXhosa, having been a long-time learner "further down the road" than his own students. Beyond the ZK returns that he emphasises in the previous sections, he sees his resultant opportunity to teach isiXhosa as a "cherry on top" insofar as he is able to help "take a little bit of an edge off the divides in our country," Nevertheless, making a living out of teaching introduces a tension of potentially conflicting interests:

> it's difficult for me to, you know, say to people "You should be learning [isiXhosa] – Oh, and by the way... you know, come to our courses, buy our materials." Yeah, I've often had to hold myself back in the way I do speak about it – because it's not what I intended; I'm not here for that mission. (**Peter**)

[465] In this case, 'other' implies largely *white* people (but not exclusively those who are white – in the Cape Town context, this would include coloured people too).
[466] **"...** you're taking adults by the hand and teaching them how to click and say 'Molo' [Good Day] and how to do a [Xhosa] handshake"
[467] He even bartered for payment: "I remember exchanging with people for like, you know, random stuff, you know, like, they couldn't even pay me ... it was just like, 'Let's exchange.'"

Taken at his word, Peter's vocation – teaching isiXhosa – is his primary mission, while activism or prompting broader social change is secondary (though clearly something he strongly supports).

Finally, the 'vocational capital' returns that Peter gained have not been impervious to criticism from L1X speakers, or indeed those who view his activities through a hermeneutic of suspicion, seeing him as an instance of *homo economicus* who has rationally identified an opportunity to package up and sell off the isiXhosa language. As related in the epigraph of this report, Peter tells a story of this occurring: he was accused of getting "fat" (rich) off the language of the Xhosa people.[468] It was thus in being accused of greedy language capitalism that he encountered "probably the biggest challenge I ever faced in terms of a Xhosa person ... you know, saying such a horrific thing to me." In the interview, he remarked that teaching isiXhosa is perhaps not the most economic choice for a career. As he puts it, fat is "the one thing that I certainly am not – I'm a 'skinny bean' still, especially financially compared to all my friends."

B.5.4.2.2 Zookairotic Gains

Learning to speak isiXhosa substantially changed Peter's interaction with most L1 speakers, who typically exhibit a surprised "Wow!" response as they recognise him to be someone who has put in considerable effort in learning. They then "open up" to Peter in a way they otherwise would not have.[469] He describes Xhosa people as being "stoked" (excited) and appreciative of him "making an effort to meet them in *their* world and relate in that space" – and they were stoked *despite* "not knowing much" about who Peter was. The mere symbolic value of his isiXhosa ability disposes interlocutors to regard him favourably.

Peter implies that he has gained respect – i.e. homage/honour – from L1X speakers by learning their language, which in his case was a means of paying respect to *them*. More specifically, he gained respect through displaying linguistic evidence of effort in his learning, for example mastery of vocabulary beyond that which is necessary[470] – often the sort called "deep Xhosa" that emanates from the rural Eastern Cape. However beyond patent evidence of

[468] "I ...walk[ed] into a place where I was teaching Xhosa at an NGO [...] one of the Xhosa employees said to me, as I walked in ... I think he said, '*Uyatyeba ngokulwimi lwethu*' ... That's like, 'Oh – here's the *umlungus* [white people] getting fat off our language' ... I responded to him in a way that was like, 'Hey, believe me, like I'd be much fatter if I wasn't doing this job': [I] made it into a joke."
[469] "Not every single time, but like, you know, not everyone – I mean, all of this is a generalization – but like so many times (that I've just lost count, you know), people opened up in a different way ..."
[470] Admittedly a low bar, given the Anglocentric language shift occurring through urbanisation and education.

effort on learning how to *speak*, evidence of *comprehension* also "brings another level of respect" where L1X speaker's "eyes go wide", and they

> realise [that] actually, they can't just talk normal Xhosa, thinking you don't know what they're saying, you know. So that also breaks through an automatic assumption [of ignorance] and a kind of a barrier to relationship that people carry. (**Peter**)

In this way, learning isiXhosa has provided him with a humanising mechanism that goes both ways. On the one hand, he became the subject of empathy,[471] and on the other he succeeded in "truly humanis[ing] people through learning their language" in ways that brought *him* great joy as well as pain (see below).

It has helped quieten any fear "that comes from tribalism", and answered for him the questions "'Who can we trust?' and 'Who's got our back?'". It has provided him with "a sense of being valued" and, in conjunction with his pursuit of teaching isiXhosa, a "feeling of contentment" and "... balance that certainly helps [him] to have a lot of peace" – a peace that is not threatened or forestalled by being conscious of socioeconomic privilege. Whether partially or wholly, as a result of this affirmation and embrace, Peter states that he is "deeply, deeply rewarded from the sense of belonging, and ... connection that I have, and also a balance." He emphasised often "a huge sense of belonging" during the interview.

Connection and ubuntu: the joy of mutual affirmation

Peter speaks about a certain experience of *je ne sais quoi*[472] that emerges when encountering Xhosa people on humanised terms of mutual respect and non-objectification. He has experienced this as a joyous affirmation of himself as a learner and speaker and, at a deeper level, as a human being – this affirmation, he asserts, is "something really, really wonderful that [Xhosa] people are able to give." Even when Peter says "something like 'Ja, *ndingumlungu*' [Yes, I'm a whitey] or 'I don't even speak good Xhosa,'" he reports that his interlocutors nevertheless "will affirm [him] as a person, they will affirm [him] as a speaker, they will affirm [him] as a member of their community, and of their nation". These encounters create "a little weird feeling in [his] heart, some kind of strange joy, you know, or sense of nostalgia".[473] He goes on to claim that while he has had this kind of "open-hearted"

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[471] For example, he was invited to volunteer at the township school because "the kids would empathise with [him] more [than a non-isiXhosa speaking person]"

[472] "Yeah, man, we just don't even have a clue. We just don't even know what it is"

[473] He expands further on this the effects of this encounter: "[It's] so immense, you know ... it's brought me to tears, you know, like in a way that doesn't make sense. And I'll even think, 'Oh, is it just because they've removed my fear and my guilt as a white person?' You know, is that what it is? Is it like 'a moment's reprieve', you know? And I'm like, "No, it's not man. It's so much deeper.'"

encounter “maybe one or two times” in his English cultural and communal life, “with Xhosa people, [he’s] had it 20,000 times!”

While careful not to romanticise individual Xhosa people as paragons of ethical or cultural virtue, Peter locates his *je ne sais quoi* experience in the expression of a tangible, though arguably faltering, sense of communal personhood, which is referred to in isiXhosa (and other Nguni languages) as *ubuntu*. This philosophy of human community is something that white South Africans, of largely Western heritage, have lost according to Peter’s analysis, especially given the triple whammy of the post-industrial, post-colonial, and post-*apartheid* historical context. Due to a cultural lack of roots and connection, he asserts (speaking as part of the white SA community) that “our hearts recognise [*ubuntu*] ... when these folk are able to transmit it.” That they can do so “in spite of everything” – by which he refers to *apartheid* – is a source of surprise and gratitude.

Peter implies that while achieving proficiency in isiXhosa was “not crucial,” it was “such a powerful and useful ... catalyst” towards this kind of affirmative, joy-bringing experience – assuming “one is open for it” and “wanting it.” He certainly did want it, and thus, at the interpersonal, cultural and spiritual levels – all of which motivated his initial learning of isiXhosa – Peter has gained a transformative, zookairotic return: a much fuller, rooted, communal sense of life in South Africa, characterised by enriching quasi-mystical moments of interpersonal encounter.

Kenosis and positive discomfort

In Peter’s case, the process of AfLL prompted a sense of what McIntosh (2018) termed “discomfort [that] is positive” (499), arguably an instance of zookairotic capital. The L2AfLL process reportedly rendered Peter consistently “humbled” – foolish, consistently unable to communicate or interact properly with L1X speakers.[474] This may be characterised as a kind of prolonged *kenosis*, a term borrowed from theology which involves a process of self-emptying and being effaced before others, becoming “vulnerable” – this is, in turn, prompts the emergence of positive discomfort.

The first outcome of *kenosis* is the acquisition of epistemic humility – a recognition that, as Peter stated, “you don’t know what you don’t know” – and thus acquiring the requisite disposition for bridging the knowledge gap. As Peter states, when one occupies that

[474] “I was also humbled regularly by people and by my interactions ...”

"'in-between point' where you're actually disempowered by the language, because you don't know it, [then] your efforts are showing a willingness to reach out and bridge": and in Peter's case this was actually effective, leading to joyful, humanising encounters as described in the previous section. However, learning and teaching isiXhosa is not "all roses" – is that leaving a monoculture for a hybrid space can cause alienation from those 'left behind'. By undergoing *kenosis* to occupy the "in-between point" between Xhosa and English worlds, Peter has been alienated from his own kin in some cases, particularly those indifferent to bridges or indeed opposed to them. He reported having "gone through long phases of feeling rejected by white people, or, you know, looked down at or mistrusted" and has the hypothesis that some have seen him as rejecting white people "for the black people" – and this sense of alienation does "have a lasting effect on some level."

Beyond alienation, *kenosis* has resulted in Peter becoming vulnerable, in perceptual and emotional terms, to the realities of most Xhosa and black South Africans. He mentions, for example, his insight into the fact that many AfL speakers are kept in a perpetual state of *kenosis* and apparent ignorance due to the poorly resourced educational system, which doggedly insists on English *qua* MoI. More specifically, he reports that

> Xhosa people tell me like the pain of their situation, you know, in Xhosa, many, many different times in many contexts. When all my friends are drinking and at a party, I'm talking to the security people about how they're being paid R5 [~25p] an hour and doing 24-hour shifts, and not getting given food, and having to pay for their own transport. (**Peter**)

In this way, learning isiXhosa has indirectly caused Peter to become "conscious of [his] privileges" and have "huge compassion for the poor." Thus, what he calls the "shadow side" of his path has been "a lot of emotional burden," which in turn has caused him to feel "anger and rage at [South African] society" and even empathy for those who turn to violence in the face of injustice – "because I get it; I get where it comes from."

As such, the zookairotic returns from Peter's investment in isiXhosa are complex: they consist of both joyful, affirmation of the self as well as the psychosocial implications of linguistic *kenosis,* which positions the learner such that they occupy a vulnerable, perhaps transgressive middle ground, in which they are open to being changed by the reality of the Other – and when this reality is negative, they cannot avoid this fact.

B6 Natasha: the respectful listener

> I was definitely envious of the fluency that people could get from being Nguni language speakers. Their accuracy would often be off, because they would use bits of Zulu or, you know, they would include other bits of languages, which at the time, the teachers would be very quick to say, "No, that's not that Xhosa, that's Zulu." But to me it just sounded like a very smooth sentence. So I think it was encouraging to me in the sense that even though how people were speaking *sounded* so good, they were also making mistakes; so I felt a bit better about my mistakes, knowing that other people (who I looked at as really good speakers) also made mistakes. It was sometimes frustrating that I didn't have Zulu or really any African language background to build on for Xhosa. (**Natasha**)

B6.1 Investor Profile

Natasha grew up as an L1E-speaking person in the semi-rural EC. She achieved a functional fluency in isiXhosa through academic study, preceded by unintentional passive language acquisition, but in her early 30s (c. 2020), she was arguably more *literate* than she was *fluent*: lack of language use had caused her productive spoken abilities to fall away. Natasha was born around 1990, and grew up in the Eastern Cape. She began home-schooling and "learnt little bits of [the isiXhosa] language here and there". Around the age of ten (10), she went to a rural farm school in a predominantly isiXhosa speaking area; the language was taught "a little bit, [from] Grade 5-7". Upon reaching high school, the majority of her peers were L1X speakers, and this was when she began "paying more attention to [isiXhosa], and really making more of an effort". Her exposure to isiXhosa increased and she began to develop passive understanding of the language. Towards the end of school, she made a "conscious decision" to "actively try to learn" from her Xhosa friends. By the end of this year, she could get the "gist of a conversation, but... [she] couldn't really speak confidently or very well, and… didn't have a good knowledge of the grammar either". Upon reaching university, also in the Eastern Cape, she initially studied arts subjects but then in her second year switched her majors over to isiXhosa and politics instead. She completed isiXhosa as a university major, remarking that in her third year, her language proficiency was "definitely" at its strongest. She continued in the AfLs department as a postgraduate, degrees which did not have a L2X tuition component and entailed fewer isiXhosa-medium interactions. Natasha reflected that "the only time I've really been speaking [isiXhosa] has been in [university] classes" and she seldom used the language beyond this. After completing her Masters, she left the Eastern Cape to work in Johannesburg and overseas: during this time, she "forgot all [her] Xhosa" – likely hyperbole, but evidence of her lengthy lack of AfL maintenance.

B6.2 Conditions

The major conditional factors that prompted Natasha's investment in learning isiXhosa were, firstly, the condition of growing up in geographical proximity to Xhosa people and hearing isiXhosa being spoken. Secondly, her exposure to a model of speaking isiXhosa where fluency was a given, not something acquired, caused her initially to avoid isiXhosa. She was later motivated to invest in learning due to a keen awareness of isiXhosa as a means of social integration at school, as well as growing ideological convictions about its importance.

B6.2.1 Geographical Proximity

As a child, Natasha was exposed to isiXhosa by virtue of living in a rural area of the Eastern Cape, where the majority of the provincial population is Xhosa. Due to this proximity, the associated language's communicative relevance was always tangible to her, both generally but more specifically in her high school community, where she was in the L1E/white minority. The Xhosa-dominated social landscape of the school was "something that [she] was surrounded by all the time": a contributing factor for her desire to learn isiXhosa.

B6.2.2 Early, arms-length exposure to isiXhosa and Afrikaans

Before she moved to a larger town for high school, however, her experience at a farm school influenced her attitudes and beliefs about learning the language, specifically because she encountered the 'farmer's kid' model. When she went to school, she explains that

> because it was a farm school, there was quite a lot of white kids who had grown up on farms and spoke Xhosa fluently. And I think that also gave me the idea that if you don't grow up speaking a language, you'll never really be good at it? So primary school [...] it was quite normal for me to know that white people can also speak 'black languages' – but *only* if you grew up speaking it. (**Natasha**)

She later elaborated that, as a result, she had "always felt a little bit behind and not very good at [isiXhosa]. So [she] didn't really engage much in primary school."

Natasha states that her mother encouraged her to take isiXhosa in high school, but given her shyness (she described herself as "very shy" during her school years), her pre-secondary school experiences of the language, as well as the shock of moving to a large high school from a small-scale educational context, she decided not to choose isiXhosa as an L2 subject in high school, opting for Afrikaans instead. She notes that although isiXhosa was formally a 'second additional language' subject at her school, "everyone who was studying it spoke it as a first language". As a result, the classroom norms were not oriented toward L2 learners and their specific pedagogical needs. Natasha explains that she "was too intimidated

to learn it as a language at school, because [she] knew that the classes were just going to be taught in Xhosa; [she] wasn't going to be able to engage."

Given her felt lack of confidence and knowledge in isiXhosa, Natasha viewed Afrikaans – despite her distaste for it – to be a safer option. During high school, she describes how she had "a bit of a mental block with Afrikaans", which she attributes to a general attitude that "at school everyone was like, 'Oh, we don't like Afrikaans, it's the language of the oppressor.'" She "hated Afrikaans grammar", which she found difficult, and disliked the subject as a result.[475] Although her attitude toward the language has subsequently changed, these experiences *did* entail that she had negative associations with the learning process: it was "not exciting" and rather distasteful. She thought she was 'bad at languages' largely due to her negative experience of learning Afrikaans, and the comparative difficulty of excelling in Afrikaans versus other school subjects.

B6.2.3 Socio-political motivations

Her high school fostered a culture of political and social awareness, "in the sense that people thought very critically about race, particularly being an ex-Model C school", which presumably discouraged uncritical Anglocentric perspectives on language use. As a result, she came to think and feel that learning isiXhosa "was a responsibility": a kind of socio-political duty. She felt the normative strength of investing in what Orman (2008) has called "symmetrical multilingualism",[476] in light of the socio-political reality of the Eastern Cape (and post-*apartheid* South Africa more generally): "it wasn't right that [...] that I wasn't learning a language, when everyone else had to learn a language to speak to me", thus, she concluded, "If I live in Eastern Cape, I should speak Xhosa." Given "the unequal spaces that languages hold in South Africa", her belief was that

> the very least you can do as a white South African is make some sort of effort to speak a language: when everyone else, by default, has to learn your language. So, I think that … was already a motivation [during school] but really grew as a motivation [...] through university. (**Natasha**)

In summary, the substance behind her ideological motivations for learning did not change from school to university, but they merely grew from a nascent form and became more conscious or articulate over time.

[475] She enjoyed and was good at English, however, and thought that English grammar "made sense".
[476] Reciprocal language learning between neighbouring but distinct subpopulations.

B6.2.4 A desire for social participation and integration

For the entirety of high school, Natasha was in the school choir. This ongoing investment – a major time commitment, and one where she was the only non-L1X member – increased the motivational relevance for learning isiXhosa. As she states, "by the time I got to like Grade 10, maybe Grade 11, I was one of, and sometimes the only, white student in the choir." Moreover, when the choir travelled or went on tour, she was "often the only white person in the whole choir tournament." Within such a context, "not being able to speak Xhosa was one of the things that made me feel like I stood out." While the differentiating sense of 'standing out' was something Natasha was aware of, she does not attribute her motivation for learning as an attempt to avoid this. She sees the most important initial motivation as her desire to participate in full: "I really just want[ed] to do things with my friends, be part of things with my friends." She later reflects: "I was sort of included, but not included: in a culture that I very much, at the time, wanted to be a part of. And for me, language was a way of participating, I guess, or being part of this group."

Beyond her Xhosa friends from school (some of whom helped with the Xhosa public speaking competition by translating her speech), Natasha also had a black L1E school friend from Zambia – for whom isiXhosa "learning was almost forced". Seeing her friend learn was "motivating" for Natasha, in the sense that it provided her with a peer in a somewhat analogous learning situation, aside from the racial difference (and all its sociological implications).[477]

B6.3 Commitment

With regard to the processes of investment, Natasha's case reveals that within the social context of her high school, she was marginally invested in learning isiXhosa, to the extent that it was expedient in facilitating her social participation. The results of this, largely passive and unsystematic, were then formally invested during three years of academic isiXhosa study which created a space for safe and sustained language acquisition, both grammatical as well as oral. Certain constraints on Natasha's investment are apparent, which minimised her sense of the social applicability/propriety of isiXhosa, and thus likely the extent of her persistent linguistic return on learning.

[477] Briefly stated, in South Africa, being white in an AfL-majority environment comes with different expectations from being black in the same environment. Black people from elsewhere who do not speak isiXhosa are expected to learn, whereas white people are exempt (or viewed as incapable of learning).

B6.3.1 School Level: Developing passive knowledge

In the early years of primary school, while being home-schooled, she learnt "bits of the language here and there". Moving to a school from Grades 5-7, Natasha did have classes in isiXhosa – but "it was quite strangely taught. It was … taught by a Xhosa second language speaker and all I remember learning was the noun classes" (in other words, she learnt vocabulary but no grammar).

Natasha's experience of high school, beyond classes, involved considerable exposure to isiXhosa: "about 80% of the learners were Xhosa first language speakers. So I was surrounded by it a lot, obviously. And there was also a lot of situations where I would be the only English speaker in my circle of friends, or in a sport or cultural activity and so on". Her involvement in the school choir was a major "cultural activity" in which she was in a sustained passive immersion environment, which contributed to her gradual acquisition of a passive knowledge of isiXhosa through high school.

In her Xhosa friendship circle at school, she describes that when "people [were] just speaking as a group, [it] would often start in English and move into Xhosa". When addressing her directly, Natasha's friends might switch to English, but otherwise common language use gravitated toward isiXhosa. As time went on, Natasha's passive understanding was recognised, increasingly allowing isiXhosa to remain the default language without wholly excluding her from common conversation. The basis for her proficiency therefore came from listening to her friends in high school and being taught "bits [of the language] here and there", so much so that she could get the "gist of a conversation" by her late high school years.

B6.3.2 University Level: systematising passive knowledge

B.6.3.2.1 The L2 isiXhosa Course

The first year of L2X at university was geared towards complete beginners. Given her prior exposure to the language at school, this first year level (particularly the first semester) was a major confidence booster and encouraged her to continue with the subject.

The first year L2X course was taken primarily by those who wanted a taste of isiXhosa but had little intention to persist beyond an introductory level; in terms of course difficulty, "the jump from first year to second year was really big", which meant that the class became small and populated only by those "very interested … and very committed". Thus in the second year at university, the class decreased to around "10 or 12" students, most of whom spoke an

African language as an L1 (predominantly isiZulu) – beyond Natasha, there was only one other L1E speaker in the class who remained.

Because she had developed passive knowledge and a "medium amount of vocab," learning the grammar at university "was very helpful" and helped render her passive knowledge active. She experienced university isiXhosa tuition as being geared towards mastering grammar, a formal language register, and thus reading and writing skills. The course felt systematic and rule-based, allowing one to "understand so much more, make more complex sentences … make it … more tangible."

B.6.3.2.2 Classroom Dynamics

Natasha rated her university language instructors positively, saying that on the whole "the teachers were really good at creating that positive learning space" which involved making people comfortable, creating excitement and "a space where it's okay to laugh; it's okay to make a mistake." Given that the classroom was populated predominantly by L1 Nguni language speakers, Natasha was surrounded by "fluent" speech, but not necessarily "accurate" isiXhosa. One the one hand, this made her feel "envious of the fluency that people could get from being Nguni language speakers" but, on the other, she was encouraged by the fact that they still made mistakes by mixing languages – a leveller of sorts. She described her class as one in which "everyone was very supportive of each other", a space where one could speak "without fear of judgement, without fear of getting it wrong, knowing that people will be patient and listen to you". This was in contrast to naturalistic language settings, where she felt there might be a chance of offending someone by switching to [isi]Xhosa.

