Language in Malawian Universities: An investigation into language use and language attitudes amongst students and staff

Colin Reilly, MA (Hons), MPhil

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of Critical Studies

College of Arts

University of Glasgow

April 2019

Abstract

It has been suggested that poor and ill-fitting language policies within Africa have led to a majority of its population being unable to effectively engage with education systems within their countries (Djite 2008). Language-in-education policies in Malawi are a prime example of this as Malawi's language planning has repeatedly been criticised and epitomises the tension between the competing positions of English and the twelve Malawian languages in the country (Kayambazinthu 1998, Moyo 2001, Breton 2003). In 2014 a new language-in-education policy was announced in Malawi, which positioned English as the sole language to be used within education. This has led to increased debate around the appropriateness of English versus Malawian languages for educational purposes (Chiwanda 2014, Gwengwe 2014, see also Miti 2015a). A key criticism of Malawi's language-in-education policies is that they are not developed based on sociolinguistic evidence (Moyo 2001), despite claims that sociolinguistic studies can play a crucial role in the creation and implementation of successful and beneficial language policies (Kishindo 2008, Mtenje 2013). Through investigating the ways in which the languages in Malawi co-exist within higher education, this study therefore seeks to provide sociolinguistic evidence which can be used to inform the policy debate in Malawi.

The sociolinguistic situation in Malawian universities is ascertained through investigating the language attitudes and patterns of language use of individuals within them. Individuals in Malawian higher education have a variety of linguistic repertoires and this study explores: how students and staff make use of their multilingual linguistic repertoires to facilitate teaching, learning, and socialising in their institutions; the attitudes of students and staff towards the suitability of particular languages within higher education; and the impact this could have on educational language policy. The study adopts a linguistic ethnographic approach with methods including: participant observation; participant recording; interviews; and focus groups. Results show that Malawian universities are multilingual environments in which translanguaging occurs in both social and academic contexts. Students and staff show strongly positive attitudes towards the use of English within higher education and generally negative attitudes towards the use of Malawian languages. However, participants also exhibit favourable attitudes towards the use of a flexible language policy which embraces the multilingual reality of students and staff within the universities and allows translanguaging practices to take place.

Contents

List of tables

List of figures

Acknowledgements

Acronyms and abbreviations

BIU: Blantyre International University

CHANCO: Chancellor College, University of Malawi

Codeswitching: CS

COM: The College of Medicine, University of Malawi

KCN: Kamuzu College of Nursing, University of Malawi

LUANAR: Lilongwe University of Agriculture and Natural Resources

MDGs: Millennium Development Goals

MOI: Medium of instruction

MUST: Malawi University of Science and Technology

MZUNI: Mzuzu University

NCHE: National Council for Higher Education

POLY: The Polytechnic, University of Malawi

SDGs: Sustainable Development Goals

SSA: Sub-Saharan Africa

UNIMA: University of Malawi

In transcriptions:

[inc]: inaudible

[crosstalk]: crosstalk from participants, inaudible

Chapter 1:   Introduction

In much of Africa, and other multilingual contexts, language policies do not successfully cater for the linguistic needs or resources of multilingual countries. This leads to a tension between the language policies in countries, and their institutions, and the language practices of multilingual citizens. Being unable to access or effectively engage with the educational, health, and political institutions in one's country can inhibit wellbeing and have a detrimental impact on individuals' development. This in turn can affect the socioeconomic development of the nation. While other factors are involved in personal and national development, effective language policies can play a crucial role in ensuring equitable access for individuals. Despite the important role which language and language policies have, in many African countries they are under-resourced, and policies are implemented which are not based on academic research or stakeholder consultation. As a result, the linguistic ecology of much of Africa, and the linguistic resources of its speakers, have not been effectively harnessed.

Language policies across Africa have also been tumultuous and frequently changing, from the colonial period to the present. The reasons for these changes are often based on a number of, at times, conflicting factors. The first influence is historical, as the language policies and practices during the colonial period often had a major impact on the immediate post-colonial policies with countries either maintaining the colonial period policies or rejecting them. Aside from this, two prevailing issues which can influence language policy in Africa are the need for policies to consider and accommodate the linguistic resources of the local country and the need for the policies to accommodate the global linguistic landscape, to implement policies which will allow the nation, and its citizens, to interact with others internationally. The tension between these two needs and the difficulties in ensuring that both are taken into account can often lead to policies which do not effectively address both needs or that are not fully supported by the general public.