Within this teaching and learning context, Natasha found it easy to invest the expected biochronic capital, with concomitant returns. She reports having worked hard, and fulfilling the academic expectations of isiXhosa class – but did not significantly engage in extramural investment beyond the classroom space or prescribed homework: "I worked hard at it, but I never did anything that I didn't have to do ... didn't really use much Xhosa outside of class... didn't do any tutoring or anything."

By the end of her third year of isiXhosa, Natasha had reached the apex of her learning progress and proficiency, particularly in terms of productive skills (writing and speaking); classes were regular and challenging – and were wholly conducted in isiXhosa as the medium of instruction.

B6.3.3 Constraints: English 'language spaces' as the norm

Outside of the classroom setting, Natasha indicates she would seldom greet or interact with potential isiXhosa mediators in cases where she knew that they could speak English, for fear that it came across as "rude". While learning at school and university, she never spent significant periods of time in *monolingual* Xhosa contexts (e.g. a rural village), explaining that "as white people ... as long as we're not in a rural area, there's never the space or the need to do any sort of immersion and that's why I think I never got as good, as fluent, as I would like to have." The lack of need, therefore, constrained the extent of her investment.

Moreover, the sociolinguistic norms of her relationships with Xhosa friends (all of whom can invariably speak English fluently), was from school onwards predicated on English being the basis of non-formulaic, personal communication. For example, she recently organised informal weekly tutorials with an L1X friend, in which they would start-off speaking isiXhosa – but only ended up speaking "a bit" [i.e. a little], because "when we got into a more serious or in-depth conversation, we'd always just switch to English."

B6.4 Capital Gains

B6.4.1 Linguistic returns

B.6.4.1.1 isiXhosa proficiency

Researcher's subjective measure: low-moderate | CEFRL: B2

Referring back to her third year of university study (c. 2012), Natasha reports that it was "the only time I've really been speaking [isiXhosa]" and that "there's no way [she] could write or speak anything like that now". She describes her current proficiency (as of mid-2020) as being very rusty, or it more stark terms, "[her] level now is terrible." She likely retains a decent, unactivated *passive* knowledge of spoken and written isiXhosa, given that this was built up over several years from ages ~14 to ~23. But her productive ability, which possibly never matched her receptive ability (this is unclear in the interview data), has by her own words deteriorated due to lack of consistent use in the last 7-8 years.

B.6.4.1.2 Metalinguistic and crosslinguistic returns

Natasha's investment in isiXhosa has given her a far greater interest, and ability, in learning other languages. She states that "learning Xhosa is probably one of the big things that made me become a 'language person'" and which "opened the gates" for her interest in language learning *per se*. Beyond interest, she also claims that the process of "learning one language and investing in it makes it so much easier to pick up other languages", because it provides a script to follow: an intuitive (or systematic) understanding of the underlying requirements for

successful SLL. This facility in learning opens up opportunities: “Now, every time that we go to a new country, I'm like ‘Yes! And to learn this language – I can’t wait!’ ... since learning Xhosa I’ve also learnt Vietnamese; a bit of Dutch; I’m learning French now; [I’ve] learnt a bit of Zulu.” Concerning isiZulu, Natasha’s investment in isiXhosa has facilitated the acquisition of other official South African AfLs – for example, Sepedi. She describes how “even [Sepedi] was easier to pick up ... just from having the language learning background.” Beyond general effects of increased metalinguistic capital, she finds that when specifically “learning one South African [i.e. Bantu/siNtu] language, even though there are different language groups, there's definite similarities where it made it easier for me to pick up Sepedi from knowing Xhosa, and I could then also get by with conversations in Zulu.” A major return has therefore been the ability to accrue linguistic capital beyond isiXhosa *per se*.

B6.4.2 Non-linguistic returns

Compared to other participants, Natasha did not emphasise the non-linguistic benefits of learning an AfL like isiXhosa, largely because the meta- and cross-linguistic returns have had the largest effects on her life, transforming her into a “language person” with all that this entails. She did however mention two domains – the vocational and social – where she has seen some moderate returns.

B.6.4.2.1 Vocational returns

Natasha’s knowledge of isiXhosa has fed directly into her current vocation as academic researcher – she is investigating the linguistic barriers between doctors and L1X patients with regard to certain medical conditions. Prior to starting her PhD research, she worked as a teacher, and “it definitely helped [her] be able to communicate a lot better ... in [her] work context” – for example “meeting parents and speaking Zulu with them,” illustrating the practical crosslinguistic returns of learning isiXhosa.

B.6.4.2.2 Social returns

If Natasha finds herself “in a space where people don’t speak English”, then “it’s easier for [her] to communicate, [...which] is helpful and important”. She states that the reception she has received from L1X (and other AfL) speakers is typically “positive” and appreciated, but in her experience it has never been a “Wow!” response. In accordance with her ideology of AfLs, she appreciates this lack, as she does not “think it *ever* should be a ‘Wow!’ response.” In light of other participant’s reports, it is possible that the relatively-muted social implications of Natasha’s use of isiXhosa has been constrained by her explicit desire not to be someone who “shows off”, or is “rude” and “[dis]respectful”, by using – or even

exploiting – the language. This in turn may be partially influenced by social introversion (signalled above by her tendency to be "very shy" at school), but equally an ideological sensitivity to the imbalance of language status and symbolic capital attributed to AfLs and English.

Although she could easily use isiXhosa in transactional circumstances, Natasha developed what she calls "an awareness of when to use another language" like isiXhosa, or when to use English as the common lingua franca. This comparative awareness, informed by her familiarity with isiXhosa speech patterns and Xhosa forms of BSAE, meant she could "quickly figure out ... where people's language ability sits." This, in conjunction with the fact of widespread L2 English proficiency in town environments, structured her interactions in the Eastern Cape to the extent that she typically "didn't greet, like, shop attendants and so on ... because [she] knew that their English was better than [her] Xhosa." Her decision not to use isiXhosa when her interlocutor's level of English was objectively superior to her isiXhosa connects closely with her desire not to be

> that person who just shows off that they've learned Xhosa. Because there were sometimes [when] I'd see people do that, and they couldn't speak any Xhosa really, but they would just want to be those people who are like, "*Molo sisi! Unjani*?"[478] ... so that everyone will be like, "Oh, wow, look at this white girl speaking Xhosa!" ... So I was very conscious of not doing that. (**Natasha**)

This illustrates Natasha's awareness of the complex dynamics of AfL-English bilingualism (or at least semi-bilingualism), where for some black L1AfL speakers, to speak English well – whether to L1E speakers or other L1AfL speakers – is symbolic and performative of socioeconomic mobility and status.[479] Natasha fears, therefore, that "greet[ing] someone in Xhosa" may sometimes come across as "rude" and not "respectful". Her keen awareness of language disparities in terms of proficiency and status, as well as her desire to avoid potential offence against AfL speakers, appear to moderate or minimise the scope/applicability of social capital acquired via her investment in isiXhosa – beyond, perhaps, providing her with consistent covert (though diminishing?) understanding of isiXhosa and mutually-intelligible Nguni languages in public spaces and discourse.

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[478] [Good day, sister! How are you?] This formulaic greeting is typical of beginners, and to some extent (exactly how much is unclear) signals an instance of self-congratulatory, token language learning done simply to evoke the "Wow!" factor. My own sense is that this is less and less effective within city contexts, and more and more cringeworthy from the perspective of L1 and proficient isiXhosa speakers like Natasha and Peter.

[479] Much depends on the ideological stance taken by L1AfL speakers with regard to their AfL (or AfLs in general): for some, speaking *only* in the relevant AfL is a statement of socio-political ideology. Whether or not their interlocutor understands is a different matter.

Appendix C: **Metaphor and Investment**

C1 Metaphor and theory

"*... but all science would be superfluous if the outward appearance and the essence of things directly coincided*."

Karl Marx (1984:817), *Capital vol. 3*

"*if metaphors help us conceptualize a complex phenomenon or process, they are useful*."

Daryl Chubin (1986: 158), *on the topic of 'Science as Investment'*

In an edited volume entitled *Critical Realism in Economics*, Paul Lewis (1999) provides "a detailed, systematic account of metaphor's role in scientific theorising" (83) – and without *once* mentioning an economic metaphor. If one considers the core analytical process of retroduction described in the first chapter, Lawson (1999) notes that

> [t]hose working on critical realism ... have generally rested content with making the observation that it 'relies upon a logic of analogy and metaphor amongst other things.' Of course, such a claim requires unpacking and ... presupposes a particular conception of metaphor and of how metaphorical reasoning is able to aid this process of scientific illumination. (10)

Drawing on work by Richards (1936), Harré (1970; 1986), Schön (1979), and Martin-Soskice (1985), Lewis unpacks the role of metaphor as an 'underlabourer of science', by defining metaphor, discussing how it functions, and finally how it invokes models that contribute toward the retroductive goal of developing and refining theory. The following section considers these points in more detail.

C1.1 Metaphor: a definition and example

Martin-Soskice (1985) succinctly defines metaphor "as the figure of speech that allows us to speak about one thing in terms which are suggestive of another" (qtd. in Lewis, 1999: 89). At the most basic level, this is what metaphor does. Metaphor is often associated with poetry and literature, an artistic 'part of speech' used to represent the world in ways that are aesthetically interesting or surprising. Yet beyond creative uses of language for artistic purposes – and central to the thrust of this chapter – metaphor is central to the expansion of human knowledge. Lewis (1999) argues that new knowledge necessarily comes from old knowledge: "it is hardly comprehensible that [it] could be created out of nothing. Rather, knowledge comes about through the transformation of preexisting knowledge-like material" (83). Except perhaps in the case of onomatopoeic terms, "new and potentially referring terms cannot simply be invented out of thin air" and still be expected to extend human knowledge

regarding the thing to which it refers (88). Words, when applied to new phenomena, need a pre-existing sense which "determines the possibility of reference". If the sense of the word or utterance sufficiently 'fits' the thing referred to, the *extent* to which it does this "effects a refinement of sense" (87; cf. Harré, 1986; Boyd, 1993). In other words, there is a dialectic between phenomena and the words we use for them, and this presupposes that phenomena have essential features that exist objectively, beyond the socially-constructed senses of words that refer to them (a hallmark presupposition of critical realism).

For example, if one stumbles upon a worm that looks remarkably like a snake, and one thinks (or shouts) the metaphor "That thing's a snake!", then the sense of the word 'snake' obviously contains the "possibility of reference" to elongated, slithering organisms without limbs. Yet imagine that further examination of the creature "effects a refinement of sense" to the degree that another word, 'worm', is deemed a more accurate signifier – perhaps because the creature lacks a tongue and has no reptilian reproductive system (and so on). In this example, the suggestive term 'snake' dialectically aids in classifying the worm, as it *generates* a set of correlated conceptual features that can be mapped on to the subject, and confirmed, modified, or in this case, rejected in turn.

C1.2 The dynamics of metaphor

Following Schön (1963, [1979] 1993), Lewis goes on to argue that this kind of metaphor – generative metaphor –

> is not merely an ornate expression of similarities and analogies its author was already aware of, but is the source of new perceptions of similarity and analogy ... that were unknown until the metaphor pointed them out and thereby brought them to the author's attention. (1999: 88)

In I.A. Richards' discussion of metaphor (1936), he distinguishes between the subject, or "tenor", of a metaphor and its "vehicle" – in the case given above, the worm is the subject/tenor (what the metaphor is about) and the snake is the vehicle (what it is suggestively being related to). The term 'vehicle' is *itself* a helpful metaphor for explaining the inner workings of metaphor, for it rightly suggests that the use of metaphor is *dynamic*: it involves "a borrowing between and intercourse of *thoughts*, a transaction between contexts" (Richards, 1936: 94) and these thoughts "interanimate" each other, causing ideas like (in the example above) 'reptilian', 'venomous', 'scaly', 'cold-blooded', 'oviparous' to emerge in relation to the subject. This "interanimation" of the tenor and vehicle, developed later into a full-fledged theory by Martin-Soskice (1985), is whence "the cognitive power of metaphor derives" (Lewis, 1999: 89).

Summarising the generative process of metaphor, Lewis states that the vehicle – 'snake', in this case, "organises our thoughts about the tenor" – i.e. the worm – and it does this by "selecting and emphasising features of the subject matter different from those highlighted by conventional language" (90). Perhaps one is caused to wonder whether or not the worm is venomous, as some snakes are; had it been viewed only as a 'worm' from the outset, this question might have been last on the research agenda. Through selection of and emphasis on certain features derived from the vehicle, one's attention is directed towards features of the subject that – in the absence of the metaphor – may never have been considered. The metaphor prompts what Lewis calls "*emergent* cognitive content, portraying its underlying subject in a unique and novel way" (89).

C1.3 Metaphor and Models: developing theory

Echoing Chubin's remark at the beginning of this section, metaphors can be useful in science when they help us to conceptualise phenomena. Put differently, generative metaphor can catalyse the development and refinement of theoretical models. Lewis cites Schön (1963) when he applies metaphor generally to the scientific expansion of knowledge:

> Through metaphor, scientists' conceptual grasp of subject matter is enhanced by means of the displacement of a term from a well-established context of use in order to structure a different, less well-understood domain of inquiry. (1999: 94)

The process of metaphorical structuring in less-understood domains amounts to the development of a theoretical model. While a metaphor relies on a tenor and vehicle (Richards, 1936), following Harré's (1970) terminology, a model is constituted by a "*subject*, what it is that the model represents; and its *source*, whatever it is that the model is based on" (38, italics in original). Harré makes a distinction between two kinds of models: *homeomorphic*, e.g. a model of a train at a smaller scale, where the subject and source are the same, and *paramorphic*, where the subject and the source of the model differ (Lewis, 1999). A homeomorphic model presupposes extant, in-depth knowledge of its subject, whereas a paramorphic model becomes relevant when one is dealing with a "less well-understood domain of enquiry".

The latter kind of model may "provide the causal framework, as well as the theoretical terms and hypothetical entities, necessary for explanation" (91). Metaphor, therefore, "*suggests* a [paramorphic] model in terms of which the scientist can attempt to explain his subject matter", and more specifically, it provides the resources needed for

retroduction[480] (the primary analytic move within CR), for it generates "existential hypotheses about putative entities, mechanisms, structures, and so on, which, if they were to exist, would explain the observable behaviour of the subject (92-3). Returning to the earlier metaphor ('That thing's a snake!'), the model suggested therein invokes biological (or better: herpetological) structures and mechanisms which – hypothetically – might explain the apparent snake-like nature of the worm.

Implicit in the ongoing example of metaphor is the fact that generative metaphor has limitations, because it can misrepresent its subject – which may ontologically differ from the structures and mechanisms underlying the metaphorical source/vehicle. The possibility of *incongruous* metaphor is actually a good thing – for when this is recognised, non-reductionism as an analytic norm is safeguarded. Lewis explains it well as follows:

> it is because senses [i.e. the meanings of words] are important in making reference [to the phenomenon in question] *but not fully definitive of it* that metaphor is so useful in the realist project of reality depiction. The way that the reference of the metaphorically constituted theory terms is secured has an essential *dynamic and dialectic aspect.* (1999: 95, italics, elaboration mine)

The use of metaphor, limited as it is, therefore resists the epistemological naivety of positivism – indeed, "the very vagueness for which positivists condemn metaphor is a crucial ingredient in metaphor's contribution to scientific investigation" (96) – and aligns with the reflexive post-positivist epistemological assumptions of CR, which stresses emergence and the dangers of part-whole fallacies. Citing Martin-Soskice (1985), Lewis asserts that

> The 'conceptual open-endedness' or 'extensibility' of metaphor – the way that it yields a stream of theoretical terms and suggests potential areas of similarity and analogy between subject and source – is instrumental in hinting at the direction in which the scientist's thought should move next, how she should 'go on' in investigating her subject matter. (1999: 100)

It becomes increasingly clear how metaphor, a figure of speech and the darling of rhetoricians, is a crucial mechanism by which science advances; it can help (re)conceptualise phenomena through its core process of semantic interanimation; it provides the rich conceptual backdrop for refining theoretical models; and in some cases, as Schön notes, it becomes "essential to the *formation* of the theory". He offers an example of gene theory: "the lecturer may say, 'Think of it, if you will, as a kind of code', when in fact he has no other

[480] "Retroduction, in contrast to both induction and deduction, is to move from the level of the phenomenon identified to a different 'deeper' level in order to explain the phenomenon, to identify a causal mechanism responsible. It is, for example, to move from the observation that ravens are black to a theory of a mechanism intrinsic (and also possibly extrinsic) to ravens which disposes them to be black [...]" (Lawson, 1999: 10).

way of thinking of it" (Schön 1963:105). In summary, metaphor can provide a model as well "intelligible vocabulary" that contain the "conceptual and linguistic tools" to structure one's approach to an unknown or misunderstood domain (Lewis, 1999: 94). As an "underlabourer of science", this humble figure of speech plays an important role in CR's analytic toolbox – given that the aim of CR is "to *facilitate* successful substantive theories" (Lawson 1999: 15).

The primary subject (or tenor) of this dissertation is 'successful AfLL'; the vehicle, introduced in the course of this chapter, is 'investment'. By relating investment suggestively to language learning, it is hoped that the subject can be perceived in ways that "were unknown until the metaphor pointed them out" (Lewis, 1999: 88). Whether constitutive of theory or simply an alternate mode of explaining theory, the investment metaphor is naturally applied due to its strong economic associations, and the economic realities of discretionary L2IL learning; whether the realities of language development is best understood within an economic frame may only be known once one has tested the suggestions offered up by the metaphor.

C2 Investment: an etymology

In order to understand the contemporary meanings and underlying model of investment, it is necessary to address its etymology. The root of 'investment' or 'invest' is the Latin word 'vestire', which simply means "to dress or clothe", while the prefix 'in-' extends this meaning to 'to clothe in; cover; surround'. These terms were initially used in late 14th century France and England for a specific ecclesial use, namely "to clothe in the official robes". This applied most notably to the investment of bishops, though by the 17th century 'invest(ment)' was being used in cases of accession to an office, or the 'investment' of a right or endowment. The old Norman-English word for clothing – vestment – from Old French '*vestement'* (cf. contemporary French '*vêtement'*), retains a strongly ecclesial sense to this day, and the term 'investiture' now connotes the original literal meaning of investing someone into a (literal or metaphorical) robe of new office.

Within modern English, to 'invest' in the default, commercial or financial sense, i.e. to "use money to produce profit" or "an investing of money or capital", was first used in the early 17th century in relation to the (British) East India Company. This is likely a borrowing from a special usage of the 13th century Italian term *investire* which had the sense of "giving one's capital a new form" which was derived from a more general metaphorical use ("to

clothe something with certain attributes"). By the 1830s 'investment' had taken on the sense of "amount of money invested", thus referring both to process and product.[481]

C3 A broadly economic approach to investment

Having introduced investment as a metaphor, and alluded to its contemporary economic underpinning, it is appropriate to define economics more broadly in relation to investment. Economics is fundamentally concerned with value, but has no inherent values itself (Sowell, 2010). It is "only a way of weighing one value against another" (Sowell, 2010: 591) in the context of value scarcity. Put differently, the classic definition by the British economist Lionel Robbins was that economics is "the study of the use of scarce resources which have alternative uses" (qtd in Sowell, 2010: 2-3) or "the allocation of scarce means to satisfy competing ends" as per Becker (1976; Grin, 2003). The fact of scarcity and the potential for substitution ('optionality'), vis-à-vis things of putative value, are the essence of economic science. The necessity of trade-offs (sacrifices/compromises) and inevitable reality of supply/demand imbalance entails that economics is particularly interested in the interplay between short-term and long-term value creation and destruction. Given the human tendency to project into the future (what Sartre calls "transcendence"), economics both approximates and discounts the present value of assets, which are "nothing more than its anticipated future benefits, added up and discounted for the fact that they are delayed" (Sowell, 2010: 317). Sowell provides a helpful example, in the context of investment, asserting that

> [p]resent value links the future to the present in many ways. It makes sense for a ninety-year-old man to begin planting fruit trees that will take 20 years before they reach their maturity because his land will *immediately* be worth more as a result of those trees. (Sowell, 2010: 317)

Economics also attempts to take 'externalities' into account, i.e. side-effects that emerge from the prioritisation of one set of values over others, for example those of a certain demographic or policy at the expense of others. *Inter alia*, this is one reason why it has been termed the 'dismal' science, and in Sowell's words often "seen as a needlessly narrow, if not morally warped, way of looking at the world" (2010: 592): in economics, there are no absolute values. This is echoed by Francois Grin in his discussion of language economics: "what certainly *is* true is that economics constantly reminds us of *limitations* – more precisely, of the fact that resources are limited, and that this imposes constraints on human action" (2003: 6). He goes

[481] *Investment | Origin and Meaning of Investment by Online Etymology Dictionary*, n.d. URL: https://www.etymonline.com/word/investment. Date Accessed: 23/03/2021; *Invest | Origin and Meaning of Invest by Online Etymology Dictionary*, n.d. URL: https://www.etymonline.com/word/invest. Date Accessed: 23/03/2021.

on to defend economics against the 'dismal science' moniker, saying that it "does not merely (and negatively) confine us to a depressing world of scarcity and frustration – it also stresses (positively) the role of choice, in which actors have a not insignificant degree of personal freedom" (8). This focus on choice and freedom – human agency – will be discussed in greater detail later.

Finally, economics is often seen in so-called "narrow" terms because it has come to be fixated on trade-offs in *quantifiable* or *tangible* value: the kind articulated in business quarterly reports, wages/employment data, and the financial markets – possibly an externality of the 'mathematicisation' of economics that began in the early-to-mid-20th century. At the same time, the narrow interest in quantifiable values – principally seen in fiscal, commercial, and financial domains – is a caricature of economics as a discipline of study, which is more of an approach than concerned with narrowly 'economic' subject matter. Indeed, Grin "calls for a shift of emphasis from subject matter [i.e. the narrow understanding] to approach" and that it is "fundamentally a *way* of looking at human experience as a tension between ends and means" (2003: 6). Applying such a broadly economic approach, investment may be understood as one way of shaping of human experience by deciding to prioritise certain ends and means over others for the long-term. Sowell elaborates helpfully on this:

> The principles of investment are involved in activities that do not pass through the marketplace, and are not normally thought of as economic. Putting things away after you use them is an investment of time in the present to reduce the time required to find them in the future. Explaining yourself to others can be a time-consuming, and even unpleasant, activity but it is engaged in as an investment to prevent greater unhappiness in the future from misunderstandings. (2010: 296)

Investment, in other words, may or may not be a quantifiable economic phenomenon. Despite its domain-generality, its metaphorical source – ecclesial – has now been irrevocably substituted with the subject matter predominantly associated with investment in contemporary discourse. Two of the main narrowly economic domains in which investment occurs – the 'real' economy and the financial economy – are briefly described in order to suggest the underlying, similar but distinct sources of each.

Investment in the 'real' economy refers to the kind of investment that businesses and organisations, whether for-profit or not, engage in: "the process of adding to stocks of real productive assets" (Black, 1997: 251). Such entities invest in improving their means of production: technology, land or infrastructure with which they produce something of value. In more recent discourse, companies invest in the intellectual capital of their employees/labour. Indeed, following the inadvertantly original monetary sense of 'talent',

corporate entities may be said to invest in "talent" (specialised or highly productive labour) and thus speak of "talent acquisition", and actively seek to increase the "human capital" or technical skillset of their employees and executives. Corporates may invest in innovation often in terms of research and development ('R&D') in order to stay ahead of competitors, to increase their scale of operations, or to increase the value of their offering (Black, 1997).

Beyond investment in real economic assets, investment also occurs within the financial economy, whereby securities (e.g. bonds or equity/stocks) are issued by companies during fundraising, and where they are traded by brokers on behalf of investors and speculators. Black (1997) elaborates as follows:

> Investments in the financial sense are often used to fund investment in the [real economic] sense, for example when companies sell new shares to finance the building of new factories. The two senses of investment are not invariably linked, however: real investment can be paid for from retained profits without the use of financial intermediaries; and firms can use the proceeds of share issuances to pay off debt or to finance the acquisition of other firms, rather than spending money on physical investment. (251)

It becomes apparent, therefore, that the financial economy is secondary to the real economy, from which it is derived: thus investment in the financial economy can both enable, and benefit from, investment in the real economy. The advent of financialisation, particularly in the last half-century (Kay, 2015), has meant that the financial economy, and thus investment therein, has become increasingly complex and subject to a set of rules or principles that look quite different to the dynamics governing investment in real assets.

A metaphor that is applied within a certain domain, once normalised, becomes unremarkable in its capacity as a metaphor. In the case of investment, its uptake within the narrowly economic sphere, whether real or financial, has become so normal over the course of history that even its status *as a metaphor* is now largely forgotten: the meaning is now deemed to be essentially *economic* instead of *ecclesial*.[482] Following these established economic metaphor-sources for investment, the term is often applied with regard to relationships or projects that require commitment and often regular engagement, in a way similar to 'real economy' investment. One might hear of 'investing' in relation to relationships with family or friends, something which typically involves *time* and *energy* as the main resources to be invested.

[482] Yet, one may argue, even in the original sense of ecclesial investment, economics is at play: bishops are always scarce in relation to priests, and even more so to laity (compounded further by extreme scarcity in the West's "secular age", as per Charles Taylor). A bishop's role entails a heightened degree of commitment, responsibility and oversight for the church; bishops are to be the shepherds of the shepherds, and some have better pastoral values than others: there is the potential for substitution.

C4 Investment and human capital

As alluded to above, one common usage is in relation to education – particularly post-secondary schooling. One invests in 'further education' or in 'marketable skills' in order to add value to society (i.e. become a wage earner). In this sense of investment, the notion of "human capital" often comes to the fore, although investment occurs from the position of an individual or family seeking to improve their stock of labour, rather than goods or services in the case of a corporate. Unlike relational investment, educational investment typically invokes time, energy, as well as *money*.[483]

The idea of 'human capital' has been an idea present in classical economics since (at least) Adam Smith. He discusses "the acquired and useful abilities of all the inhabitants or members of the society" as follows:

> The acquisition of such talents, by the maintenance of the acquirer during his education, study, or apprenticeship, always costs a real expense, which is a capital fixed and realized, as it were, in his person. Those talents, as they make a part of his fortune, so do they likewise that of the society to which he belongs. The improved dexterity of a workman may be considered in the same light as a machine or instrument of trade which facilitates and abridges labor, and which, though it costs a certain expense, repays that expense with a profit." (Smith, 1869: 279)

It was Becker (1975), however, who popularised the term "human capital" in economics, and emphasised the scope of economic analysis within human developmental phenomena – specifically phenomena relevant to the measurable economic *outcomes* that investment in human capital produced, with human capital being subsumed into the concept of *labour*, one of the traditionally understood elements of the economy. The cost of labour is, of course, wages: and Becker's work focused (among other things) on the variation of wages in relation to quantifiable forms of educational attainment (i.e. standardised certification).

The idea of investing in human *capital* can easily fall afoul of accusations of "narrowly economic" reductionism, in which capital spent on education is justified only in terms of potential increases in net profit (for a company) or salary (for an individual). Yet given the broader tradition within economics which deals not only with tangible assets but also intangible assets, the idea of 'human capital' has a great deal of conceptual promise – the dynamics that motivate it, the process by which it is gained (or lost), and the means by which it is measured as an outcome. Viewed through a more broadly economic lens, with a focus on

[483] It is assumed that education is paid for, because certification has, until recent times, been a strong market signal for educational attainment – and certification is an industry reliant on money.

scarce resources and tension between the ends and means, it can acquire ethical, artistic and other connotations – *all* the goods peculiar to human beings, not only those with narrowly economic relevance. In both the relational and human-capital (educational) uses of the investment metaphor, the underlying 'real economy' source is the same. It acts as a comprehensive heuristic for describing and understanding committed, intentional behaviour – which could be otherwise – and which utilises scarce temporal and monetary capital. Below, two metaphorical applications of investment – derived from both the real-economic and financial forms – are reviewed within the psychological literature on creativity.

C5 Investment in the creative economy

> *... those interested in the impact of zeitgeist will be curious about the nearly simultaneous appearance of economic and investment theories of creativity.*
> Runco (1991: 198)

> *Language is truly a wonderful example of everyday creativity – maybe the best example, in fact.* Runco (2014: 424)

Before focusing on investment in language learning, the metaphor has seen extensive use within psychological literature on theorising the development and outcomes of creativity. Runco's remark about the "nearly simultaneous appearance of economic and investment theories of creativity" – perhaps surprising at the time of writing – is in retrospect not unremarkable given the zeitgeist: the fall of the Berlin war and the USSR and its satellite states; the triumph of free-market democracies; the growing momentum of neo-liberal policies, financial liberalisation, and globalisation. The late 80s and early 90s were a time of economic opening, technological innovation and increased investment globally, and these factors naturally had an impact on the contemporary worldview, especially in relation to the topic of creativity – which at a domain-general level was crucial to the development of these socioeconomic trends. One reason for this is that "creativity and innovation have important implications for both individual and national income and welfare" (Rubenson, 1991: 205). But beyond a relevance to economics *per se*, the interdisciplinary potential of economic concepts was applied by scholars to traditionally non-economic domains of study. In Rubenson's opinion – an economist's – it appeared that there was "mileage" to be gained by "combining the languages and concepts of economics and creativity research" (1991: 205). The result of this combination, and the scholarly debate and collaboration it produced, provides a helpful context in order to understand the potential of the metaphor to inform scientific theorising, particularly given that creativity basically undergirds the development and use of language. The first instance of the investment metaphor is in the context of Runco

and Rubenson's psychoeconomic theory of creativity, and the second is found in the investment theory of creativity proposed by Sternberg and Lubart. Firstly, it is not lost on these authorial dyads that metaphor is central to what they were doing, and they thus had reason to reflect on the application of an economic/investment metaphor to their psychological subject matter.

C5.1 Real-economic versus financial investment theories of creativity

Two economic / investment theories of creativity are the focus of this section: the psychoeconomic theory of creativity (Rubenson, 1990; Runco, 1990; Rubenson and Runco, 1992), in which investment appears as an element is a general 'real-economic' approach to creativity, and Sternberg and Lubart's (1991) investment theory of creativity, which specifically uses financial investment as the source of its model of creative activity.

R&R's (1992) psychoeconomic approach to creativity follows essentially from Becker's (1975) extension of capital to human capital, which in the creativity literature was first taken up by Walberg (1988). The latter assumed "people as capital assets to themselves and others" (342) and observed the need for people to make allocative choices "between working [i.e. a job] and various investments in enhancing their capital", a binary that exists alongside the "consumption of time and talent" i.e. discretionary spending of time and money (343). In R&R's summation of the human capital literature, "investment decisions will in general depend on a comparison, at the margin, of the expected benefits from the investment with the expected costs" (1992: 135).

As applied to creativity per se, R&R (1992) posit that "the development of creative potential in individuals" occurs as a result of "some initial endowments (such as heredity), active investments a person may make in his or her creative potential, and environmental influences" (Rubenson, 1990: 126). These are later described in brief as "passive and active influences" (127) on the development and practice of creativity. There are several fundamental economic assumptions about the nature of creative activity: firstly, that it *costs* something – whether in pecuniary, psychological or temporal terms (1992; Rubenson, 1991) – and is motivated by certain kinds of *benefit*. Secondly, these costs and benefits are conditioned, though not determined, by the 'zeitgeist' (Runco, 2014) or environmental influences – which Runco sees as being "manifested in attitudes, expectations, and assumptions about creative things and creative people" within a certain era, and which "draws people into creative endeavor – or scares some of them away from it" (*ibid,* 248).

Moreover, investment in creativity is said to take place within different (sub)markets or (sub)domains of creative activity (Rubenson, 1990: 126-7; Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). For example, "academic, artistic, business, and technical spheres" all have domain-specific features (Rubenson and Runco, 1992: 139). They claim that their psychoeconomic approach is "especially valuable" in helping to describe domain-specific differences in creativity – the aforementioned concept of *cost* applies directly, as creative activity is costlier in some domains than compared to others: "[c]onsider the differences between an artistic community and the Catholic church in terms of the risk and psychic costs of proposing an original idea" (Rubenson and Runco, 1992: 175).

Sternberg & Lubart (1991) explicitly use elements of financial investment as their source for theorising (the development of) creativity. *Inter alia,* this includes the principle of portfolio diversification, the nature of pricing financial assets and the risk/reward continuum. The key investment idea is to "buy low, sell high" with regard to creative ideas and practice, as if they were being traded on public markets. Expressions of creativity – ultimately something qualitative – are therefore presented as units like financial securities (e.g. bonds, equities) which should be bought when their price is low (and when the risk of failure/loss and reward is high). If this is done – before widespread demand causes the price (as a proxy for value) to increase – the 'creative security' can then be sold for a profit when and if it catches on more generally within the market. In Runco's summary, "creative performances may be novel because no one else has taken that position, and it is easy to 'buy in' at a low rate" (1991: 198). Investing in a creative asset with a 'low' price, i.e. investing in creative activity that is still novel relative to the market, is viewed as a "higher risk" endeavour that, if it is sensible (and not pure speculation), will yield a "higher return" in the long run. Following Malkiel's (1985) advice regarding portfolio diversification, Sternberg & Lubart assert the importance of diversifying between a number of creative securities: one must "invest in safe as well as risky [creative] projects" in order to yield "the highest long-term returns", just as one would in the financial markets (1991: 200).

However, as Runco interrogates S&L's financial investment logic for creativity, "buying in at a low rate *because it is new* is very different from an investment which allows buying in at a low rate *because it has been dismissed*" (Runco, 1991b: 203), illustrating the importance of *novelty* in the creative economy, which is not, *per se*, a crucial factor in the financial or 'real' economy. Moreover, the emphasis on price in S&L's investment theory is fundamentally an emphasis on social-psychological consensus, independent of real underlying value and subject to the whims of collective psychology. This illustrates a

fundamental difference between the 'real economic' investment which is concerned with the actual intrinsic value of assets as opposed to extrinsic, externally-applied evaluations. The investment metaphor is necessarily elaborated in differing ways, depending both on the source economy as well as the phenomenon to which it is applied.

C5.2 Views on applying economic/investment metaphor

In responding to Sternberg and Lubart's investment theory, Runco views investment as "by and large a good metaphor", but stresses that caution is necessary "because of the possibility that metaphors constrain thought and inhibit creativity (Runco, 1991: 199; Gibbs, 1990). Rubenson (1991) notes that baseball can also act as a metaphor for creativity, given the manner in which Sternberg and Lubart instantiated it, but nevertheless claims that baseball fails to add "any new insights into the creative process" (208). They therefore argue by analogy that a financial investment model fails to add "any new insights" to the understanding of creativity. In response to these criticisms, Sternberg and Lubart issued the rejoinder that metaphors like 'investment' or indeed the 'psychoeconomy' (as implied in Runco and Rubenson's work) can both limit *and* expand thought: "[t]he important point to remember is that a metaphor is merely a metaphor and nothing more. It has points of correspondence, but also points of non-correspondence" with the tenor or subject to which it is applied (1991: 201). Quality of metaphorical application aside, both Runco and Rubenson and Sternberg and Lubart ultimately concur on the potential merits and demerits of metaphor in relation to theory building. Rubenson makes clear, for instance, that good theory building is not ultimately reducible to good choices of terminology, but more importantly, about the *assumptions* about reality to which terms refer (Rubenson, 1991).

C6 The genera of capital

If (to speak generally) investment is the process of using available capital to produce new capital, then while conceptualising L2 Investment, it is necessary to delineate the relevant forms of capital that both potentiate and result from it. In this section, several genera of capital are proposed that may be applied and emerge in any given investment arc. In a broadly economic sense, it is argued that there is no fundamental difference between, for example, psychic/mental energy, physical labour, money, or land: all are *categorically* "productive resources" (Rubenson and Runco, 1992: 134), i.e. forms of *capital*. It is simply that some resources can be more easily quantified than others, lending them to easier economic analysis; but this does not exclude an economic approach if the condition of scarcity obtains. As Grin (2003) notes:

> ... nothing, in economic theory, mandates a restriction to *material* or *financial* resources, and that intangibles like social networks and interpersonal affection are, from the perspective of economic analysis, perfectly relevant resources. (Grin, 2003: 7)

Norton and others in the post-structuralist tradition typically invoke Bourdieu's classifications of capital: economic, social ("social networks" as per Grin above), symbolic, and cultural (Bourdieu, 1977; 1986). To some extent, these are reliant upon Bourdieu's broader sociological theory, and developed through the notions of field, habitus, ideology and so on. Within CR sociology, some consider Bourdieu in many respects aligning with CR meta-theory (Porpora, 2015), but – even if one does not use Bourdieu's idiosyncratic terminology – the forms of capital that he outlines correspond to social realities, and are well named as 'capital' for they *potentiate* agents who possess them. As such, Bourdieusian forms of capital will be employed in the L2 Investment reconceptualisation, retaining a measure of overlap with Norton's construct.

Some using the post-structuralist investment construct/model have, however, suggested further forms of capital. For example, Ryan (2020) speaks of 'physical capital', which is defined as "the time and energy that parents need to invest to fulfill their vision of bilingualism for their child"; 'digital capital', which is "technology serv[ing] as a mediating tool that can provide access to imagined communities" (10). Ryan also mentions 'linguistic capital', the capacity for language use, which is a precondition for 'social capital' in TL-speaking contexts. Any *thing* with causal potential, of which more or less can be gained, may be described as capital. In the remainder of this section, an attempt to systematise the relevant forms of capital has been made.

C6.1 Biochronic capital

Firstly, there is **biochronic capital**, the most basic genus, which (as suggested by its etymology) consists of *life-energy* (i.e. energy, activity, effort) and *time*. biochronic capital is what comes for free, as it were, to all conscious and relatively healthy human beings, and is naturally bounded by one's cumulative 'life-time' and the day-night cycle of sleep. Including Rubenson's idea of "psychic cost" (1990: 127), life-energy may be understood as representing both physical and psychic (mental) energy. There is some variance in the nature of life-energy possessed, for "just as some people incur greater psychic costs in learning mathematics or a foreign language than do others, so will some find investing in their creative potential be more difficult" (Rubenson and Runco, 1992: 135). A given person's genetics/physiology, personality traits (including emotional proclivities) and intelligence all

parameterise the use of life-energy. These are referred to as the *qualities of biochronic capital.* Referring to creativity, Rubenson and Runco claim that

> [t]he costs of investing ... will not be identical for all individuals. The value of time varies for different people, and for the same person at different times. For example, the opportunity cost of time is apt to be lower for children than for adults, because adults generally have more valuable alternative uses for their time. (1992: 135).

With this in mind, biochronic capital is constantly being spent and directed at certain activities: work, play, education, watching TV, making and eating food, and so on. One can expend biochronic capital either in the consumption of goods and services, or to accrue capital relevant to exchanges in the socioeconomic world, or finally, to increase the relative value of one's remaining stock of biochronic capital, which is to say, increasing human capital.

C6.2 Human capital

The genealogy and previous applications of this category will quickly reveal disagreement about what the fundamental capacities are, and whether it is *determined* by socioeconomic capital, or not. As per Rubenson and Runco (1992),

> Human capital refers to the specific skills and knowledge which also enter into the productive process. As such, human capital as a general category can include many different specific attributes. The discussion of human capital typically focuses on formal education and job skills, but creative potential should also be considered one component of an individual's human capital. (Rubenson and Runco, 1992: 134)

The "attributes" mentioned above are better understood as subordinate species of capital under the broader genus of human capital. Looking through a CR lens,[484] human capital would refer both to the reproductive and productive capacities or skills of individual human agents (cf. the quote by Bhaskar, 1979: 34-5). Or, to put it differently, their means of societal (re)production: that which emerges from, and potentiates, socioeconomic capital. Unlike biochronic capital, human capital *cannot* be spent/depleted/consumed, except perhaps in the case of unsustainable, 'dehumanising' exploitation of mental and physical skills. In its investment application, human capital can only be *leveraged*[485] towards the accrual of greater socioeconomic capital, whether through its production or reproduction. Human capital is instantiated at the individual level of agents within a given sociological milieu, but

[484] See 2.2.2

[485] Not in a financial sense (i.e. not by borrowing), but in the etymological sense of using a lever to magnify range or strength (the source of the financial sense of the term).

collectively it forms the basis from which socioeconomic capital continues to accumulate (in either positive or negative, or both, directions).

Paying homage to Rubenson and Runco (1992), the most basic form of human capital is arguably *creative potential* or **creative capital**, the ability to innovate in ways that do not simply follow from the givenness and norms of one's situation. This follows from the meta-theoretical assumption that human agents can produce new social conditions rather than merely *re*produce them – as at least a measure of creative capital is found in every human agent. Despite being a given, Rubenson and Runco's psychoeconomic theory of creativity provides some insight into how creative capital may be developed and increased, potentially providing leverage for attaining other forms of socioeconomic and zookairotic capital (see below).

Perhaps the deepest everyday expression of creative potential, as Runco (2014) has claimed, is language – and clearly of relevance to the topic of this study. **Linguistic capital** is proposed as a central species of human capital: it refers to the evolving ability to communicate the human condition semiotically across time, thus enabling complex socioeconomic relations. This form of capital constitutes the raw material of oral and written discourse, from which enduring social and cultural structures have come to exist. In almost all cases (barring those of feral children), some linguistic capital comes for free – often called the 'mother-tongue' or L1 – but additional linguistic capital may be acquired over the course of a human lifetime.

The classic conception of human capital, alluded to by Rubenson & Runco above, is found in specialised knowledge-skill that can be leveraged to earn, most tangibly, economic capital – but also less tangible forms of socioeconomic capital (symbolic, social). This species will be called **occupational capital** – the ability to command increased wages for any given amount of biochronic capital that is expended within a certain occupation. Occupational capital, a function of training and specialisation, leverages the investor's biochronic capital such that it becomes more valuable and may be sold or invested in the socioeconomic market-place with greater returns.

Aristotelian virtue ethics may easily be recast in terms of **character capital.** These are the enduring dispositions, or meta-skills, of human beings that are cultivated in and by agents, often due to guardian and institutional investment (and prompted by cultural and religious values). Character, as defined here, is distinct from personality in that character may be viewed as an overlay, a refinement or impairment, of a given personality. Bourdieu's construct of *habitus* captures elements of the notion of character capital, but it includes – and

assumes – far more than what is proposed here. In essence, character capital would refer to the *positive* deeply-ingrained habits/disciplines of mind or body, which have been gained through a process of habituation: regular, long-term expenditure of biochronic capital on certain forms of behaviour, until that behaviour becomes natural. In Aristotle's language, the positive product would be *arete*, an 'excellence' or 'virtue' (vice would also be a potential outcome of habituation: but a vice would not easily be construed as 'capital'). Examples would be traits like courage; persistence; self-discipline/self-control. As with other species of human capital, character capital can be leveraged: in this case, towards both the accumulation of socioeconomic capital *as well as* more human capital, and in this self-reflexivity it is unique.

Beyond this, arguably other species of human capital exist – for example intelligence or 'intellectual capital'. Emotional intelligence might be added to this list. Widely appreciated personality traits, like conscientiousness, might be viewed as evidence of 'personality capital'. Beauty might be construed in capital terms, or indeed any aesthetically-pleasing qualities that a person is born with and discloses itself in the process of maturation. However, in all these cases – resources that can be leveraged, and belonging to human beings – a condition of intentional development has not been met. For 'human capital' to be something to *invest in* requires there to be a transformation of some sort that is conditioned, or catalysed, by the application of other capital, principally biochronic. If leverageable human skills or virtues arise independent of prior investment, these tend to appear on the right-hand tail of the personality and physiology distribution: they are not *human* capital *per se*, but rather fortunate *humans*' capital. For these reasons, while recognising their categorical affinity, they are not included as forms of human capital. Where relevant, they are better seen as factors increasing the efficacy/value of a given individual's biochronic capital.