Of the various domains which can be affected by language policies, language-in-education policies are often considered to be of particular importance. This is due to the necessity of having an effective education system to ensure a widely educated population. Having an

equitable and quality education system is a major focus of global development initiatives as it is viewed as key to achieving socioeconomic development. The importance placed on education can be seen in the focus of recent global development initiatives such as the United Nations Millennium Development Goals 2000-2015 (MDGs) (UN 2015a) and, more recently, the Sustainable Development Goals 2015-2030 (SDGs) (UN 2015b). Goal 4 of the MDGs (2000-2015) was 'Achieve Universal Primary Education' and this has recently been succeeded by Goal 4 of the SDGs which, more ambitious and wide reaching, aims to 'Ensure inclusive and equitable education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all'. The ability for language policies in Africa to be able to adapt to both the local and global needs of its population is crucial for SDG 4 to be achieved. While applied linguists have long stressed the importance of language for achieving equitable, inclusive and quality education, their research and expertise is often notably absent in development initiatives (see Section 2.3 for further discussion on this issue).

The language policies in Malawi and the sociolinguistic context of higher education in Malawi provide the focus of this study. The purpose of this research is to investigate the sociolinguistic environment of Malawian universities. Malawi presents a context in which language-in-education policies have been through numerous changes. The most recent language-in-education policy change, towards an English-only policy, has resulted in renewed debate in the country regarding what languages are suitable for use within education. In the wake of this new policy, this is an apt time to explore individuals' attitudes towards what languages are suitable for use in education. In this thesis I will focus on the language use and languages attitudes of individuals in Malawian universities. Through this analysis of the language attitudes and language use of students and staff in public and private universities I will provide sociolinguistic evidence which can contribute to the language policy debate in the country. This evidence in turn will be used to make suggestions which can inform the language planning process in Malawi and create and implement effective language-in-education policies.

The multiple changes to language policies and language-in-education policies in Malawi (discussed in detail in Sections 1.3.4 and 1.3.5) make it an ideal site to explore attitudes towards language and specifically towards language use in education. The Malawian context can be used to explore wider issues currently affecting higher education, such as

the movement towards English-medium instruction, and also to explore the nature of language policies in Africa, as the investigation of stakeholders' perspectives will be used to make suggestions to inform policy. The next section will outline the main research aims and research questions of this study, giving the rationale behind them. This is followed by an outline of the thesis, and the chapter concludes with a comprehensive overview of the Malawian sociolinguistic and policy context.

1.1 Research aims and research questions

1.1.1 Research aims

My main aim in the current study is to investigate the sociolinguistic context of Malawi's universities. By gaining an in-depth understanding of the sociolinguistic environment, based on individuals' language attitudes and use, this can provide insight into the linguistic ecology of the country more generally. It can also be used to understand why Malawi has implemented language policies in the ways in which it has to date and reveal what the potential future for language policy in Malawi may be. Additionally, the data collected could be used to inform future language planning in Malawian education.

1.1.2 Research questions

Guided by these main aims, in this study I seek to answer the following research questions:

Language Use

1) *What are the patterns of language use amongst students and staff within the domain of tertiary education in Malawi?*

2) *What factors lie behind the patterns of language use?*

Language attitudes

3) *What are the attitudes of students and staff towards the suitability of various languages as medium of instruction (MOI) in tertiary education in Malawi?*

Language policy

4) *Could changes be made to create a more effective language-in-education policy for Malawian universities?*

A linguistic ethnographic approach is taken to answer these questions (discussed in more detail in Chapter 4). Answering Questions 1 and 2 will identify the linguistic practices which are found amongst individuals in Malawi's universities, what these practices are used for, and what they are influenced by. Answering Question 3 will provide an in-depth attitudinal view of the linguistic ecology of Malawi's universities. This will highlight individuals' attitudes towards languages in education and will reveal the extent to which current practices and policies are influenced by these attitudes (and vice versa). Answering Question 4 will draw upon the answers to the previous research questions and summarise these findings with a view to evaluating the language-in-education policy situation in Malawi's universities. The data and findings of this study provide a foundation which could be used to inform new, effective language-in-education policies.

1.1.3 My position as researcher

My own position within this research should not be overlooked. My identity as a white, middle-class, Western male has implications for how I am perceived by participants when conducting the research. This could have affected how participants interacted with me and responded to my presence during observations and how they responded to my questions during interviews. My position also influences how I perceive my participants and the data which I collect. The privileged position which I hold in being able to carry out this research should also not be overlooked and, although I have lived in Malawi for periods of

time since 2011, this clearly does not erase the position of an outsider which I bring into this research.

My engagement with Malawi prior to conducting this research has been one based in civil society partnerships, most keenly exemplified in my position as a Board Member (since 2013) of the Scotland Malawi Partnership (SMP). The SMP is an umbrella organisation which coordinates and represents Scotland's civil society engagement with Malawi. The ethos of the SMP is one which seeks to challenge dominant models of development based on a donor-beneficiary paradigm and instead place emphasis on the importance of equal partnership based on people-to-people relations, which are encapsulated in their Partnership Principles (SMP 2015). While there remain ideological and practical issues in this approach, it is within this environment that my own thinking and relationship with Malawi has developed.

The historical relationship which Scotland has with Malawi (something which my participants were very aware of) and the position which I have as a Scottish researcher coming from a Scottish university is also of importance as this can affect the way in which participants view me. While still clearly coming from an outside perspective, the close connection between the two countries potentially creates a position for me which is different to that of a Western researcher from a different country.

My being able to go to Malawi to conduct this research is an example of my privileged position. However, I would not be able to effectively do this research without going to Malawi and conducting the fieldwork. Through living in Malawi, and with Malawian friends, I have been able to experience aspects of everyday life that, while not directly related to linguistic issues, enable me to better understand the context. This allowed me to experience challenges and frustrations which students and staff at universities face such as poor water and electricity supplies and poor transport infrastructure. This gives me, for the time I am there, a shared experience with the people who are taking part in my research. Doing simple things such as eating Malawian food with students, and travelling in public transport to the universities, also resulted in me challenging perceptions which some of my participants had regarding Western people. It is important to note that my participation in this was done in the knowledge that at any point I could leave and return to the relative

comfort of my life in Scotland. In providing insight into the experiences of the participants it also served to highlight the differences between us.

This however allows me to view my research not only within the linguistic context. It provides me with knowledge, and experience, of the social and material conditions which students and staff have to deal with through their time at universities in Malawi. While reflecting on my own position within the research however, an important factor to acknowledge is that, for me, participating in these experiences is a choice. Living in Malawi, learning Chichewa, are necessary factors in conducting research into sociolinguistics in Malawi. Likewise, grappling with issues around decolonisation is something which I am able to do from a privileged position as I am not personally disadvantaged by coloniality but arguably benefit from it. As will be discussed further in Section 8.5 it is an important process to engage in and must be done by listening to those whose voices have previously been marginalised.

1.2 Thesis outline

Chapter 2 presents an overview of relevant literature on language planning. This involves discussing practical language planning efforts in Africa and in African universities specifically. This provides essential background information in understanding the language planning context, particularly the relationship between former colonial European languages and African languages. Additionally, theoretical approaches towards language planning and towards the relationship between language and development are discussed. This highlights the contemporary prevailing attitudes towards language planning in multilingual contexts, and in Africa, which influence the policy suggestions made in this study.

Chapter 3 provides a review of literature on language use and language attitudes. Key concepts in language use and language attitudes are given, which will be essential for analysing the use and attitudes found within Malawian universities. Studies into language use and language attitudes in African universities are discussed, to provide an overview of the research context and enable suggestions to be made regarding the findings of this study. Additionally, translanguaging is discussed in detail to illustrate why this study adopts a translanguaging approach.

Chapter 4 presents the methodological approach of this study. This provides a rationale for the linguistic ethnographic approach which is adopted and discusses the triangulation of data collection techniques which have been used in the study. Key practical issues such as ethical issues and data storage and analysis are also discussed.