C6.3 Socioeconomic capital

The qualifier 'socioeconomic' is imperfect but sufficiently fit-for-purpose, in that it describes the realm of social (or societal) and economic relations through which humans interact. In this sense, 'sociological' could work equally well, but retaining an emphasis on 'economic' is preferable, given that I am describing capital after all. Socioeconomic capital is the genus of capital that both parameterises, and emerges from, the accumulation and leveraging of human capital. There are several species of socioeconomic capital.

Economic capital refers to wealth, both tangible and intangible: the net assets of an individual or collective (Black, 1997). This might include physical and intellectual property,

financial assets (bonds, equities, etc), precious metals and, principally, money: "a medium of exchange and store of value" (Black, 1997: 304). Money is the most liquid (accessible) of all the aforementioned assets, which is why it is the primary medium of exchange, and why non-monetary assets are priced in monetary terms. Wealth, in the context of society, potentiates sustainable and variegated applications of biochronic capital – and to some extent occupational capital, especially the costly sort gained from higher institutions of learning.

Capital, which may be viewed in terms of cost and benefit, is "not limited to items which are readily measured in pecuniary terms" (Rubenson, 1991: 205). The remainder of the socioeconomic genus illustrate this assertion. **Social capital** refers to the strength and range of one's social network; **cultural capital** – as defined by Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), refers to the traditions of knowledge and practice within human social units. **Symbolic capital** refers to the relative prestige and status derivative of one's social roles, education and occupation. **Political capital**, a domain-specific admixture of social, cultural and symbolic and usually economic capital, refers to the extent to which one can (claim to) represent a polity within the constraints of the political system. While economic capital can be depleted through consumption or invested, social, cultural and symbolic and political capital may be consciously or unconsciously leveraged (i.e. used to extend one's social, cultural, political and economic mobility). The essential distinction is whether the species of capital can be depleted or not. Social and political capital can be squandered if leveraged inappropriately, thus occupying an in-between category.

C6.4 Zookairotic capital

> The essential thing 'in heaven and earth' is […] that there should be *long obedience in the same direction*; there thereby results, and has always resulted in the long run, something which has made life worth living.
>
> Friedrich Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil (2000:* 93, my italics)

The fourth and final genus of capital, **zookairotic capital** represents a metastasis of biochronic capital; both zookairotic and biochronic are neologisms drawn from Greek's dual terms for **life** and **time**: 'zoo-' (from *zoe*) relates to immaterial, inorganic 'life' – the life of the soul or spirit (*psyche*) rather than mere biological, organic life (*bios*). The second part of the word, '-kairotic' (from *kairos*), refers to 'the eternal present', 'the moment-in-time' rather than time-that-passes (*chronos*).

Zookairotic capital may thus be understood to refer to the positive emotions and affect which provide fortunate or wise investors with a sense of *well-being*, allowing them to *live* in

the *present*. Species of zookairotic capital include a sense of purpose, joy, belonging, security/safety, and so on.[486] Zookairotic capital cannot be invested in, purchased or spent, but arises epiphenomenally and is *experienced or enjoyed*. Neither can it be directly leveraged. It is a by-product of other realised investments, which is to say it *emerges* from applications of biochronic, human and socioeconomic capital. While epiphenomenal, it nonetheless infuses the other forms of capital with transcendental, rather than merely material value. For this reason, the presence – or absence – of zookairotic capital shapes current and future investment behaviour, including motivation, because it represents the features of human life-time that are, arguably, the telos of the self-as-a-task in Kierkegaardian terms.[487] Zookairotic capital, the product of investment – "a long obedience in the same direction" – is what make "life worth living" (Nietzsche, 2000: 93).

C7 Collective L2 investment

To make use of a distinction within economics, *macro*economics ultimately derives from the aggregate trends of *micro*economics, but cannot be easily reduced to the underlying microeconomics – because other factors weigh heavily upon it, principally political ones. Both, however, retain a focus on scarcity and supply/demand within their respective conceptual scope. There is arguably a linguistic economy with a similar distinction to be made: the macro- and micro-economics of SLA. For this reason, investment at the micro and macro levels are intertwined. Having elaborated a conceptual frame for L2 Investment at the individual (microeconomic) level of SLA, it is necessary to briefly elaborate the ontology of collective (macroeconomic) L2 investors and investment.

Just as individual L2 investors have certain features, so do collective L2 investors. They represent collectives, however defined, which invest in the task of a future 'collective L2 self' – by creating the conditions within which *individual* L2 Investment is encouraged, facilitated, and even compelled. They can only indirectly achieve the task of a future collective L2 self; this would be the direct, cumulative product of individual investors. The state and its organs, schools, religious and civic organisations, communities, and families can all be collective L2 investors: each would have a different scale or scope of investment, with institution-specific affordances and constraints. Clearly, collective investors differ

[486]It is relevant to formation of 'the self' rather than 'identities', which are typically (in contemporary critical social science scholarship) understood to be fluid socioeconomic/political constructs.

[487] This can be alternately understood in terms of an individual's (positive or negative) psychological or existential capital: their lived experience-of-the-world.

significantly from individual investors, especially where executive power is dispersed among different members of the collective, and thus are functionally closest to the conception of *guardian investors*, developed in the previous section, who likewise invest *on behalf of* individual investors, not *in* an L2 *per se*. For collective L2 investors, the genera of capital available to use or gain is simply collectivised: collective biochronic capital, collective human capital, politico-economic capital,[488] and collective zookairotic capital. Capital gains are markedly different from individual L2 Investment: beyond potential politico-economic or zookairotic gains for a collective entity, any investment would return (to some degree) new socio-structural conditions for individual L2 Investment, that is, the conditions for SLA – and thus, bi/multilingualism.

Collective L2 Investment has prior socio-structural conditions or catalysts; its corporate agency is a function of these conditions in combination with executives (those with considerable individual agency deciding on behalf of the collective: their specific personal conditions are relevant here). In terms of L2 Investment discipline, the aspects outlined above for individuals are largely analogous to collectives, i.e. regular capital allocation (i.e. discipline), usually via intermediaries, towards particular modes of investment. While intermediation for individual L2 Investment directly involves mediators and media of the TL, for collective L2 investors, an intermediary is just as likely to be a smaller collective or institution, and there is a (often multi-stage) process of reallocating capital to smaller-scale collective L2 investors before there is a direct encounter between individual investors and the L2 itself.[489]

The modality of collective L2 Investment broadly equates to language policy and planning (LP&P), with an emphasis on the implementation of policies/plans.[490] Within the literature on LP&P as well as the related field of language economics (LE), investment is a commonly used metaphor, in which an organisation aims *a)* toward an increase in human capital in terms of improved language skills, either for (narrowly) economic purposes (Grin, 1994), or *b)* to increase social, political, and symbolic capital – e.g. safeguarding political

[488] This would have with political/symbolic, economic, cultural and species of capital specific to the collective entity – but no social capital. Social capital is arguably less relevant here, as it better describes individual agents' social relations, whereas political/symbolic capital captures the idea of influence and mobility at the level of institutions/collectives.
[489] For example, national government > national department of education > curriculum development team > provincial department of education > school boards > teachers > students
[490] Having stated that it 'broadly equates' to LP&P, the ambiguity in this formulation is meant to preserve unintentional collective investments in L2 learning, which may officially have nothing to do with L2 learning but –as a side-effect or externality – nevertheless foster constructive conditions for individual L2 Investment.

stability by attaching value to low-status/minority languages or encouraging use of a standardised, common language. There is typically (though not exclusively) an emphasis on educational institutions – primary, secondary, and tertiary – as intermediary collectives for investing in the ideal conditions for SLL. Language-in-education policy (LiEP) is thus a crucial subfield for describing a modality of collective L2 Investment.

Successful collective L2 Investment entails that collectives/institutions, working *within* (i.e. taking seriously) the current political and sociolinguistic constraints, develop and implement good LP&P initiatives, which actually transform the socio-structural conditions to facilitate individual L2 Investment. For this to occur, scholarship has shown that there needs to be broad agreement across collectives on LP&P initiatives: from both 'above' (state and its organs) and 'below' (grassroots). (Orman, 2007; Plüddemann, 2013).

Appendix D: **L2ILL**

D1 Contexts of potential ILL

A brief survey of postcolonial contexts reveals four main kinds, each with associated indigenous language learning (ILL) patterns. Firstly, **superdiverse indigenous minority contexts**/ During the colonial era, these were typically subjected to monolingual, colonial L2 assimilation/linguacide. However in the postcolonial era there has been serious divergence regarding heritage ILL, often dependent on the dominant political ideology's (lack of) embrace of multiculturalism/multilingualism and whether there is a strong national language ideology. Nonetheless, in *all* such contexts, non-heritage L2ILL is largely absent. They may be further subdivided as:

a. *pro-heritage ILL contexts* (e.g. Canada, Australia, USA),
b. *indifferent ILL contexts* (e.g. Russia, Greater China region, i.e. Xinjiang, Tibet, Taiwan)
c. *anti-heritage ILL contexts*: (e.g. Turkey, where even investment in *L1* ILL is viewed as anti-patriotic)

Secondly, **non-diverse indigenous minority contexts** (e.g. Hawaii and NZ). During the colonial era, these exhibited features similar to diverse minority indigenous contexts – but in the postcolonial era, there is investment in both pro-heritage *as well as* non-heritage L2ILL, especially when there is a *significant* indigenous minority.

Thirdly, **superdiverse indigenous majority contexts** (e.g. South Africa, India, and parts of Latin America). In the postcolonial era, such contexts are nominally and *de jure* pro-L1/L2ILL – but their overwhelming ('superdiverse') sociolinguistic complexity entails *de facto* pro-colonial language learning.

Fourthly, **non-diverse indigenous majority contexts** (e.g. Northern Ireland and Kenya). Due to the unifying presence and status of Kiswahili – Kenya effectively occupies this category. The presence/extent of L2ILL in these contexts is dependent on the length of colonial history and degree of settler integration into/alienation from the indigenous linguaculture.

D2 The heritage–non-heritage spectrum of L2ILL

Beyond settler-descendant and expatriate forms of L2ILL (both unambiguously *non-heritage*), there are several further species of L2ILL which complicate the conceptual terrain. The first is *cognate* L2ILL, in which migrant indigenes from nearby post-colonial territories learn another IL, often with a cognate language relative to their L1. For example, when immigrants to South Africa from Zimbabwe or Malawi learn an AfL, especially isiZulu (cf. Sanders, 2016b). Given the foundational settler–indigenous distinction for ILL, non-South African, L1AfL language speakers[491] who learn isiZulu would, all things being equal, *not* be exhibiting the phenomenon of L2 *indigenous* language learning, predicated as it is on a profound (ethno)linguistic heterogeneity. *Indigeneity* is typically only foregrounded in the presence of settlers or settler-descendants. Beyond the conceptual differences, research suggests that L2AfLL by indigenous black African settlers/migrants in SA is subject to a wholly different set of sociolinguistic, intergroup dynamics compared to non-heritage L2AfLL by wSAn learners. Studies on the motivations of indigenous African migrant learners of isiXhosa and isiZulu (Nchang, 2014; Mtumane & Mzoma, 2020; Mesthrie *et al*, 2022) reveal a wholly different set of motivational factors, for example, the pressures of black-on-black xenophobia and use of isiZulu as a shibboleth language to establish legitimacy in (isi)Zulu majority contexts (Siziba, 2014; Sanders, 2016b).

A second complication on the heritage–non-heritage continuum emerges from indigenous diasporic communities. Lee (2005), studying the continuum, found that some African-Americans position and motivate themselves as 'heritage language' learners of AfLs (e.g. Kiswahili, Yoruba), even when it is unlikely that their ancestors spoke these languages. Though having no background in AfLs, they "seek to connect to their heritage through learning the target language" (Glynn, 2012: 114; cf. Chipila, 2016). Such learners therefore rely on the logic of a constructed pan-African or black identity, enabling a claim to *any* African language as heritage. One wonders whether, in the case of L1AfLL by wSAns, there is room to argue that any further learning (or re-learning) might constitute heritage ILL, what Lee (2005) calls learning "with heritage motivation" (556). For settler-colonial descendents, identification with the main indigenous languages could be just as much a justifiable historical accident as African Americans identifying with AfLs that their actual ancestors never spoke. In both cases, the link is essentially fictional and accidental, as there are no essential links between race and language taken discretely (whereas there *are* between culture

[491] A likely (though not failsafe) proxy for indigeneity and to a considerable degree, shared cultural heritage.

and language, entwined by place). To essentialise Bantu languages indigenous to sub-Saharan Africa as 'black languages' – and thus the heritage of any diasporic black community – would be an error (but perhaps a politically expedient error). On the converse, many scholars would claim that English cannot be said to 'belong' to those with white English ancestry, but that there are multiple "World Englishes" (Kachru, 1992) in the aftermath of English colonialism. Ultimately, though, language and race can be divorced (and connected) in ways that language and culture cannot.

D3 Absent and Minimal L2ILL Contexts

In a number of countries where the territories of indigenous peoples have been settled by a stronger power, and thus where L2ILL could conceivably be present – it is nonetheless absent. From a brief survey, this appears to be the case when the conqueror occupies a geographically contiguous/adjacent region, accompanied by a strong majoritarian language ideology:[492] Russia (numerous minority languages), Greater China (Uighur, Tibetan, indigenous Taiwanese languages), Turkey (Greek, Kurdish) and Canada. Elsewhere, L2ILL is not absent – it *has* been initiated – but as yet occurs on the margins and is not a broad societal trend or object of investment. Scholarly evidence has been found in the USA and Australia.[493] In Central and South America, while ILL is certainly a topic, no phenomenological evidence of L2ILL (by settler-descendant L1 Spanish/Portuguese speakers) was found in English-medium research literature.

D3.1 Russia

There is little evidence of non-heritage L2ILL in the Russian Federation. The dominant language ideology is that Russian is (within-country) the only linguistic capital that matters, even though there is nominal legislation 'protecting' minority languages: the Russian state appears indifferent to the prospects of ILs. Semenova *et al* (2021) suggest that even heritage L2ILL is unlikely to continue, given younger generations of indigenous peoples'

[492] Conquering *neighbours* and their lands may be psychopolitically different from conquering the land of complete *strangers*, as was the case with the medieval European colonial project. However, the features of dominant (religious) worldviews are equally salient – Western Christendom (Protestant, but also Catholic) arguably had more interest in understanding the stranger *qua* stranger, rather than pursuing assimilationist policies, with knock-on effects in the postcolonial era.

[493] The demographic profiles of North American settlers were overwhelmingly European, and indigenous peoples were sequestrated in 'reservations', which operated under different political & linguacultural rules to the settler-majority colonies. As tiny minorities relative to settlers, indigenous Americans had, and have, virtually no political or cultural voice whether in the US or Canada – although this appears to be changing in the latter, where the demographic distinction is much smaller. In both the USA and Canada, settler identities are sufficiently diverse (e.g. compared to Australia), entailing that heritage languages from settler origins are lkely more compelling TLs for learning than local ILs.

indifference, largely due to increasing irrelevance of minority languages in Russia (and the world more generally).[494]

D3.2 Greater China

A scan of literature on this topic reveals a narrow research focus on L1 Tibetan (Li & Zhang, 2021) or L1 Uighur speakers (Tsung & Cruickshank, 2011; Sunuodula & Cao, 2015; Han *et al*, 2020) who learn/speak Chinese (Mandarin) as a second language (CSL). In large part, this is because Mandarin Chinese has "become a practical necessity for minority nationalities in the dominant [Han] Chinese society, also being regarded as an essential test of national patriotism (Tsung, 2009: 102). There is no evidence of literature relating to L2 Uighur/Tibetan learning among the majority Han/L1 Mandarin Chinese settlers in these regions of the PRC. Likewise on Taiwan, while ILL has been comprehensively broached as a topic (cf. Pawan, 2009), L2 learners of ILs are not discussed. Either 1) no non-indigenous Taiwanese learn indigenous languages, or, their learning is deemed of insignificance to the goals of IL education (namely, revitalisation for the sake of the indigenous community).

D3.3 Turkey

Another context for potential L2ILL arises in the case of modern-day Turkey, which both historically under the Ottoman empire, and more recently, has conquered and settled the territories of different ethnolinguistic groups in Kurdistan (Kurdish/Kurmanji) and Cyprus (Greek). A scan of available literature regarding Kurdish reveals L2ILL only in the context of the Kurdish diaspora in the UK (Yilmaz, 2018), thus an interest in the phenomenon of *heritage* L2ILL. All remaining literature that emerged was either concerned with L1 learning (in Iraqi Kurdistan) or L2 Turkish learning by L1 Kurds in Turkey (Polat, 2007; 2011) for example regarding their motivation and accent attainment in Turkish (Polat & Schallert, 2013). There is no evidence of Turks learning Kurdish as an L2, which would constitute the form of L2ILL relevant to this review. Such a lacuna is likely due to the ongoing influence of the Kemalist ideology aimed at "complete ethnolinguistic homogeneity as criteria for being 'Turkish'" (99), emphases that arose in the aftermath of the collapse of the Ottoman empire. Thus, in a country where public education in Kurdish "remains prohibited", and where the Turkish Constitution (Article 42) states that "no language other than Turkish shall be taught

[494] "despite older generations' relative proficiency and interest in their respective Indigenous languages, motivation to master them is fading among younger Indigenous populations. There is also a lack of opportunities to learn the languages including informal settings despite protections within the federal legal system." (Semenova *et al*, 2021: 1)

as a mother tongue to Turkish citizens" (Zeydanlioğlu, 2012: 120), it is not difficult to understand why few Turks have much desire to invest in learning Kurdish as a L2/AL, for fear of suspicions that they support Kurdish nationalism.

Unsurprisingly, in another context of Turkish/Ottoman imperialism, the absence of non-heritage L2ILL is extended. There is no evidence (in English-language research literature) of SLL of Greek in Turkey-controlled Northern Cyprus (only Turkish is an official language in this territory). There is, interestingly, the beginnings of a literature on L2 Turkish learning in the (Greek) Republic of Cyprus, where Turkish *is* an official language alongside Greek – which Charalambous, Charalambous and Rampton (2017) characterise as "the language of a former enemy" (see also Lytra, 2016) or Charalambous (2012) as "learning the language of 'The Other'".[495]

D3.4 Australia

There is some scholarship on ILL in Australia; Verdon & McLeod's (2015) paper on L1ILL and heritage ILL provides an example of the typical focus. On the whole, the challenges for Aboriginal or L2ILL in Australia are extremely complex, perhaps even insurmountable (at a general level), due to the large number of extremely small languages (in terms of L1 speakers). Gale (2011) and Giacon & Simpson (2012) offer some evidence of L2ILL, both for heritage and non-heritage learners. These languages are *extreme* minority languages: the fact that there has been some institutionalised L2ILL is impressive. In the main it appears occupational or vocational utility – e.g. for doctors, social workers – is the main motivation for attempts at L2ILL.

D3.5 USA

Outside of Hawaii, non-heritage L2ILL is occurring in the USA, but to a far more limited degree, as Ngai (2006) details in the context of a Native American reservation, where the *raison d'etre* is for the 'reservation' of an indigenous American way of life, including language. It was reported that "a few Indian people do not want non-Indians to learn their heritage language for fear that they would misuse the traditional knowledge" (734), although this view was disputed by others in the community, who saw the pragmatic necessity of broad cooperation in ILL. Ngai found that particularly in districts of the reservations where there

[495] Even Turkish scholars like Osam & Ağazade (2004), who fail to acknowledge Turkey's 1974 invasion of Cyprus and subsequent division of the island, are interested in the matter of L1 Greek Cypriots learning Turkish. However, L2 Turkish in the context of Cyprus cannot be construed as L2ILL (learning the language of an imperial power), whereas the inverse (in Northern Cyprus) *would* constitute the phenomenon: but no evidence of this can be found, likely for the same reasons that Kurdish is not learned within Turkey.

was (at least) a near-majority population of indigenous/Native Americans, there was a local recognition and agreement by both "Whites" and "Indians"[496] that school-based ILL ought to be aimed at "validation" of the relevant indigenous language (Salish), as well as "enhancing cross-cultural understanding" between those with, and without, indigenous heritage. Fluency, especially for non-heritage learners, was not deemed a reasonable aim by the study's participants. In comparison to near-majority indigenous areas, where the indigenous presence was smaller, there seemed a concomitant unwillingness by European Americans to entertain the merits or even possibility of L2ILL for their children; Ngai found that "from the perspective of non-Indian parents, the Salish class must be optional," as compulsion was seen to lead to resentment, even in the case of indigenous heritage learners (*ibid*: 742).

D3.6 Canada

As a Commonwealth post-colony highly attentive to its indigenous (or 'First Nation') peoples, the need for reconciliation and even reparations are much discussed in Canada. Unsurprisingly, ILL is also an established topic in Canadian scholarship. Nevertheless, the potential synergistic affordances of *non-heritage* L2ILL, alongside heritage L2ILL and L1ILL, were absent from literature otherwise connected with contemporary relations between settler-descendants and indigenes. McIvor (2015) considered adult ILL in western Canada – an example of scholarship on L2ILL – but this concerned *heritage* L2ILL; the presence or participation of non-heritage learners of ILs was not considered at all. On the topic of 'pathways for settler decolonisation', in not even *one* article covered in Davis, Denis & Sinclair's (2017) editorial for a special edition of the *Settler Colonial Studies* journal, does L2ILL appear as a potential pathway for decolonisation, whether for new immigrants or the settler-descendants. More recently, in McGuire & Denis's (2019) paper considering ways in which settler-descendants in Canada can promote reconciliation with indigenous peoples, L2ILL was not broached *at all*. One means of reconciliation presented, notionally related to language learning, was to develop "meaningful relationships with Indigenous persons" (519) – but in lieu of mentioning the mediating language, the subtext was to use English (or French) as the medium.

It is possible that due to an assimilationist language ideology hitherto focused on French and English (in urban contexts), and *de facto* segregation between indigenous communities and settler-descendants (in rural ones), that scholarship on settler-descendant–

[496] "Whites and Indians are the terms used by Native Americans and European Americans to address each other and themselves" (Ngai, 2006: 749).

indigene interaction in Canada (where research in the niche field of 'Settler Colonial' studies is largely concerned) has little interest in L2ILL, as something perceived impossible given the contemporary situation. Canada has a similar demographic profile to that of Australia, where there are small indigenous populations relative to settler-descendant populations, and the indigenous population is highly diverse ethnolinguistically, prompting great difficulty for potential L2ILL: which IL to choose (when there are so many)? – and to whom will one speak the chosen IL (when so few indigenous people one encounters speak it themselves)? A final factor might be a tacit understanding within the Canadian academy (or North American more generally): that indigenous peoples *own* their historic languages, which are sacred totems or proxies for their indigenous cultures. As the Canadian scholar of multilingualism, John Edwards, writes: "languages are totems as well as tools" (2012: xi). Any broad-based investment in, or promotion of, non-heritage L2ILL might threaten a dominant totemic understanding of an IL, and thus be taboo.[497] The American anthropologist Janet McIntosh, for example, discusses the "the dynamics of appropriation that emerge as white Kenyans learn increasingly fluent Kiswahili" (2014: 1196), suggesting a similar commitment to linguistic essentialism or ownership that is threatened by white/elite/settler-descendant ILL.

[497]This is purely conjectural, and partially stemming from an anecdotal experience. In a presentation given on the topic of this thesis in 2019, Canadians present in the audience were quick to mention the potential for 'linguistic appropriation' in wSAn AfLL, implying a logic of absolute ethno-linguistic ownership.

Appendix E: **Methodology**

E1 Pilot Study Results

E1.1 Case Report 1: Jason

Investment Antecedents

Jason described himself as receiving encouragement from his family from an early age to follow his educational passions; he was not pressured to take practical, economically-safe subjects at school or university. Within these familial conditions, it appears he was habituated into self-discipline and a strong work ethic, almost to a fault. His grandmother could apparently speak Mandarin; there was a pre-existing family culture of learning unusual things, of which he was conscious. He had access to decent isiXhosa tuition in all his schooling, particularly during secondary school.

Jason lived and studied in a small-town context where the social and practical utility of isiXhosa never ceased to be relevant, and he became aware of this relevance during the compulsory years of isiXhosa during secondary schooling (Grades 7-9). In Grade 10, he decided to pursue isiXhosa rather than Afrikaans, overcoming the usual choice of Afrikaans, to which most of his white peers (barring two others) succumbed. The learning challenge that Xhosa represented seemed to have been a major motivating factor for Jason; he appreciated a good challenge. As he left secondary school, he began articulating for himself a meta-narrative within which learning isiXhosa fitted, as something more than an academic challenge. Learning isiXhosa – as a means of connecting with others – aligned perfectly with his personal philosophy (summarised by terms like ‘compassion’, ‘kindness’, and an openness to the Other). IsiXhosa is thus something to which he has remained committed. His interest in developing environmental sustainability and permaculture in Xhosa communities in the Eastern Cape also served to motivate his learning. Finally, he claimed that his desire for broader social transformation and nation-building has driven the upkeep and advancement of his Xhosa abilities.

Investment Behaviour

Jason’s primary situated mode of investing in AfLL was initially through engaging with formal instruction at school and university, where he had a number of good isiXhosa teachers that he mentioned by name. They made the subject fun and cultivated linguistic risk-taking (i.e. learning through mistakes). It was here that he developed the grammatical, lexical and syntactic skills which he gradually converted, actively, into something usable in extra-mural settings; this seems to have been through capitalising on transactional encounters, e.g. at the

petrol station while filling up, which provided the classic (if not clichéd) space for practising isiXhosa with the petrol attendants. Moreover, he describes developing his skills through friendly interactions with his family's Xhosa domestic worker and gardener: both of whom displayed friendliness and willingness to talk slowly and patiently with Jason. His investment, then, had two phases: the more academic pursuit of the language in school (and for a while at university) which was then converted into colloquial, interpersonal skills extramurally through speaking practice. He demurred when asked if he had invested in reading as a means of improving his language skills, saying that it was something he still wanted to do.

Investment Consequences

Jason's investment in AfLL, by his own estimation, resulted in isiXhosa proficiency that would be somewhere between B1 and B2 on the CEFRL. He rejected the qualifier of 'fluent' to describe his language abilities. He had a functional command of the language for most domains, and a fluency in transactional communicative situations; but he emphasised that his vocabulary lacked many words. For example, he reported not knowing a verb like 'to weave' in isiXhosa. He was thus fluent with the language's core vocabulary, and able to manipulate this core to achieve meaningful communication. But outside of this domain, he would struggle, using more common isiXhosa vocabulary to express this meaning, or by invoking English words. Beyond linguistic skills, there are two non-linguistic consequences of his AfLL success that he mentioned. There is the pragmatic communicative side of knowing an AfL. For example, he hypothesised that if there were a problem or misunderstanding in which the parties involved were of different races, speaking in an AfL (as a white person) helps to defuse the situation. Beyond this, what Jason emphasised most was how investing in learning isiXhosa has led to improvement in his interpersonal relationships and sense of social wellbeing in SA; these, he claims, are interconnected with his life and wellbeing more generally. As he puts it succinctly: "in opening up to other people [through using isiXhosa] and trying to be kinder to other people, I feel like it's transformed my own relationship with myself as well."

E1.2 Case Report 2: Sharon

Investment Antecedents: In the case of Sharon, considerably less data was gathered due to the mode of recording data (note-taking). As someone who was not a SA citizen, the fact that she married an L1Z speaker provided a compelling relational context within which AfLL became relevant, and it also produced motivation for her AfLL. These socio-structural and personal

conditions only gained sufficient momentum after she moved to SA with her husband and her children had 'left the nest'. Another important factor, however, was that she was already a multilingual, having studied German previously; it was while completing a BA in Spanish and other languages at a South African university that she began learning isiZulu.[498]

Investment Behaviour: Sharon first began learning isiZulu in earnest as a mature student at university. By the end of her BA studies, she reported herself as having a working factual, declarative knowledge of isiZulu, but poor procedural knowledge, i.e. communicative ability. With an aim to improve her colloquial skills, she invested herself in periods of language immersion: a brief township homestay, and later a longer rural immersion in KwaZulu-Natal.[499] These benefitted her in learning to speak more fluently, particularly when she had a "language helper" (who moderated their isiZulu to be maximally comprehensible for her *qua* L2 learner). When there was an absence of a language helper, she described her immersion experiences as being disappointing in terms of learning progress. Alongside (and ever since) her formal isiZulu studies, she began reading the isiZulu translation of the Bible, balancing this holy pursuit by reading English and isiZulu versions of a tabloid magazine ('Bona'). When she drove somewhere, she reported listening to isiZulu radio in the background. She also occasionally practised isiZulu with her husband,[500] and with his side of the family. She consistently would speak with her L1Z domestic worker, and practised isiZulu in other cliched transactional situations (at petrol stations, supermarkets and so on).

Investment Consequences: In the interview, Sharon was unwilling to fully embrace the qualifier of 'fluent' for her isiZulu ability; she still does not understand everything she hears on the radio, for instance. Nevertheless, her relative fluency resulted, vocationally-speaking, in teaching isiZulu at the university where she originally learnt it.[501] At the time of the interview, she also taught an introductory course for isiZulu at a local church. Her investment in AfLL thus provided her with work that she found enjoyable, and which she understood as being relevant to the goal of improving social cohesion in SA. Beyond this, Sharon also provided an anecdote of her repeated encounter with a pair of Zulu domestic workers. They typically sat together nearby her house, knitting. Whenever she spoke with them in isiZulu, they would laugh uncontrollably, and this joyous response served to motivate her further.

[498] This is the effective *lingua franca* among AfL speakers in the Gauteng/Johannesburg region.
[499] This is a majority L1Z province.
[500] English still dominates their communication, however.
[501] This occurred only a few years after finishing her BA, after which time she continued learning isiZulu, as described above.

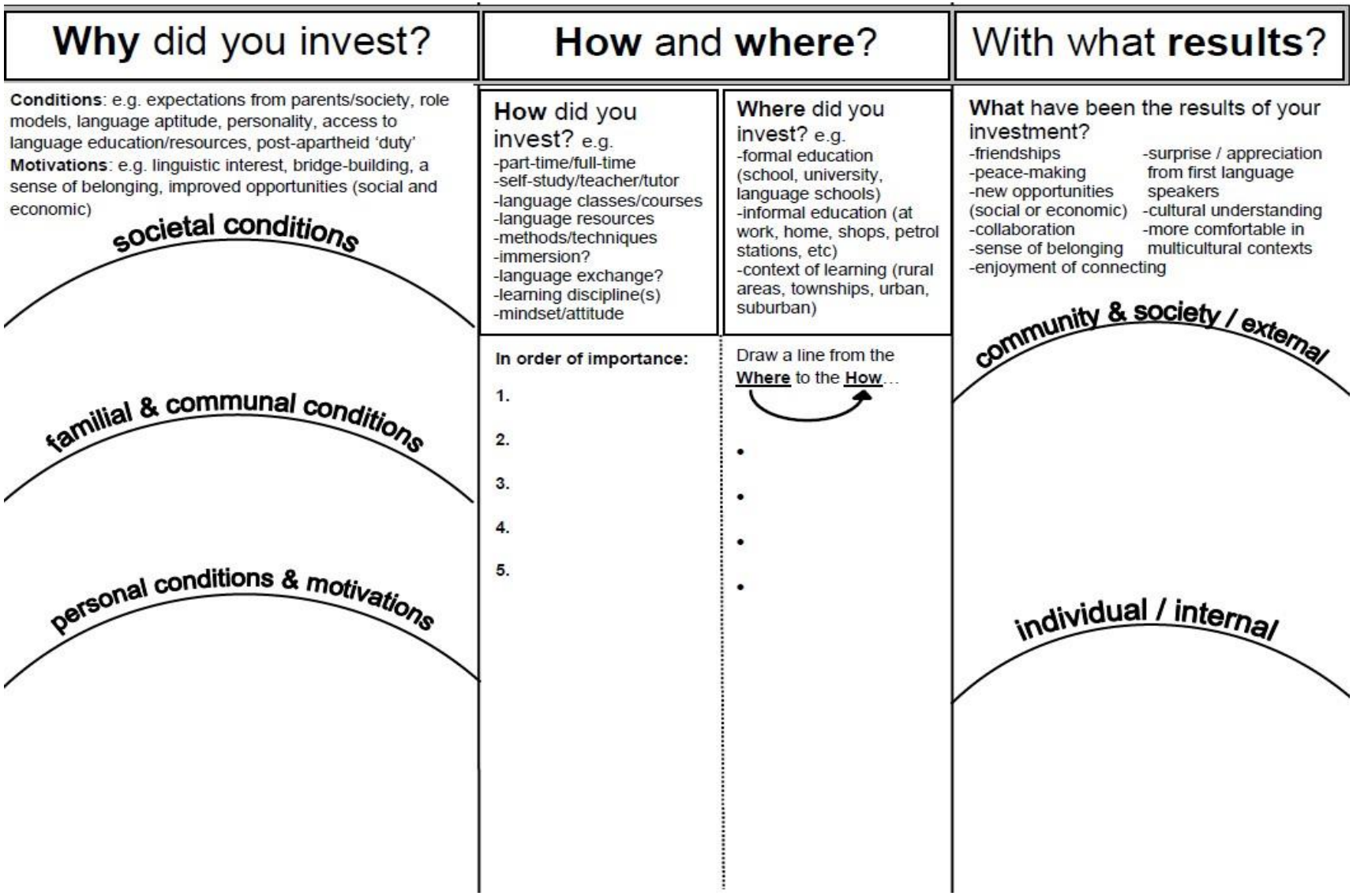
E1.3 Case Comparison & Answering the RQs

Research Question 1: After brief analysis, some clear commonalities are apparent from both cases that offer potential theoretical parameters. Successful investment in AfLL typically requires (i) a relatively long timescale, particularly if being studied alongside other subjects or alongside work responsibilities; (ii) an ability to articulate a motivating meta-narrative into which AfLL fits, which often includes a recognition of AfLL's affordances for social cohesion/nation-building; (iii) in both cases, there had been previous or concurrent learning success with other languages: Afrikaans with Jason, German and Spanish with Sharon; (iv) both cases revealed a willingness to talk in the target AfL, to make mistakes, and an intentional going-beyond formal educational institution in one's learning.

Research Question 2: In both cases, the personal and social affordances of success in AfLL are central to motivating further learning; the social effect of AfLL use, as a white person, was highlighted by both Jason and Sharon. Secondly, the use of an AfL can apparently defuse trouble and bring joy – both instances of social rapport that would otherwise be non-existent. Anecdotes like this suggest an objective social value created through unexpected and significant use of AfLs.

Research Question 3: Firstly, the wide divergence in age shows that it is not a determinative factor in AfLL; older learners can also succeed in AfLL. Secondly, it appears that prompting the development of integrated, post-apartheid meta-narratives – into which AfLL would fit – would help create the ideal psychological conditions for motivated AfLL. Thirdly, one suggestion would be developing established methods for training, and fairly employing, the nascent AfL teaching abilities of domestic workers – who already work for many middle-class (often white) South Africans. A final insight would be that the crucial stage of investment for AfLL success is what follows formal AfLL; this is displayed in both cases. There is, in other words, the necessary stage of informal AfLL. Thus, several things might increase the investment returns during this stage: developing (1) consistent and well-implemented immersion programmes with 'language helpers', (2) easily-accessible (and ideally free) resources for improving colloquial proficiency in AfLs, and (3) disseminating information on what kind of AfL contact ought to be sought out, and good contextualised ways to do so.

E2 Investment Instrument / Interview Protocol



E3 Participant Information Sheet (2020)

You are invited to take part in the following research study. Before you decide to participate, you may wish to understand why the research is being done, and what it would involve for you. The following information will clarify this – please ask if anything is unclear or if you would like more information.

Title: Investment in (Learning) African Languages: researching successful white learners of African languages in post-apartheid South Africa

This study will be investigating the language learning journeys of white South Africans who have had success in learning one of the nine indigenous African languages of South Africa, with a specific focus on those who have learnt as teenagers or adults, but *not* as children (e.g. on a farm). Languages learnt would include: isiZulu, isiXhosa, siSwati, isiNdebele, Sesotho, Setswana, Sepedi/Northern Sotho, Xitsonga and Tshivenda.

What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of the study is two-fold: firstly, to find out the main factors that lead to successful learning of African languages amongst white South Africans; secondly, to apply these findings to the development of realistic African language learning policies on the one hand, and curriculum/resource development on the other – in order to more effectively promote African language learning (and multilingualism more generally) in contemporary South Africa.

Do I have to take part?

This is entirely up to you. Before being interviewed, you will have the opportunity to go through this information sheet and ask me questions about the study. I will then ask you to sign a consent form in order to show that you have agreed to participate. You will be free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason.

What will happen if I take part?

The study will primarily involve an interview, which will last approximately 1 hour and 15 minutes. During this, I will ask you to describe your journey of learning an African language – your motivations, methods, and how it has affected your life in South Africa (etc). The interview will take place at a convenient location, ideally in-person, and I will be recording the audio of our conversation for later analysis.

If you mention any teachers, friends or others who have **significantly** helped you with your language learning, I may request their contact details in order to conduct brief interviews with them (if this is possible) about why they believe you have been successful in your language learning.

Finally, in September 2020, you **may** be invited to two further elements of the study. Further participation of either sort would be entirely voluntary – and agreeing to an initial interview will not obligate you to any further participation:

(a) a second interview of about 45 minutes, in which I will ask you to confirm and check my analysis of your language learning journey as it was described in our first interview. (*Note: I will send you my initial analysis, via email, whether or not this second interview takes place, in order to give you the opportunity to clarify/correct any of my errors or subsequent questions*).
(b) a round-table discussion (i.e. a focus group) on the research topic with other participants, at a convenient location for all involved. This will last approximately 1½ hours, and will also be audio-recorded.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

I cannot promise that the study will benefit you as an individual, beyond creating the space to articulate your language learning experience and perhaps to clarify for yourself the main factors that contributed to it. However, in conjunction with the information I get from other participants, your individual participation will help to increase the understanding of the general factors underlying success in African language learning for white South Africans within the post-apartheid era. At the very least, this will be useful information for those who wish to learn an African language successfully in the near future.

Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential?

If requested, your participation will be kept strictly confidential. In any reporting of the research, your identity will automatically be anonymised, unless you explicitly request to be identified.

Audio recordings and transcriptions of interviews will be stored on my password-protected personal computer, and backed up on a password-protected cloud storage account dedicated for this research study.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results of this research study will be published in my PhD thesis, which is forecast to be available in approximately 2022. Participants will be emailed with a link to the final thesis draft once it has been approved. Elements of the research and data collected may be published in articles, presentations or posters. By default, you will remain anonymous and unidentifiable in any report/publication.

Further information and contact details:

[Redacted]

E4 Research Consent Form (2020)

Research Consent Form

I, _____, confirm that I have read and understand the Participant Information Sheet.

- I have had the opportunity to ask questions and had them answered
- I understand that all efforts will be made to ensure I cannot be identified, and all personal information will remain confidential if this is my preference
- I agree that data gathered in this study may be stored anonymously and securely, and may be used for future research
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.
- I agree to take part in this study

_____ ___/___/2020

Participant's signature

E5 Transcript Excerpts

E5.1 Duncan

MJ 59:57
So ... I don't know to what extent, why you were using the Bible as... Was it because there's a lot of 'deep' language in it? Or it was just you had it available... It was something available and you...?

Duncan 60:17
No, it's... Well, firstly, I think I probably got the idea from my grandfather because my grandfather was a priest. [*Okay*]. Is... he's still alive. He, he's a Canon. And he is an Anglican priest and grew up in Zimbabwe. [*Okay*], he was a missionary there. And he speaks fluent Shona, fluent Ndebele, which is pretty much Zulu. And he picked it up from the Bible. And that's exactly that – So that was probably where I first got the idea from, because even though he's not... maybe *totally* fluent now, anymore... he can still... you know, he remembers so much. So many of the various passages, whatever, the Psalms all in Shona and Zulu and it's just incredible. And I think that is probably where I got the idea from... And it was just a no-brainer. And I mean, I just picked it up and looked at the first... read the first page, Genesis – and it all made sense. So, you know...

MJ 61:37
Yeah, yeah. Cool. Interesting. Okay. All right. So, we've pretty much, I think... you've kind of given me the, well... definitely sketched out quite well how it came to be, that you became fluent. [*yeah*]. So I guess the last part of what I'm interested in, and you've obviously, like related some anecdotes, but what has the result been for your life. ... Let me let you say like what your ability now to speak to speak fluently? How has it changed your life? If you could imagine your inability to speak... so for instance, if within your love for Maskandi music, if you had just found it extremely difficult and you *hadn't* actually managed to pick up Zulu to a level where you could use it, [i.e.] in a fluent way that was actually helpful. Like, what have you gained?

Duncan 62:36
Well, it's... So much! To be able to speak a language, [*Yeah*.] you know, you'll understand exactly where I'm coming from. It's just... to be able to go to wherever – a petrol station and you know, everyday tasks, whatever –- speaking to them in Zulu, and, you know, "*celi ugcwalisa imoto*", 'please fill up the car', you know, it's something as simple as that, that will make them smile – make a Zulu man or Zulu woman smile. Because so few, there are so few whites or English speakers who can actually speak a foreign language [sic].

MJ 63:14
And is that consistently your experience, that it makes them smile and they're surprised and then happy?

Duncan 63:20
Yeah. I, I don't often... well, I never... I can pick up when someone is not really interested. You know, as a Zulu person, a Zulu speaker, they'll respond in English, they, they've... it's at the shops or whatever, and they'll respond in English – they've had a long day, and it's it's... yeah, whatever. But it doesn't happen often. But more often than not, there's interest. And it's bittersweet, it's also sad, because it just shows how few people – whites – speak Zulu. [Yeah]

E5.2 Bradley

MJ 7:20
Okay, so you didn't have any Zulu at school?

Bradley 7:26
I didn't do it at school, no. And I knew some stuff, some just conversational things, like from speaking to our gardener and our maid...just asking them for some words here and there. [Okay.] But I always tell everybody, before university, I knew two words: like *'ilanga*' (sun) and *'???*' (avocado), those were the two words that I knew.

MJ 7:52
And, [yeah,] I mean, what was it about that introductory lecture that this... I don't know, was it the farmer? What was it about that [Yeah.] that led you to want to do it so much?

Bradley 8:09
Yeah, it was just the reactions of everybody like it's just... that absolute... and I've obviously seen it since many times speaking to Zulu people: it's just absolute magic. Like, people look at you like it's Christmas or something... like this absolute wonder like "Whhhooow" and like, "What is happening, am I dreaming?" like, "there's a white person, but I just hear a black person, I just hear a Zulu person speaking". Ja, so it's that feeling that I go after... it's, I don't know, if it's selfish or whatever – but it's just, it's cool to just go around and spread... one of my friends said to me, "Eyy, Bradley*, you're a *chaos!*...[laughter]... just going around places, greeting people, everyone going mad – Bradley* - you're a *chaos*!" [laughs]

MJ 9:03
And I mean prior to university, were you interested in at least idea of learning an African language, probably in your case, Zulu – or was it something that wasn't... like it didn't really stand out as a possibility? You were expecting to do (I don't know), psychology, maybe politics or economics or something else or philosophy. But then this... was it that lecture that really was the catalyst for it? Or would you say there were things *before* that? I don't know whether you might have known, for instance, people in your family or kind of in your extended group of friends and acquaintances, any white South Africans who could speak Zulu, another African language, and you thought that was really fascinating. So was there anything else kind of prior to that, that maybe primed you for then thinking, "Jis, I want to take Zulu at university!"