Chapter 5 presents the analysis of findings pertaining to language use in Malawian universities. The chapter draws on data from participant recordings, participant observation, interviews and focus groups. It discusses the patterns of language use across academic and social domains as well as constraints on language use. The use of translanguaging in academic and social domains is also discussed. Chapter 6 presents the analysis of findings related to students' and staff's general language attitudes. This is discussed through a focus on the themes of Opportunity and Identity which emerged through data analysis. Building on the attitude results discussed in Chapter 6, Chapter 7 focuses specifically on attitudes towards language policy. The analysis presented is based on data from participant observation, interviews and focus groups. Particularly, language attitude statements and language policy questions from the interviews are used to provide a quantitative picture of participants' attitudes towards the suitability of languages within university.

Chapter 8 discusses the main findings and conclusions which can be made from the analysis of the results discussed in the previous three chapters. In addressing the main aim and research questions of this study, suggestions are made which support creating a language policy for universities in Malawi which embraces multilingualism and adopts a translanguaging approach.

The remainder of this introductory chapter will give an introduction into the Malawian context, providing a brief, general overview of the country before providing information on the linguistic context therein.

1.3 Malawian context

To understand the sociolinguistic context of Malawi's universities, it is first crucial to understand the linguistic ecology of the country and the changes which have been made to language policies since the country gained independence from the United Kingdom. This section will provide an overview of the Malawian context. Initially, basic facts about the country itself will be presented. Then an overview of the languages present in the country will be given and the changing language policies will be highlighted, with a focus on language-in-education policies. Finally, an overview of sociolinguistic research already undertaken in the country, largely by Malawian linguists, will be summarised. This will provide a clear picture of the contemporary linguistic context in Malawi, which provides the background for the present study. Economic, social, and linguistic factors in Malawi all have the potential to impact the ways in which language is used, and viewed, amongst those in higher education in the country. This section will initially briefly discuss economic and social factors in the country, before moving onto a more detailed discussion of linguistic factors.

1.3.1 Economy

Malawi is regularly ranked as one of the poorest countries globally (World Bank 2018). The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (2018) list it as a Least Developed Country and it is currently listed as the second poorest country in the world by the World Bank (2018). The population of Malawi is estimated to be around 18 million (World Bank 2018). Approximately 20% of the country are unemployed (Government of Malawi 2017), with poverty affecting more than half of the population and 90% being involved in subsistence farming (CIA 2018). There is increasing urbanisation in Malawi, with 16.9% of the population currently living in urban areas and this rate increasing by 4.19% annually (CIA 2018). There is a large youth population in the country as 46% are under 15 years old and around 67% are under the age of 25 (*Ibid*).

1.3.2 Education

In terms of education in Malawi, around 5% of the country's GDP is spent on education[1] (CIA 2018). The Gross Enrolment for primary education in 2016 was 139.26%[2] and for secondary education was 37.38% (UNESCO n.d.). Drop-out rates are high with, in 2014, just over half (54.07%) of pupils completing primary education (*Ibid*). Malawi has the lowest tertiary enrolment in the world at less than 1% (World Bank 2018). The literacy rate in the country is around 62% (CIA 2018). Of those who are literate, the majority (98%) are literate in Chichewa and 52% are literate in English (National Statistical Office 2008). A minority (1%) are literate in English-only. 42% are literate in Chichewa-only and 43% are literate in English and Chichewa (National Statistical Office 2008).

The education system in Malawi consists of 8 years of primary education, from Standard One to Standard Eight. Progressing from year to year requires students to pass an end of year exam from the beginning of primary school. At the end of their primary education students undertake their Junior Certificate of Education (JCE) examination. Secondary education is made up of four years, from Form One to Form Four. Private secondary schools in Malawi educate 20% of the school population and, in 2010, provided 41% of the University of Malawi intake (Zeitlyn et al 2015). On completing secondary school students undertake their Malawian School Certificate of Education (MSCE). This is the crucial qualification for those who wish to attend university as, given the highly competitive nature of university admissions in Malawi, only the top tier of students will be admitted. English is a key subject for gaining an MSCE as it is the only subject which, if failed, means an automatic fail for students. The National Council for Higher Education (NCHE) guidance for universities states that the entrance requirements for an undergraduate degree should be 'a good Malawi School Certificate of Education (MSCE) or its equivalent with at least six credit passes including English' (NCHE 2015, p35).