Bradley 10:02
Hmm, it's an interesting question. I hadn't thought of that, but: No, not really. I didn't have a like 'a want' to learn, like I didn't study it, because that was my aim to learn Zulu. Yeah that lecture was sort of a catalyst for that. But also, I remember moving to [a town in KZN, redacted] in Grade 10, Standard 8, and you could obviously choose subjects at school in [redacted] – I went there. And Zulu was a subject, and I wanted to do Zulu, because we came from the Northwest Province before that, so we didn't have Zulu – so I wanted to do it at school, but they obviously... that story of everybody advises against it because "Afrikaans is easier, and you get better marks; Zulu, it's just hard – you're not going to get good marks". That old, stupid story.

E5.3 Andrew

MJ 40:01
Okay, so maybe if I can just... we've kind of been, I think I've largely gotten a sense of why – why you began. In terms of the "how", so I've also got a pretty good sense, but I guess I'm curious towards the latter stages, and maybe up until where you are now. And like how... from... so from university then, when did... what...Okay, let me ask this: What were the things that really, like, accelerated your learning if you could point to them? Or was it just the steady 'plod' of doing the same thing (that you had been doing)?

Andrew 40:43
Something... it's probably numerous, numerous things, as I say.

MJ 40:48
Maybe if I can just give some examples. And then if any of these jump out... like, so, did you have at any point a tutor or like a language partner, who you would just meet with specifically for practicing beyond just like transactional, you know, chats with security guards –

Andrew 41:04
No, no, I didn't ... just, just, through daily, especially, I'd say the biggest thing was daily interaction – the fact that in parallel, I was learning new grammatical structures reinforced my confidence in the rules of the language. And then I was able to... I'd practice a new structure I learned ... or had become aware of ... I'd hear something and I'd say, "Oh, like, I've learnt about that", or, and then I got to the point where I was able to actually make inferences about you know, organically.. I'd hear in a sentence or in a conversation and hear a phrase or a word that I might not know, but because of the context, I was able to make an inference about what that meant. So yeah, but it was just through those daily interactions. [*Okay*,] I was fortunate, as I say that, you know, in second and third year, the classes were very, very small. And so I had a lot of individual attention. But it was probably mainly outside of the university situation, as in, outside of the class [*Yes*] that it sort of really strengthened my aptitude – just that, knowing those grammatical structures, understanding those, those rules... and I will say this, I mean, it's definitely benefited me incredibly, but on the other hand, it does mean that sometimes, if there is like metaphoric language, or maybe idioms or phrases that I can sometimes be a bit stumped... because I'm relying on you know, like a language system... like a grammatical system. When – don't get me wrong – when I'm speaking isiZulu, it's not like: "now, I actively have to even think about those rules". I've got that, you know, that fluency, I'm comfortable... Yeah, every now and then I might have to think of a word but, you know, I can speak at length, you know, like I could, you know, I could, you know, if I were to like, you know, think of like, maybe, in high school I would have had to do like, research a topic, I would have, I could speak for like, 20 minutes about a topic, probably, I don't know. [*Okay*]. And then ... sorry if I'm waffling.

MJ 43:32
No, no, this is all like it's super fascinating. I mean, there's so one thing which is maybe separate from my research, but it's something that I'm really interested [in], because it seems like it's an issue is just: standardized tests, which aren't necessarily school-linked or university-linked, but kind of, the equivalent of like, the Goethe Institute with German or the Alliance Francaise or whatever [...]

E5.4 Ivan

MJ 36:00
I was very interested in... just when you were saying that the students on campus would speak to you automatically. I mean, so you were known as someone who really, as it were, *valued* speaking with mother tongue Sotho speakers, in their own language. So, okay, so at the social side, presumably a lot of your interactions with peers, with fellow students... there was quite a bit of, you know, using Sotho. But then otherwise at the... the formal education side (in terms of lectures and...), and what was it like studying Sotho at [redacted: a university]?

Ivan 36:40
It was absolutely wonderful. Look, in my first two years of studying Sotho, it was quite basic. In a sense, I repeated quite a lot there that I learned at school. So once again, that says that... the quality of Sotho that we got from that teacher was so advanced, it was more on a, can I say, *mother tongue level*, although it was labelled as "second additional language"? So yeah, from my third year, it got more challenging, but not to the point where I wanted to just give up and not go on. I said to myself, "Look, I'm really gonna do this."

MJ 37:23
And was it challenging the level of kind of having to read and write and maybe translate very difficult things, or where was the difficulty?

Ivan 37:34
The difficulty was more in terms of the didactic side, not as much the language. But the didactics of Sotho *per se*. So more towards the end of my third year, beginning of my fourth year. So yeah, but like, I remember in my first two years of doing Sotho. I never wrote any exams. I promoted all of them [sic]. The one lecturer actually said to me, "Look young man, what are you doing in my class? You're much more apt than most of these students here. Why are you here?" I said to him, "Well, sir. Um, for me, this is purely a sense of...", I can't say – can I put it in inverted commas – say "easy credits"? Yeah. And the fact that I love languages, so why study... Why go study physics, if there's a language option available?

MJ 38:32
Yeah. And something that you're enjoying, that you're good at. So why not? I mean, it definitely makes sense. Okay. Um, okay, so you're, you were saying kind of the didactics... otherwise, I mean, were the methods followed at university quite similar to those at school. I'm particularly thinking, was there quite a bit of focus on the grammar, on reading and writing – or would you say there was a lot of, like, you mentioned orals that your teacher at school had – were there similarly quite a few orals as well? Or not so much?

Ivan 39:05
What I remember from my first year, mostly was that, most of my – can I say white peers – just took it to... can I say *add credits*, perhaps. That's my feeling that I get in terms of that. They took it only for a year, and then from like, my second year, I was I think, if I remember correctly, the only white Sotho student in the group then. If I can put it that way.

E5.5 Carl

Carl 10:59
Ja, I definitely enjoyed the language features... I mean both English and Afrikaans, you know, I would read ... read about English grammar, you know, grammar, they call us 'grammar nazis'. And then the Afrikaans stuff, yeah also equally interesting. I got a distinction in Afrikaans in matric, because it was a subject which I enjoyed learning about and yeah, it was just a general fascination with language.

MJ 11:30
And then when you went to university and you studied sign language [SASL], like then... well presumably, they probably don't have anything other than SASL. That's right? [*Yeah*]. Okay. Um, was that like, were you taking linguistics as well? Or what else were you taking alongside that? I'm just trying to kind of get a sense of what you were doing.

Carl 11:5
Yeah, so my... I actually... my first degree was a music degree. And as part of that I did English first year, because I wanted to be a teacher. So I wanted some teaching subjects and then instead of doing English second year, I looked for another filler, and a friend of mine said to me, "Do sign language because it's fun and easy!". And that was really the genesis of sign language. And I actually went into that class without any expectation, really. And yeah, I loved it. It was it was great. And, and then I really put in a lot of effort to learn it.

MJ 12:30
Okay, and so you said you enjoyed it... And then, um – would you say (this is interesting, I haven't really pursued this too much) – but to what extent does your interest in music and your presumably ability to play an instrument or at least understand music and appreciate it... does that then carry over or interact with your interest in languages? Would you say that there's a connection or not too much?

Carl 12:58
I mean, I think when I was in school, I loved singing songs in different languages, particularly in South African languages; I love South African music. So there may have been some sort of link there. And then I think the link for me, which I've thought of often, is actually just about having 'a trained ear'. So, having an ear that is able to pick up things and repeat them, just like you would do with music. [unclear ???]. Yeah, being able to use that ear to pick up linguistic features as well. And then the other thing, which is really more of a broad, personality thing, I think – is when you are a musician or you study music, you have to be quite comfortable with vulnerability and you have to be comfortable with putting yourself out there. And you have to be comfortable with making mistakes, and realizing that mistakes are not the end of the world, and you know, the show has to go on – and I think that those are... and the more I think about, the more I read about language learning, those are some crucial things; if you are unwilling to put yourself out there, and unwilling to be vulnerable, then you have a much harder time to learn a language.

E5.6 Tanya

MJ 29:37
Okay, do you think your time in Tanzania helped at all in terms of learning the language there? Which is also I guess, would be similar at the linguistic level and the same kind of structures? Was there any transfer between that language learning experience and then what you've experienced now with Xhosa?

Tanya 29:57
Yeah, to be honest, like I don't want to overstate my Swahili learning. I mean, I was there for six months, and it was very basic. Um, but I mean, there are a lot of similarities and even vocab similarities, so structurally, and vocab-wise, but I mean, to be honest, I don't think I could remember... I mean, maybe if I *went* to Tanzania again, I mean, I haven't practiced speaking Swahili for over 10 years, you know. So it feels like it's... I can't even say I ever learned it, kind of, where I'm at! [laughs]

MJ 30:30
But I mean, it was another thing, which meant that, Xhosa – even if you, you know, arrived, and it felt like you'd learnt nothing, it wasn't at least a foreign thing to you because you...

Tanya 30:41
No, it wasn't foreign, no... And I'd done that [redacted: rural area in EC] trip, and I'd walked here, and I'd hiked here. So I've a stint of immersion as well. So it wasn't... and stints of practicing. So, yeah.

MJ 30:57
So then, as things got started, And you moved to the [redacted] and... how did it begin? So from a point of (I guess), the awkwardness of not really knowing how to say anything – how did things proceed? I mean, I don't think there are any language schools out there that you would have been going to – and so how did you go about it?

Tanya 31:31
Um, I... think I tried, and with varying degrees of success, decided that I wasn't going to learn the language by [unclear ???] ... actually make it up...And that's because my work's primarily in English, even though I'm in an isiXhosa-dominated environment. And yeah, so I think ... I yeah, I'm sorry – this was a few years ago, I'm trying to think honestly about what happened when I first got here. I definitely had evenings where I would sit down and actually learn words, to try and expand the vocab.

MJ 32:17
Okay? Was that the main thing, was it vocabulary acquisition?

Tanya 32:30
[unclear ???] It was vocab... I've now, I mean... Yeah, so initially, it was definitely vocab that I focused on. Yeah. And then I would just ask people questions, you know: "how do you say that? What's the past tense of that?" So there was some grammar. The grammar learning, I think, was more around asking people questions, because I bought this grammar book while I was living here. And I was really, I just found it impenetrable, so I didn't find it that accessible – initially, and then I, you know, subsequently bought another book that I find much better.

E6 Coded excerpts for case reporting

E6.1 Andrew

Regarding Commitment/How did AfLL occur?

○ **AcademicLearningLimitations** / ○ **Active/PassiveKnowledge** / ○ **Timeline_Marker**

So, um, you know what; in about grade 10, I did have, like a fairly good school-book grasp of isiZulu. So I could write a lot of things, basic things. But I didn't, I couldn't access it in the spoken form – I couldn't get that, like... transfer it from book knowledge to being able to organically and spontaneously produce sentences

○ **AcademicLearningLimitations** / ○ **ClassComposition** / ○ **High_School**

And then in matric, I actually ended up getting a 70% or something. [Yeah] This is as a second language, which was actually better than a lot of like the Zulu speakers. [Yeah]. But that was probably more to do with the fact that they were obviously far, far more proficient in isiZulu, but just my writing ability and my literacy was probably better overall in general. And so that translated to better literacy and in the written form and that sort of thing.

○ **AcademicLearningLimitations** / ○ **GrammarLearning** / ○ **University**

I will definitely say that my, my, 'isiZulu upbringing' was definitely grounded in a grammatical approach. So, um, you know, and I will say that there are definitely benefits to that, and there are downsides to that. Because I had a strong recall of the rule structures, and I understood linguistically how the rules worked, I was kind of able to input new vocab that I learned into pre-existing grammatical structures that I knew... [Yeah]... and able to then reproduce grammatically-sound sentences, you know? So I, definitely there was more of a focus on... writing; we definitely had a lot of oral work as well. [Okay]. But it was more... it wasn't really as much. In second year, it became more conversational. There was definitely more conversational aspects to it.

○ **AcademicLearningLimitations** / ○ **GrammarLearning** / ○ **University**

I was fortunate, as I say that, you know, in second and third year, the classes were very, very small. And so I had a lot of individual attention. But it was probably mainly outside of the university situation, as in, outside of the class [Yes] that it sort of really strengthened my aptitude – just that, knowing those grammatical structures, understanding those, those rules... and I will say this, I mean, it's definitely benefited me incredibly, but on the other hand, it does mean that sometimes, if there is like metaphoric language, or maybe idioms or phrases that I can sometimes be a bit stumped... because I'm relying on you know, like a language system... like a grammatical system

○ **AfL_Overlap**

Yeah. Like, with what you're saying with Xhosa, like, I struggle to understand isiXhosa speakers because... I can say a fair bit, but I struggle to hear [understand] it, because it almost sounds like it's being agglutinated and compounded, like... reduced. *// Even more than what happens in Zulu?* // I would say so. I think so. Yes. Or maybe it's just that I'm, I'm more confident in isiZulu so I'm able to retrace my steps in my head of what the phrasing is. Whereas in isiXhosa, I don't know as much – but I certainly certainly struggle a lot with isiXhosa because I kind of feel like there are prefixes that are just, like reduced or removed. And, yeah, there's just like things that seem like they're missing.

E6.2 Tanya

○ **Learning_Doldrums**

Yeah, so when I returned to [redacted], I found myself in a loop where I'm like, "Okay, I'm actually not going..." because I was having, I guess, the same conversation, the same kinds of conversations with people every day in Xhosa. And so I wasn't being... I stopped being pushed and being in the uncomfortable space, where... And so constantly what I find – and I mean, it's, like...in some instances, you know, I get really frustrated with myself and my lack of progress, having lived in this environment and immersed so much. But actually, when I read/listen to podcasts about language acquisition

○ **LearningConstraints** / ○ **VocabLearning**

So it's then, it's more [less?] grammatical and being able to nuance your language rather than new vocabulary acquisition, which is now kind of the difficulty for you. // Yeah, so it's trying to constantly work out how to expand my existing vocabulary into different directions....and I think learning new vocab as well. I mean, there's lots of... there are millions of words I still don't know. Like, someone asked me to give a gender-based violence interview on radio in Xhosa, and I was like, I can't – I mean, I don't have that vocab. So there's tons of vocab that I still don't know.

○ **LL_Discipline(s)**

And so I... yeah, I try and read a page... Sho, I mean, I mustn't overstate it. I guess it's once a week again, when I'm actually sitting and doing an hour lesson with myself again

○ **LL_Resources**

and that's also part of the problem: is that once you've got to the level of 'the basics down', what I found as an intermediate learner, that there is a complete dearth of opportunities for an intermediate learner to move... in supportive resources – to move to a better stage. So if you look at like, all the teachers pitch their level at basics, all the kind of online material is pitched at basics. Um...I mean, so unless you're self-studying.... Or yeah – I just find that there's really, really not enough resources for someone at my level now. // *Yeah, I've also definitely found that too.* // And that's been my frustration.

○ **LL_Resources** / ○ **Technique/Method** .

So then moving up to the actual ... what you call "experiential learning", like, how did that take place? And did you come quite prepared with what you would... like for instance, did you have any resources that you brought with you or language learning disciplines that you intended to follow? What was your modus operandi upon arriving? // Ja, I came with all my old Xhosa books from university, I guess – and I think that's all I had initially. And then I bought a really difficult grammar book, that my teacher recommended me, which is... I think you have to be a linguist to understand it: "the grammar of isiXhosa" by JC Oosthuysen.

Appendix F: **Results and Further Discussion**

F1 On hybrid identity: Johan and Andrew's anecdotes

Johan and Andrew's anecdotes, both centred on role of children in (re)constructing post-apartheid identity mediated through AfLs, are worth reading in juxtaposition.

F1.1 Johan – the "White Xhosa" anecdote

"Let me leave you with one little anecdote ... I quoted it recently, and I was reminded of just how powerful it is. *Extraordinary*, I mean. Children have played a central role ... in my learning experience. An anecdote that for me really sums up the power of language:

So I go into the same geographical space (where ... my extended family, my wife's family, lives in eKasi*) on a weekly basis, sometimes multiple times in a single week. I see the same people and the same children regularly, and we'd have conversations; I tend to freely engage with them as I walk from the car to the house, so I'm inevitably caught up in some sort of conversation with someone along the way. A little boy, a six year old boy, on one afternoon a couple of years ago, saw me coming along and he was with a boy about eight years old (so slightly older), and the eight year old boy – [who] I don't think had seen me before – and [he] immediately shouted out (which is a common expression) "*Umlungu-mlungu-mlungu-mlungu*!" which is ... 'He's a whitey! He's a whitey!' The little six-year-old boy turned around to him and said, "*Hayi umlungu*" (so: 'He's not a white man') "... *ungumlungu omXhosa*." (So: 'He's a white Xhosa'). And what he constructed in those couple of seconds was a new social identity. What he did, was that he created a hybrid ... based on what he could see: I look white, and the fact that I speak Xhosa fluently. So he created ... a new identity for me in that moment. That for me, captures the potential of ... what we can become. We had turned upside down histories of apartheid and hierarchies in the most disruptive way ... and this little boy had created something new in a very meaningful, empirically-based way. It was extraordinary. And we felt, there was a moment there... we, well, *I* felt connected. And it was brief, but ... it demonstrated the potential in ... the power of language to reconstruct identities. Admittedly there's more [to it] than that, but ... at least minimally, it disrupts given identities, given social identities, provided by the ... prescriptions of society, and given our history of South Africa. This was very disruptive and, but it *created* – more, it did more than that – it didn't *deconstruct*; it *reconstructed*. And it all happened in a matter of a couple of seconds." (**Johan**)

F1.2 Andrew – the "nice to be a Zulu" anecdote

"... being a white isiZulu teacher, I think, is really cool for breaking mentalities about identity. I remember, even in my early years, I had a little girl in Grade 2. I wasn't, I wasn't even like, in her classroom. She was in the reading room and I just happened to be there, and she walked up to me and gave me a hug. And she looked up at me, and she said, "it's nice to be a Zulu, hey?" Which is so interesting, because obviously the idea of, of identity is ... is really fluid and it's still being formed [at that age]. But, you know, I think I've got an incredible opportunity to sort of break these ideas of what it is to be, you know, a male, an African, a white person, Zulu speaker, like – all of these mixed identities – overlapping." (**Andrew**)

F2 Race-differentiated analysis of L2 motivation in James (2017)

In the results section of James (2017), it was reported that the variable of race "had mostly negligible effects on the motivational dimension scales and items – [it] did not explain any variance in a significant manner" (33). This was largely because the numerical proportions of non-white students were insufficient for a rigorous comparative statistical analysis.

A non-statistical, frequency analysis did, however, offer some suggestive differentiation between white and other non-black students' motivations for learning isiXhosa. A fresh review of the data in that study – thankfully still accessible while writing up this research – found that voluntary coloured learners[502] of isiXhosa exhibited highly similar scores regarding measures of work utility, instrumental orientation, home support and societal expectation compared to white learners. Beyond this, however, these learners on average exhibited significant differences when compared to white peers:

1. slightly lower overall scores for IL2S and language interest (an 8% magnitude difference);
2. moderately lower scores for integrative orientation and cultural interest (almost 1 full Likert scale measure, i.e. differences of 12-13% magnitude);
3. a major difference about whether Xhosa should be compulsory – on average slight agreement rather than strong agreement (a 27% magnitude difference);
4. significantly more likelihood of seeing isiXhosa as an arbitrary (non-important) subject, as well as intending to learn only the basics of the language (differences of 22-23% magnitude)

Looking at the self-reported qualitative measures, only two of 15 (13%) voluntary coloured students emphasised post-apartheid motivational factors – either a perceived social/moral

[502] These were almost all coloured, with one Indian student included.

duty (S/MD) or SA integrativeness (SAI, a desire for nation-building/social cohesion) as a primary factor for learning isiXhosa: compare this frequency to the 14 of 28 (50%) of voluntary white students who mentioned these motivational factors as being primary.[503] The primary factors for voluntary coloured students were overwhelmingly either practical communication or work utility (11 of 15); only two participants mentioned language interest as primary.[504]

F3 Late-apartheid and transitional zeitgeists

The two cases of AfLL that initiated commitment (whether minor or major) during the apartheid era both did so with explicit reference to the socio-structural conditions of the time. Johan's decision to learn isiXhosa in the mid-1980s stemmed from his unwillingness to go along with the apartheid state's political and military projects. For Renée, as a coloured woman, AfLL represented a form of political solidarity with bSAns. In both cases, the norms of raciolinguistic apartheid were important socio-structural conditions against which they reacted: reactions intertwined with the quality and extent of commitment they were willing to make in AfLL's pursuit. By 1990, when then-President F.W. De Klerk's address to parliament announcing the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela,[505] Johan had reached a point of communicative fluency in isiXhosa – he had transgressed racial and spatial boundaries for sufficient time. The apartheid zeitgeist lasted just long enough to sustain his reactive "inile" in the Transkei and, by implication, a sufficiently-sustained transgressive investment in L2AfLL.

By comparison, Renée's purely academic L2AfL investment had just begun the year prior; by the time she matriculated with isiXhosa as a subject in the early 1990s, multiracial democracy had arrived. Renée's initial anti-apartheid framing for AfLL was likely undercut by the success of the anti-apartheid political movement, *especially* in the context of English as the common "language of liberation" and her non-ideal personal conditions with regard to SLL generally – its status as a "chore". Despite an enduring desire to re-invest, it took a great deal of catalytic force for her later major commitment to AfLL. These two apartheid-era limit cases may be summarised as emanating from a *late-apartheid zeitgeist* for Johan, and a *transitional zeitgeist* for Renée.

[503] Among compulsory students, whether white or coloured, any mention of these factors was largely absent (in the 4 instances where they *were* mentioned, these were all white students).
[504] Where white voluntary students did not report SAI or S/MD, practical communication (9 of 28) was the next most common response.
[505] A speech that confirmed the inevitability of post-apartheid South Africa (Kotze, 2020).

F4 The (ir)relevance of AfL institutes/teachers?

Conspicuously absent among the results were cases who learned an AfL within the context of a language institute or via an independent AfL teacher/tutor. Tanya was the only exception in this regard, and though her commitment to such a modality was minor relative to her distant immersion. Further research is required regarding the extent of the AfL-offering language institute industry: how many exist, where they are situated, what courses levels are available, and how much economic capital is required in order to learn. Bradley explicitly noted the dearth of adequate isiZulu teaching/tutoring in KZN, enabling his career as an AfL teacher, as did Peter in Cape Town. McIntosh (2018) provides evidence from the directors of two institutes teaching isiXhosa in Cape Town – both of whom highlighted how few (if any) learners proceed beyond beginner stages of learning. This may be because learners who lack long-term AfLL intentions (i.e. engaging in minor L2 Investment) self-select, and tend to attend short-term, seasonal classes at language institutes. There are very few exceptions:

> I have so few students who *really* actually need to learn, you know, like there's one guy here from Germany, doing a research project [redacted] – he's German, and *he's like the best student I've ever had*! He's like, way better than *anyone* – and he's not even that good! He is *way* better than any of my students, ever. And the reason is... because he's *had* to learn; he's going, he's in communities where they're speaking Xhosa: it's part of his research. Everyone else, even the NGO workers, even the people who're surrounded by Xhosa colleagues and Xhosa staff, it's like: they just find that, you know – they don't even need [to know about] the noun groups! You know. It's like, once they've made that effort, and pronouncing people's names correct, etc, etc – they get so much reward for that, that you quickly reach that ceiling, you know, where it's just like, "Okay, I can put in 20 hours more studying here, and it *actually* won't make much difference to my actual rewards." (**Peter**)

It is also possible that learners who would attend such institutes – usually adults – experience higher biochronic scarcity relative due to responsibilities of work and family life, and are thus highly unlikely to reach the levels of linguistic capital seen among the sample: a short language institute course may provide a measure of satisfaction sufficient for any L2AfL motivation they may have. As opposed to being mere AfL learners, the L2AfL investors of the sample tended to bypass modalities of learning with minor commitment status: they invested significant capital towards multi-year academic or transgressive modalities. Cases who made major commitments to AfLL later in life – Carl, Tanya, Renée – did not mention the constraints of family life – no doubt an enabling factor for integrating AfLL with their daily work through their pursuit of distant immersion, their primary modality of learning.

F5 English and 'respect' for L1AfL interlocutors

An interesting finding related to the avoidance of AfL use, even in cases of apparent class-transgression, emerged from several recruited participants for this study: implying an ethics of AfL use. Jeanette,[506] a case candidate not included in the sample, reported that

> Living in a rural village, where there were actually some people whose English was worse than my Zulu, helped me be a bit braver about conversing. I felt it an insult to speak poor Zulu to someone who could obviously speak good English. (**Jeanette**, personal correspondence)

This accords with Natasha's stated protocol: "So I knew that if my Xhosa was better than someone's English, I would switch to Xhosa – but if their English was better than my Xhosa, I would stick with English". Natasha felt a need to "figure out which language would be the most respectful to use". This relative language calculation appeared to emerge from desire to avoid cringeworthy, ostensibly-tokenistic use of AfLs by wSAns on the one hand, but also on the other to not "be that person who just shows off that they've learned Xhosa." [507]

Though different to the prior two examples, Heather – as a volunteer teacher in her gap year – encountered a dilemma between wanting to maximise her own use of isiXhosa while also being attentive to her students' 'needs' for exposure to, and practice in, English. She decided to put learning isiXhosa "on the backseat ...to sacrifice learning [it], because *their* learning [of English] is then more important." When considered from a non-ethical standpoint, the desire to "respect" L1AfL interlocutors by using English – whether to affirm their ability to speak the hegemonic language fluently, or to help them acquire it – led to an unwillingness to transgress sociolinguistic norms in favour of the *status quo*, thereby preventing (potentially habitual) AfLL opportunities. All those who alluded to such an ethical framing for AfL use had instrumental, societal motivations for learning, indicating an elevated attention to current societal needs and norms. Further research is required on this topic – it seems likely that 'being respectful' is the flipside of why Andrew and Duncan felt it difficult to speak with their L1Z peers in high school. This dynamic obstructs the transgressive modality of urban and suburban proximal immersion, rendering rural distant immersion a preferable choice, where AfL monolingualism is more prevalent.

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[506] A pseudonym.

[507] She continues: "Because there were sometimes, I'd see people do that, and they couldn't speak any Xhosa really, but they would just want to be those people who are like, 'Molo sisi! Unjani?'... so that everyone will be like, 'Oh, wow, look at this white girl speaking Xhosa!'". Consider also Peter's description of this phenomenon, which he likewise sees as emerging from wSAn AfL learners who have become "lazy" (i.e. unwilling to learn further): "And then suddenly, oh, wow, they know five words: 'hayibo', 'tyhini', 'yhu', 'kunzima'. And they start, you know, 'blackifying' their English ... I know a few people like that – and it's very embarrassing."

F6 Theorising collective investment in L2AfLL

This section considers the degree to which the findings apply to making collective L2AfL investment a success, given the need for realism. Among other potential interventions not considered, two main interventions are discussed below: societal incentivisation for L2AfLL and creating two main pedagogical interlanguages for L2AfLL. The first is likely to fail given current political circumstances; the latter may be achieved by civil society.

F6.1 The need for realism

> *The advocacy of language policy and planning measures which, in reality, have little or no hope of ever being accepted or implemented, while perhaps an engaging theoretical and intellectual exercise, does not really meet the demands of those anxious to bring about meaningful sociolinguistic change.*
>
> Jon Orman (2007: 183)

> *[T]he most important distinction is between what sounds good and what works.*
>
> Thomas Sowell (2010: 654)

Before attempting to answer the question of realist measures, it will be helpful to briefly consider the necessary conditions for success in language planning. In the first place, it must be convincing. For any "planning that does not influence behaviour, that does not convince hearts and minds of the target of planning, is pointless, no matter how well researched" (Ager, 2005: 1037). This coincides with a focus on *reception* or acceptance of planning rather than its *production* (cf. Kamwangamalu, 2015: 10-11). If a symbiotic dialectic between planners and target populations could be achieved that considers contemporary socioeconomic concerns, then success is plausible. Moreover, it has been claimed that any language planning must be "in harmony with the socio-economic *Zeitgeist*" if there is to be acceptance (Orman, 2007:68) – not an encouraging condition, given the current social, political and economic difficulties of SA in the post-covid-19 era.

Realistic interventions will have to take into account the incapacitation of the South African state, and thus state-led LP&P efforts. If the state were to act to "incentivise" L2AfLL more than it has so far attempted, it is likely to do so in counterproductive ways (like UKZN; Naidoo et al., 2018). The ongoing IIAL will remain under current academic constraints, although the presence of academic modalities of AfLL at most wSAn-present public schools will help to normalise AfLL: likely in a way analogous to the teaching of Spanish in the USA. For these reasons, engaging private sector and non-governmental research and development is key, as the only realistic context for developing and implementing collective interventions aimed at L2AfLL. The private, NGO/NPO, and

religious/cultural sectors – all of whom have skin in SA's game – will be required to play larger roles in public service provision (including LP&P), as the organs of state abscond on their duties.

At the societal level, it is likely that physical insecurity will increase, due to lack of policing and a growing culture of impunity and violence (particularly against women and children). It is likely that racial tensions will worsen as economic and security issues increase (cf. the racial tensions following the riots and looting of July 2021). Finally, with regard to the sociolinguistic trends, the hegemonic status of English will increase as upwardly mobile bSAns continue divesting from AfLs, especially for their children. The diglossic nature of AfLs in South Africa will only continue to evolve, making varieties of AfLs highly localised.

Insofar as the initial post-apartheid euphoric zeitgeist was catalytically-neutral or even supportive for AfLL, the deepening dysphoria may be the determinative countervailing force (all things being equal) against both new guardian-initiated dependent, or independent, L2AfL investment – as younger wSAns' stock of capital – biochronic, human and economic – is spent and leveraged elsewhere, towards other pursuits, and increasingly (?) beyond SA's borders (*cf.* Southall, 2022: 139; also Brock & Blake, 2015; Vice, 2017). In short, it is likely that the national zeitgeist and ongoing sociolinguistic trends will increasingly constrain potential investor's willingness, or ability to initiate and maintain L2AfL investment. With such a realistic base-line scenario for the short-to-medium term, any realistic attempts to theorise successful collective L2AfL investment may proceed.

F6.2 Societal promotion of L2AfLL: compulsion vs incentivisation

F6.2.1 Compulsory AfLL in the academy and economy

In almost all the language policy and planning literature that treats the topic of achieving symmetrical, AfL-inclusive multilingualism in SA, the lack of economic incentive for AfLL has been offered as the definitive demotivating factor, and its presence proposed as the curative solution (Heugh, 2002: 469; Orman, 2007: 218; Kamwangamalu, 2004: 132). Alexander (2005) takes a similar view, suggesting that the South African middle-class will move away from the "English-mainly and often English-only language policy ... if we can demonstrate the economic value of the African languages". This amounts to a form of status planning: imbuing AfLs with economic value. Orman proposes that "public institutions could demonstrate their commitment to multilingualism by making knowledge of several languages, including an African language, a prerequisite for entry into certain jobs and

educational courses" (2007: 220-221).[508] Kamwangamalu (2015) agrees, outlining the need to "associate AfLs with an economic value on the labour market and require academic skills in these languages as one of the criteria for access to employment" (14).

Within the academic sphere, a similar idea has been broached by Lafon (2010), to make "an African language a [matriculation] certificate pass requirement". If this were necessary, then "[n]on-native speakers of African languages would have to be exposed to African languages. [...] The 'linguistic capital' (Gundara 2008:350) commanded by the black learners would be valorised in the eyes of their more socially privileged colleagues" (435), thus encouraging AfL interactions within school contexts. While there may be a change within academic culture, it is *unlikely* that given the current constraints outlined in this study, the hegemony of English in English-medium middle-class, private or former model C public schools would be seriously challenged.

If wSAns were compelled to learn AfLs in order to matriculate, retain their current employment, or to enter the workforce, such interventions would likely fail for two reasons: Firstly, AfL academic credentials alone are unlikely to represent AfLL success as defined in this study. Insofar as the findings of this study provide any evidence, it is that purely academic investment in AfLs is insufficient to produce linguistic capital usable with L1 speakers, unless modalities of conversion/integration can be found. If this were to be instituted, in the absence of broader structural reforms regarding AfL diglossia and academic learning culture, it would only result in AfL credentialism, but not usable linguistic capital.[509]

Secondly, such interventions could easily be rejected by the broader wSAn population, as compulsion rarely incentivises or results in actual AfLL success (Naidoo, 2018), as the case of UKZN shows – a finding largely confirmed by James (2017).[510] Rather, it would be interpreted as yet another form of state-legitimised raciolinguistic discrimination, rather than "incentivisation" for AfLL. By compelling those with economic and (the potential for) human capital to commit a large amount of biochronic capital to L2AfLL, when far better substitutes (from an economic standpoint) exist, such compulsion would most likely

[508] He continues by noting that "[s]uch a policy would need to be administered with caution, however, in order to avoid accusations of reverse discrimination from speakers of English and Afrikaans who do not speak any African languages. Even a quota system whereby a minimum number of people in whatever organisation are required to have a knowledge of an African language would likely be controversial … some degree of positive discrimination in favour of African language speakers would appear to be an unavoidable practical requirement if the African languages are to acquire greater presence in public life" (Orman, 2007: 221).

[509] As an externality, a *counterproductive* AfL assessment industry would likely emerge, aiding unmotivated L2AfL learners to pass examinations and gain certificates, in much the same way an industry has emerged for those needing to pass the IELTS: a credential which evidences primarily literacy, but not spoken fluency

[510] Compulsion and intention to persist in learning isiXhosa had a strong inverse correlation.

act as a catalyst for divestment and capital flight. It would arguably hasten the already-strong trend for younger wSAns to emigrate to less-demanding Anglophone nations, or 'retreat' from employee status into entrepreneur status (Lloyd, 2018), obviating the need for L2AfL investment. In the final analysis, top-down, economic status planning that seeks to enforce rather than incentivise is doomed to fail.[511]

F6.2.2 Incentivising AfLL through relaxation of BEE policy

While state-led efforts appear doomed to fail for many reasons, one relatively easy alternative to compulsion would be incentivising wSAn L2AfLL by relaxing affirmative action policy on racial quotas for wSAn applicants – if high and genuine proficiency in AfLs could be demonstrated. This would assume developing an adequate means to assess L2AfL oral proficiency beyond existing literacy-focused academic assessments. Such an incentive would apply to the two major domains in which affirmative action operates: university admissions (particularly for sought-after subjects) as well as gaining employment at companies large enough to fall under BEE requirements. Such a relaxation of BEE requirements would both signal the economic value, as well as social value, of AfLs (and thus L2AfLL) in South African society: it would be a means for wSAns to overcome, both psychologically but also practically, the legal discrimination against wSAns in employment, encouraging them to enact an official kind of "linguistic citizenship" (Stroud & Kerfoot, 2021) and a sanctioned sense of belonging: as such, such an intervention would be a form of identity planning (Orman, 2007). Such an incentive would *only* help L2AfL investment – but given the current dysphoric post-apartheid zeitgeist and current government's priorities, there is little likelihood that such a proposal would be accepted or implemented.[512]

F6.3 Investing in new L2AfL standards

A collective investment in new L2AfL standards, given the lack of applicability of linguistic capital gains derived from academic modalities of L2AfLL, would be useful in multiple

[511] . The SARB has (economic) capital controls; the state appears only interested in economic capital flight. Human capital flight is arguably much worse. While demonstration of a credential-based "commitment to multilingualism" might change a few attitudes about the economic *necessity* of signalling the virtues of AfLs, it would likely do little to alter negative associations of its *value*, and this disjuncture is not easily resolved.

[512] On the face of it, the ANC government's official focus is on greater economic participation and wealth for the black majority, and it appears there is a broad *de facto* agreement among the bSAn population and political elites that preservation of AfLs is a secondary issue (cf. De Klerk 2000). Given that the governing elite are pragmatically committed to English, and thus to the relative diminishment of AfLs, it is unlikely that AfLs would be attributed sufficient status such that it could transform a wSAn into an 'honorary bSAn' from a BEE perspective: this would potentially be viewed as 'taking away' a black person's job or academic place. As long as politicians believe that access to tertiary education and economic participation are zero-sum games, this proposal is unlikely to be implemented.

ways. This may be done, primarily, by repurposing Neville Alexander's proposals for Nguni and Sotho standards specifically for L2 learners, sidestepping the intractable ethnolinguistic politicking that would occur if they were meant to represent multiple languages (and thus ethnic identities) concurrently. Moreover, this would ideally be done in a way that realistically accounts for the diglossic continua between urban–rural, standard–colloquial, and dialect–centre forms of AfLs: in other words, paring down Nguni and Sotho languages to skeletal interlanguages, which would gain flesh during learner specialisation (either within an academic modality, but more likely when undertaking transgressive modalities of L2AfLL).

F6.3.1 The challenge of AfL continua

Invariably, the linguistic capital gained by successful L2AfL investors was inflected based on their personal linguistic preferences (principally due to personality traits and motivation, or "language ideology" in Lily's case) while also reflecting the primary modalities of learning and the varieties and register of AfL habitually encountered. The urban-rural and translingual-deep continua were largely irrelevant to learning success, being more qualifiers of the kind of linguistic capital an investor may accumulate, whether due to the (transgressive) modality of learning or the specific preferences of the investor.

The standard–non-standard continuum posed the main pedagogical/learning problem for hitherto-academic L2AfL learners, as the diglossia between standardised varieties of AfLs (encountered within academic modalities) and the diverse realities of oral AfL use necessitated a conversion of linguistic capital through a transgressive modality. Ivan's case aside, the general absence of fit-for-purpose, enculturated oral pedagogy and assessment – accounting for urban-rural and translingual-deep continua in relation to standard varieties of an AfL – appear to be the main obstacles to improving the linguistic capital yield of academic AfLL.

F6.3.2 Repurposing Alexander's proposed Nguni and Sotho standards

Alexander (1989: 64) suggested the creation of a harmonised Nguni standard language, incorporating isiZulu, isiXhosa, siSwati and isiNdebele, and a harmonised Sotho standard, incorporating Sesotho, Sepedi and Setswana. This would simplify the development for L1AfL education in the long term, while at the same time simplifying L2AfLL for white South Africans. With regard to this point, Orman claims that

> native English and Afrikaans speakers in [SA] would potentially have greater instrumental motivation to learn a harmonised Nguni or Sotho standard variety than learning one of the sub-Nguni or sub Sotho standard languages such as isiZulu or Sesotho. By learning a single

> harmonised Nguni or Sotho language … one's communicative potential would be considerably expanded. (2007: 219)

The proposal for harmonised standards was badly received (Brown, 1992; Brand, 2006: 72), and has been seen as threatening to the status of specific languages making up each standard, because the proposed harmonised Nguni or Sotho standards were understood to be replacements for the seven affected AfLs. If it were billed purely as a pragmatic pedagogical measure for L1E/A-speaking South Africans, the harmonised standards would not be threatening for the seven individual Nguni and Sotho languages;[513] indeed, given the sentiments expressed by many bSAns that whites would pay more than "lip service" to AfLL (Sweetnam Evans, 2015: 7),[514] there is a chance it would be appreciated as a mechanism for helping wSAns make good on their L2AfLL desires. Given its disputed history as a policy aimed at L1AfL education, the proposal would likely not gain traction for genuine top-down investment through a state organ like PanSALB or the Department of Basic Education, which has more "pressing concerns" (Orman, 2007: 222) relating to the bSAn majority. The L1E/A minority communities, however, would likely be supportive of it.

The lack of standardisation and multiple continua of variation, as discussed in the literature and found within this study, may be viewed as a pedagogical problem to solve; the very porousness of AfL 'translanguaging' also provides a flexible linguistic context and thus an opportunity to create something new. There is space for experimentation, and choosing the path of least sociolinguistic resistance, in order to gain the greatest linguistic capital gains for the smallest amount of biochronic and economic expenditure. The translingual approach researched and arguably valorised by Dowling, (2011), and exhibited by Lily within this study (see Appendix B1), provides a flexible approach to language learning that could be applied to this situation: creating Nguni and Sotho interlanguages with highly limited lexical cores, with a focus on the fundamental grammatical and syntactic patterns – including those that give rise to the elisions and simplifications of colloquial speech. This lexeme-agnostic foundation would enable later lexical and register specialisation by L2AfL learners along the various language continua – whether towards 'distinct' languages (e.g. the Nguni / Sotho continua), or specific varieties on the dialectal or rural-urban continua. Academic institutions could collectively decide which specialisations they want to offer in addition to the core interlanguages. Thus homage would be paid to language purists and activists insofar as these

[513] As such, these devices – interlanguages – to borrow a term from SLA – are neutral, because they are not being taught as 'languages' proper, and are not 'standards' for the Nguni languages in any sense.

[514] As a black participant states: "The [w]hites don't seem to be making much effort to learn our languages, despite what they say" (Sweetnam Evans, 2015: 7).

bridging interlanguages would enable specialisation towards deep or standardised varieties of an official AfL.

The state or state-funded institutions (including public universities) cannot be relied upon to invest in such a project, for the same reason that Alexander's proposal of harmonised Nguni and Sotho standards was a non-starter. As such, the private sector and non-governmental civic organisations, concerned with the promotion of L2AfLL and its potential role within national identity planning, would have to source the required expertise to select, codify, and to some extent elaborate the harmonised standards; this would then need to be followed by developing accessible pedagogical grammars and literary resources. Thereafter, language activism would need to take place directed at language schools and departments, to prompt the harmonised standards' acceptance for L2AfLL. This is possible, but would require considerable investment in research and dissemination.

Appendix G: **Tables**

In this appendix, several tables are provided that underpinned the analysis and discussion of the thesis.

G1 Table 2: Investor Characteristics

G2 Table 3: Socio-structural conditions

G3 Table 4: Personal and catalytic conditions

G4 Table 5: Overall conditions

G5 Table 6: Modalities

G6 Table 7: Intermediation

G7 Table 8: Discipline

G8 Table 9: Complete commitment

G9 Table 10: Capital Gains

G10 Table 11: Correlates of linguistic capital gains

G11 Table 12: Matric language study statistics (2017)

G1 Table 2: Investor Characteristics

Investor Name	Case Type	AfL	L1	Age (2020)	Sex	Minor commitment			Major commitment			Industry Sector	Uni Background
						Start year?	Event	Age?	Start year?	Event?	Age?		
Duncan	Normal	Z	E	L20s	M	N/A			2006	Gr 8	13/14	Creative	N/A
Bradley	Normal	Z	E	E30s	M	N/A			2008	Uni 1	18/19	Edu	Arts/Humanities
Andrew	Normal	Z	E	E30s	M	1995	Gr 1	6	2005	Gr 10	15/16	Edu	Humanities
Ivan	Normal	S	A	L20s	M	2005	Gr 8	13	2006	Gr 9	14/15	Edu	Humanities
Carl	Normal	T	E	E30s	M	N/A			2012	DistImm	24	Edu	Arts/Humanities
Tanya	Normal	X	E	M30s	F	2006	Uni 1	19	2017	DistImm	30	NGO/Law	Law/Humanities
Lily	Limit[515]	X	G	E30s	F	N/A			2013	Research	22	Academia	Humanities
Heather	Normal	X	E	M20s	F	2001	Gr 1	6/7	2011	Gr 10	15/16	Edu	Humanities
Renée	Limit[516]	X	EA	M40s	F	1987	Gr 8	13	2009	DistImm	35	NGO/Fin	Commerce
Johan	Limit[517]	X	AE	E50s	M	N/A			1985	DistImm	19	Academia	Humanities
Peter	Normal	X	E	L30s	M	N/A			2004	DistImm	21/22	Edu	Arts/Humanities
Natasha	Limit[518]	X	E	E30s	F	2007	Gr 11	17	2010	Uni 1	20	Academia	Arts/Humanities

KEY

AfLs		L1s		Sex		Event		Age	
Z	isiZulu	**E**	English	**M**	Male	**DistImm**	Distant Immersion	**E**	early
S	Sesotho	**A**	Afrikaans	**F**	Female	**Uni**	University	**M**	mid
T	Setswana	**EA**	English/Afrikaans			**Gr**	Grade	**L**	late
X	isiXhosa	**G**	German						

[515] Non-South African (German)
[516] Non-white (coloured)
[517] Apartheid era
[518] Not fluent.

G2 Table 3: Socio-structural conditions

Investor Name	Geog. regions	Rural-urban scale?	Family AfL stance	Domestic Worker/ Nanny	External AfL exposure?	School AfL access?	Investor Dependency?		Apparent role-models				Foreign links?
							Level	Period	No.?	1	2	3	
Duncan	KZN	R	Pos+	Yes	High	HS	Low	Gr 8-9	3	PUB	U	GF	Yes: GF
Bradley	KZN	U	*NR*	Yes	*NR*	HS*	None	N/A	1	EDU			No
Andrew	KZN	U	Pos+	Yes	Low	PS&HS	High	Gr 1-9	2	F	U		Yes: F
Ivan	FS	U	*NR*	Yes	*NR*	(PS)&HS	Low	Gr 6-9	1	EDU			No
Carl	GAU	U	*NR*	*NR*	*NR*	(HS)*	None		*NR*				Yes: M
Heather	WC	U	Pos+	*NR*	Low	PS&HS	High	Gr 1-9	(2)	(S)	(A)		*NR*
Tanya	GAU/WC	U	Pos+	*NR*	Low	(PS&HS)*	Med	Gr 1-9*	(1)	(M)			Yes: F
Lily	WC	U	*NR*	No	Low	0	None		*NR*				Yes*
Renée	WC	U	*NR*	*NR*	Low	HS	Low	Gr 8-9	*NR*				No
Johan	WC	U	Neg-	*NR*	None	HS*	None		0				No
Peter	WC	U	Pos+	Yes	Low	HS*	None		*NR*				*NR*
Natasha	EC	1/2R	Pos+	*NR*	High	(PS&HS)	Low	Gr 6-7	*NR*				*NR*

KEY

Geographical Region		Rural-Urban		Data Qualification		Role-models / Foreign links			
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal	**R**	Rural	**( )**	Quasi/partial	**S**	sister	**PUB**	public figure
FS	Free State	**U**	Urban	*****	Needs qualification	**GF**	grandfather	**EDU**	educator
NW	North-West	**1/2R**	Semi-rural	**Pos+**	Positive	**U**	uncle/older male	**M**	mother
WC	Western Cape	School		**Neg-**	Negative	**A**	aunt/older female	**F**	father
EC	Eastern Cape	**PS**	Primary school	***NR***	Not Reported				
GAU	Gauteng	**HS**	High school	*grey*	Absent/Likely Absent				

G3 Table 4: Personal and catalytic conditions

Investor Name	BC$ Qual 1	BC$ Qual 2	Prior H$?	Prior ZK$?	Motive 1	Motive 2	Motive 3	Catalyst 1	Catalyst 2
Duncan	(ANX)	S/I	MUS	JOY (Z)	LC	IL2S		PI	PERSON
Bradley	(LA)*	EX	MUS, AFK	NR	SOC/CON	IL2S		PD*	PERSON
Andrew	LA	EX	*NR*	CON (Z)	SSUP/CON	IL2S	LC	PI	PLACE
Ivan	LA		ENG	*NR*	LING	OC	SOC/CUL	PERSON1	PERSON2
Carl	LA	(EX)	MUS, SL	CON (SL)	SSUP	OC	LING	PD*	PLACE
Heather	LD	ANX	*NR*	ABJOY	OL2S	SCTL	PSUP	PI	PLACE
Tanya	*NR*		SWA, AFK, Z	ABCON	OL2S	CUL	OC-SCTL	PI	PLACE/NEC
Lily	LA	(EX)	SWA	BEL	LING	SCTL	OC	PLACE	
Renée	LD	S/I	*NR*	*NR*	OC	SCTL		PLACE	PLACE/NEC
Johan	No LA, CONS	OP	ENG	ABBEL	OC	SCTL	CUL	PLACE	PLACE/NEC
Peter		EX	*NR*	CON, ABCON	CUL/CON	SCTL	OC	CALL	PLACE
Natasha		S/I	MUS	ABCON	SOC/CON	OC-SCTL		PLACE	

KEY

Catalysts				Motivations					
PI	Parental investment	**CALL**	A sense of calling	**LING**	Linguistic	**PSUP**	Peer support	**OL2S**	Ought-to L2 Self
PD	Parental divestment	**PLACE**	A (new) place	**CUL**	Cultural	**SCTL**	Societal	**SSUP**	Social support
NEC	Necessity	**PERSON**	A specific person	**SOC**	Social	**IL2S**	Ideal L2 Self	**OC**	Occupational
				CON	Connection			**LC**	Lingua-cultural

Biochronic Capital (BC$) Quality		Prior Human Capital (H$)		Prior Zookairotic Capital (ZK$)		Data Qualification	
LA | LD	Language Affinity | Difficulty	**MUS**	Musical training	**CON**	Connection	**( )**	Quasi/partial
S/I | EX	Shy/Introverted | Extroverted	**AFK**	Afrikaans	**ABCON**	Absence of connection	*****	Needs qualification
ANX | JOY	Anxiety | (En)joy(ment)	**ENG**	English	**BEL**	Belonging	**N/A**	Not applicable
OP	Openness	**SL**	SA Sign Language	**ABBEL**	Absence of belonging	***NR***	Not Reported
CONS	Conscientiousness	**SWA**	Swahili	**JOY**	Joy/Enjoyment	*grey*	Absent/likely absent
				ABJOY	Absence of joy (= ANX)		

G4 Table 5: Overall conditions

	Ideal socio-structural conditions	Ideal personal conditions	Catalysts and necessity measure			
Andrew	Very high	Highest	PI	-	PLACE	U
Duncan	Highest	High	PI	-	PERSON	U
Lily	None	Highest	PLACE	U		
Carl	None	Very high	PLACE	U		
Peter	Very low	Very high	PLACE	N&U		
Bradley	Very low	High	PERSON	U		
Johan*	None	High	PLACE	N		
Tanya	Middling	Middling	PI	-	PLACE	N
Natasha*	Middling	Middling	PLACE	U		
Ivan	Middling	High	PEOPLE	U		
Renée*	Very low	Very low	PLACE	N		
Heather	High	~None	PI	-	PLACE	U&N

G5 Table 6: Modalities

Name	Academic Modalities (AM)			Temporal Sequence?	Transgressive Modalities (TM)	
	Primary School	High School	University		Primary TM	Secondary TM
Duncan	N/A* *AfL phased out as started*	**5 years**	N/A	Subsequent	**Mentorship, KZN** Via colleague	
Bradley	N/A	N/A* *AfL Gr 10-12 possible*	**3 years**	Simultaneous	ProxImm Student, KZN	
Andrew	**7 years** *Gr 1-7*	**5 years**	**3 years**	Simultaneous	**ProxImm** Student, KZN	**Mentorship** Via Educator
Ivan	**2 years*** *Gr 6-7, negligible*	**5 years**	**3 years**	Simultaneous	**ProxImm** Student, FS	**Mentorship** Via Educator
Carl	N/A	**2 years*** *Gr8-9, different AfL*	N/A	N/A	**DistImm, 7 years,** **NW** *as* Teacher	
Tanya	**7 years*** *Gr 1-7, negligible*	**2 years*** *Gr8-9, different AfL*	**1 year**	Subsequent	**DistImm,** 3 years* **EC,** NGO worker	**Mentorship** Via Boyfriend (BF)
Lily	N/A	N/A	**2 years*** *1st year skipped*	Simultaneous	**ProxImm** Researcher	**Mentorship** Via Educator/BF
Heather	**7 years** *Gr 1-7*	**5 years**	**2 years*** *1st year skipped*	Intervening	**DistImm, 1 year,** **EC,** volunteer teacher	
Renée	N/A	**5 years**	N/A	Subsequent	**DistImm, 11 years** EC, NGO worker	
Johan	N/A	N/A* *AfL Gr 7-12 possible*	N/A	N/A	**DistImm, 5 years** EC, NGO worker	**ProxImm** *as* Activist/Researcher
Peter	**2 years*** *Gr 6-7, negligible*	**2 years*** *Gr 8-9, negligible*	N/A	N/A	**DistImm, 1 year** EC, iThwasa	**ProxImm** *as* Teaching Assistant
Natasha	**2 years*** *Gr 6-7, negligible*	**2 years*** *ProxImm, see TM field*	**3 years**	Prior*	**ProxImm,*** *as* Student, EC	

G6 Table 7: Intermediation

Name	Significant Mediators (& contexts)		Relative media importance?	Significant Media
	1	2		
Duncan	Mentor: Themba (*colleague*)		High	Reference; Audio + visual; Literature
Bradley	Working-class men (*urban*)	L1AfL peers (*academy*)	Very high	TV, film; radio, podcasts; self-made audio
Andrew	Older women & men (*boarding house*)	AfL Lecturer (*academy*)	*Unknown*	*Not reported*
Ivan	L1AfL peers (*academy*)	Domestic worker (*home*)	Medium	Pedagogical; Audiovisual
Carl	Coworkers & pupils (*semi-rural school*)	Everyone (*semi-rural*)	Low	Reference; Radio
Heather	Host family (*rural homestay*)	L1AfL pupils (*rural school*)	*Unknown*	*Not reported*
Tanya	Mentor: boyfriend (*rural*)	Friends, coworkers (*rural*)	High	Pedagogical; Self-made flashcards; Radio
Lily	Teachers & pupils *(urban township)*	Boyfriend (*urban*)	Medium	Grammar; Self-made audio
Renée	Older women (*rural*)	Everyone (*rural*)	Medium	Pedagogical
Johan	Youth (*rural*)	NGO coworkers (*rural*)	None	*Not reported*
Peter	Women (*rural*)	Youth (*urban school*)	High	Pedagogical; Reference
Natasha	L1AfL peers (*academy*)		Medium	Pedagogical; Self-made flashcards

G7 Table 8: Discipline

Name	Discipline during Commitment Approx. Engagement Level = **E. Lvl** (Years to) Early Fluency = **>EF**					Evidence of AfL upkeep / improvement?		Current hiatus?	Intermission?
	Minor		Major						
	Years	E. Lvl	Years	>EF	E. Lvl	Evident?	Years?		
Duncan			6	6	VH	Yes	8	No	Minor, 1 yr
Bradley			7.5	(3)	H	Yes, (teacher)	4	No	No
Andrew	9	M	6	4	H	Yes, (teacher)	9	No	No
Ivan	4	H	6	3	VH	Yes, (teacher)	7-8	No	No
Carl			6-7	2.5	VH	Possible, *NR*	~1	Possible, *NR*	No
Heather	9	M	6	3.5	H	Minor, (teacher)	0	Yes, 3 years*	No
Tanya	1-2	H	3	3*	H	Yes	N/A	No	Major, 11+1 yrs
Lily			4.5-5	*NR*	H	No	0	Yes, ~2 years	No
Renée	5	M	~5?	NR	M-H	Yes	5-6	No	Major, 17 yrs
Johan			5	< 5	VH	Yes	30	No	No
Peter	4		7	NR	H	Seasonal (teacher)	9	No	No
Natasha	2	M	3-5	(5)	M-H	No/Minor	0	Yes, ~7 years	Minor, 1yr

KEY	
VH	Very High
H	High
M-H	Medium-High
NR	Not reported

G8 Table 9: Complete commitment

Name	Modalities			Intermediation		Total commitment score	Discipline Key: L = low; M = medium; H = high; VH = very high (hyphen = in between)								
	AM Score		TM score	Media	Mediator		MINOR Commitment		Inter-mission?	MAJOR Commitment			Upkeep/ improvement		Hiatus? (years)
	/3	TM	/10	/3	/10		Years	Engag. Lvl?	Years	Years total	> EF	Engag. Level?	Years	Engag. Level?	
Duncan	2.5	Mentorship	6	2.5	6	8.5				6	6	VH	8	M-H	
Bradley	2.5	ProxImm	6	3	5.5	8.5				7.5	-3	H	4	M	
Andrew	3	ProxImm Mentorship	5.5 1	*2*	7.5	9.5	9	M		6	4	H	9	M-H	
Ivan	3	ProxImm Mentorship	5 1	2.5	6.5	9	4	H		6	3	VH	7-8	M	
Carl	0	DistImm	8.5	1	7.5	8.5				6-7	2.5	VH	~1	*NR*	~1
Heather	3	DistImm	3	*2*	4	6	9-10	M		6	3.5	H		L*	3*
Tanya	1.5	DistImm, Mentorship	3.5 1	2	4	6	1	H	11	3	3*	H	N/A	N/A	
Lily	2	ProxImm Mentorship	4.5 1	1	6.5	7.5				4.5-5	*NR*	H			~2
Renée	1.5	DistImm	5.5	1.5	5.5	7	5	M	17	~5?	NR	M-H	5-6	M-H	
Johan	0	DistImm ProxImm	8 2	*0*	10	10				5	< 5	VH	30	VH	
Peter	0	DistImm ProxImm	3 5	3	5	8				7	NR	H	9	L-M	
Natasha	2	ProxImm*	3	2	3	5	2	M	1	3-5	-4	M-H			~7

G9 Table 10: Capital Gains

Investor Name	Human Capital					Socioeconomic				Zookairotic			
	Linguistic				Occup-ational	Symbolic		Social		L1AfLs	L2AfL		
	Est. Gains	Est. CEFR	Skill emphasis	DF-TI Score		SP Legit.	Extra-ord	Fav-our	Inclus-ion	Joyful surprise	Secure > rooted	Connect > Ubuntu	Kenosis
Duncan	Very high	C2	Balanced	2	Music	*NR*	Impl.	Impl.	Expl.	Expl.	Impl.	Expl.	*NR*
Bradley	High	C1-2	Oracy	3	TAfSL	*NR*	Expl.	Impl.	Impl.	Expl.	Expl.	Expl.	*NR*
Andrew	Very high	C2	Balanced	1	TAfSL	Expl.	Impl.	Impl.	Expl.	Expl.	Expl.	Expl.	Impl.
Ivan	Very high	C2	Balanced	1	TAfSL	*NR*	Impl.	Expl.	*NR*	Impl.	Expl.	Expl.	*NR*
Carl	Very high	C1-2	Oracy	4	Teaching*	*NR*	Expl.	Expl.	Expl.	Expl.	*NR*	Expl.	*NR*
Tanya	Moderate	B2	Balanced	2	NGO work	Expl.	Expl.	Expl.	Expl.	Expl.	Expl.	Expl.*	*NR*
Lily	High	B2-C1	Oracy	5	TAfSL/ Research	*NR*	Expl.	*NR*	Impl.	*NR*	*NR*	*NR*	*NR*
Heather	Moderate	C1	Literacy	2	TAfSL	Expl.	*NR*	*NR*	*NR*	*NR*	*NR*	*NR*	Expl.
Renée	Mod-High	B2-C1	Oracy	3	NGO work	*NR*	Impl.	*NR*	*NR*	Expl.	*NR*	Expl.	*NR*
Johan	Very high	C2	Balanced	3	Research	*NR*	Impl.	*NR*	Expl.	*NR*	Impl.	Expl.	*NR*
Peter	High	C1-C2	Oracy	4	TAfSL	Impl.	Impl.	Expl.	Expl.	Expl.	Expl.	Expl.	Expl.
Natasha	Low/Mod*	B2	Literacy	2	Research	*NR*	*NR*	*NR*	*NR*	*NR*	*NR*	*NR*	*NR*

KEY			
CEFRL	Common European Framework of Reference for Languages	**TAfSL**	Teaching AfLs as L2
DF-TI	Deep/Formal - Translingual/Informal	**Impl.**	Implicitly reported
SP Legit.	Socio-political Legitimacy	**Expl.**	Explicitly reported
Extra-ord	Extra-ordinary Status	***NR***	Not reported
Connect > Ubuntu	Connection > Ubuntu		

G10 Table 11: Correlates of linguistic capital gains

Linguistic capital gains (L$G)	Investor # (see bottom row for reference)												Correl to L$G?
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	
High and very high gains	1	1	1	1	1	1	1						
Moderate-high gains								1	1				
Moderate gains										1	1		
Low-moderate gains												1	
Sex of investor	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	Strong
Male	1	1	1	1	1	1	1						
Female								1	1	1	1	1	
Ideal Personal Conditions?	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	Strong
> High	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1					
> Moderate										1		1	
> Low									1		1		
Personal Conditions (ex Motivation)	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	Strong
Ideal	1		1	1	1	1	1	1					
Somewhat ideal		1								1			
Not ideal									1		1	1	
> Motivation?	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	Strong
High IL2S / intrinsic	1	1				1							
Self-ambiguous / intrinsic			1	1				1					
High OL2S / extrinsic					1					1	1		
Self-ambiguous / extrinsic							1		1			1	
Catalytic force for major commitment?	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	Strong
> Low	1	1	1		1	1		1				1	
> Moderate											1		
> High				1			1		1	1			
Modality combinations	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	Strong
AM & TM, simultaneous	1		1			1		1					
TM only				1	1		1						
AM & TM, sequential		1									1		
AM & TM, sequential with intermission									1	1			
AM only												1	
Extent of major commitment	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	Strong
7+ years				1	1	1			1				
6 years	1	1	1								1		
5 years							1	1					
4 years													
3 years										1		1	

1-Andrew 2-Duncan 3-Ivan 4-Carl 5-Peter 6-Bradley 7-Johan 8-Lily 9-Renée 10-Tanya 11-Heather 12-Natasha

AfL upkeep/improvement discipline	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Strong
Major	1	1	1			1	1		1	1			
Minor				1	1								
None (Hiatus)								1			1	1	
Primary transgressive modality	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	Med
Proximal immersion	1		1			1		1					
Mentorship		1											
Distant immersion				1	1		1		1	1	1		
Lacking TM												1	
Target AfL of investor	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	Med*
isiZulu	1	1				1							
Sesotho			1										
Setswana				1									
isiXhosa					1		1	1	1	1	1	1	
Year of initiating major commitment	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	Med*
Pre-2000							1						
2004-6	1	1	1		1								
2008-9						1			1				
2010-11											1	1	
2012-13				1				1					
Post-2013										1			
Investor Geographical Origin	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	Med*
KZN	1	1				½							
Free State			1										
Gauteng				1		½				½			
WC					1		1		1	½	1		
EC												1	
Foreign								1					
Non-linguistic capital gains	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	Med
Extensive non-linguistic gains	1	1	1	1	1	1			1	1			
Unreported/lacking non-linguistic gains							1	1			1	1	
Ideal socio-structural conditions	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	None
> High	1	1	1								1		
> Moderate										1		1	
> Low/None				1	1	1	1	1	1				
Age/Initial Modality of AfLL	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	None
as teenager/at high school	1	1	1								1		
as young adult/at university						1		1		½		1	
as adult/through distant immersion				1	1		1		1	½			

1-Andrew 2-Duncan 3-Ivan 4-Carl 5-Peter 6-Bradley 7-Johan 8-Lily 9-Renée 10-Tanya 11-Heather 12-Natasha

Extent of minor commitment	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	None
Extensive (4+ years)	1		1						1		1		
Limited (1-3 yrs)		½								1		1	
None		½		1	1	1	1	1					
Extent of academic modalities	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	None
High school AND University	1		1								1		
High school OR University		1				1		1	1			1	
No or minimal academic AfLL				1	1		1			1			
Relative importance of AfL media	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	None
Very high		1				1				1			
High					1								
Medium	?		1					1	1		?	1	
Low/Avoidant				1			1						
1-Andrew 2-Duncan 3-Ivan 4-Carl 5-Peter 6-Bradley 7-Johan 8-Lily 9-Renée 10-Tanya 11-Heather 12-Natasha													

G11 Table 12: Matric language study statistics (2017)

Total N of Grade 12 students in 2017 (629,927) **Language**	Language Percentage of all students in 2017	Total N of students	Percentage in public schools taking this as home language	Percentage in public schools of FAL/SAL learners in 2017	Est. N of students taking this as FAL/SAL in 2017	Percentage relative to reported N of L1E/A students (147,472)
Afrikaans	24%	149 923	34.5%	65.5%	98 199	-
English	100%	629 927	15.2%	84.8%	534 178	-
isiNdebele	1%	5 669	99.6%	0.4%	23	0.02%
isiXhosa	15%	94 489	97.9%	2.1%	1 984	1.35%
isiZulu	28%	175 120	91.7%	8.3%	14 535	9.86%
Sepedi	13%	79 371	99.5%	0.5%	397	0.27%
Sesotho	5%	32 126	98.8%	1.2%	386	0.26%
Setswana	8%	47 245	99.8%	0.2%	94	0.06%
siSwati	3%	18 898	100.0%	0.0%	-	0.00%
Tshivenda	3%	18 898	99.8%	0.2%	38	0.03%
Xitsonga	4%	26 457	99.9%	0.1%	26	0.02%

Source: elaborated from Van der Berg *et al*. (2020: 17).