Tertiary education consists of four-year undergraduate courses as well as a limited number of postgraduate courses. The University of Malawi (UNIMA) was established in 1965.

---

[1] This is similar to the USA and slightly less than the UK (at approximately 6%). It should however be noted that the CIA data is drawn from different years for different countries, so this only allows for a rough comparison to be made.

[2] This figure is above 100% due to students repeating years and students attending who are outwith the usual age for primary school attendance.

Initially, UNIMA consisted of five constituent colleges – Chancellor College, the College of Medicine, Bunda College of Agriculture, Kamuzu College of Nursing and the Polytechnic. Various changes to the public universities in the country have taken place and it has recently been announced that each constituent college of UNIMA will become an independent institution. This process began in 2012 when Lilongwe University of Agriculture and Natural Resources was formed (of which Bunda College is now part). Two other public universities exist in Malawi, namely, Mzuzu University and the newest public university, the Malawi University of Science and Technology. Public universities are generally government funded and offer subsidised fee rates to students, although the price of higher education in the country is a continuing controversy with recent fee hikes in 2016 resulting in student demonstrations and the temporary closure of a number of public institutions. There are a growing number of private, fee-paying institutions in the country. Due to this growing number of private institutions the National Council for Higher Education (NCHE) was established in 2014. This institution oversees and accredits all higher education courses taught and examined in Malawi and has, for the first time, introduced new criteria which must be met by all university courses taught in Malawi. In total, as of 2018, there are nineteen private higher education institutions registered with NCHE with ten of these being accredited. The issues within the education system in Malawi are evident when looking at the highest level of education in the country. Universities are reported to be highly inefficient (Mambo et al 2016) and plagued by a number of issues such as: organisational capacity; poor infrastructure; poor regulation of quality; and issues with equitable access (SMP 2012).[3]

1.3.3 Language

The exact number of languages in Malawi is contested due to linguistic, social and political debates regarding whether certain varieties should be considered a language or a dialect (Kayambazinthu 1998, p370). Makoni and Mashiri (2006, p65) report that 'estimates for languages in Malawi are said to vary between 12 and 35'. The Ethnologue states that there are 17 languages in Malawi with 13 of these being indigenous languages (Simons and Fenning 2018). Kayambazinthu (1995) also suggests that there are 13 Malawian languages in the country and Simango (2006) states that there are approximately 12. While not giving an exact figure Shin et al (2015) suggest that there are around 11 indigenous languages.

---

[3] Information concerning the number of international (non-Malawian) staff working within higher education in Malawi is not publicly available.

The Malawi High Commission for the United Kingdom's website reports that there are approximately 9 Malawian languages. A recent USAID (2016) report into reading materials in Africa estimates that there are 15 Malawian languages in the country. However, the following are generally agreed to be distinct, indigenous languages in Malawi: Chichewa; Chiyao; Chitumbuka; Chilomwe; Chinkhonde; Chisena; Chitonga; Chinyakyusa; Chilambya; Chisenga; Chisukwa; Chingoni and Chimambwe (Kayambazinthu 1998, 2003, National Statistical Office 1998). The most recent census in Malawi which included a focus on languages was conducted in 1998. This includes information on 12 Malawian languages, 2 foreign languages and also states that there are other unspecified languages spoken in the country. This census indicates that the most commonly spoken language in the home is Chichewa with 57.2% of the population stating that this is the most commonly used language in their homes. The next most commonly spoken language is Chinyanja with 12.8% of the population, followed by Chiyao with 10.1%. All other languages are reported as commonly used languages by less than 10% of the population and five Malawian languages are reported as the most commonly used language by less than 1% of the population. English is reported as the most commonly used language by 0.2% of the population in Malawi. Languages in Malawi are often closely linked with specific tribal groups (e.g. Chitonga is the language associated with the Tonga tribe, Chisena is the language associated with the Sena tribe etc.). Chichewa is the most widely spoken language in Malawi and is commonly regarded as the national language. Figure 1 provides an illustration of the distribution of languages in Malawi.
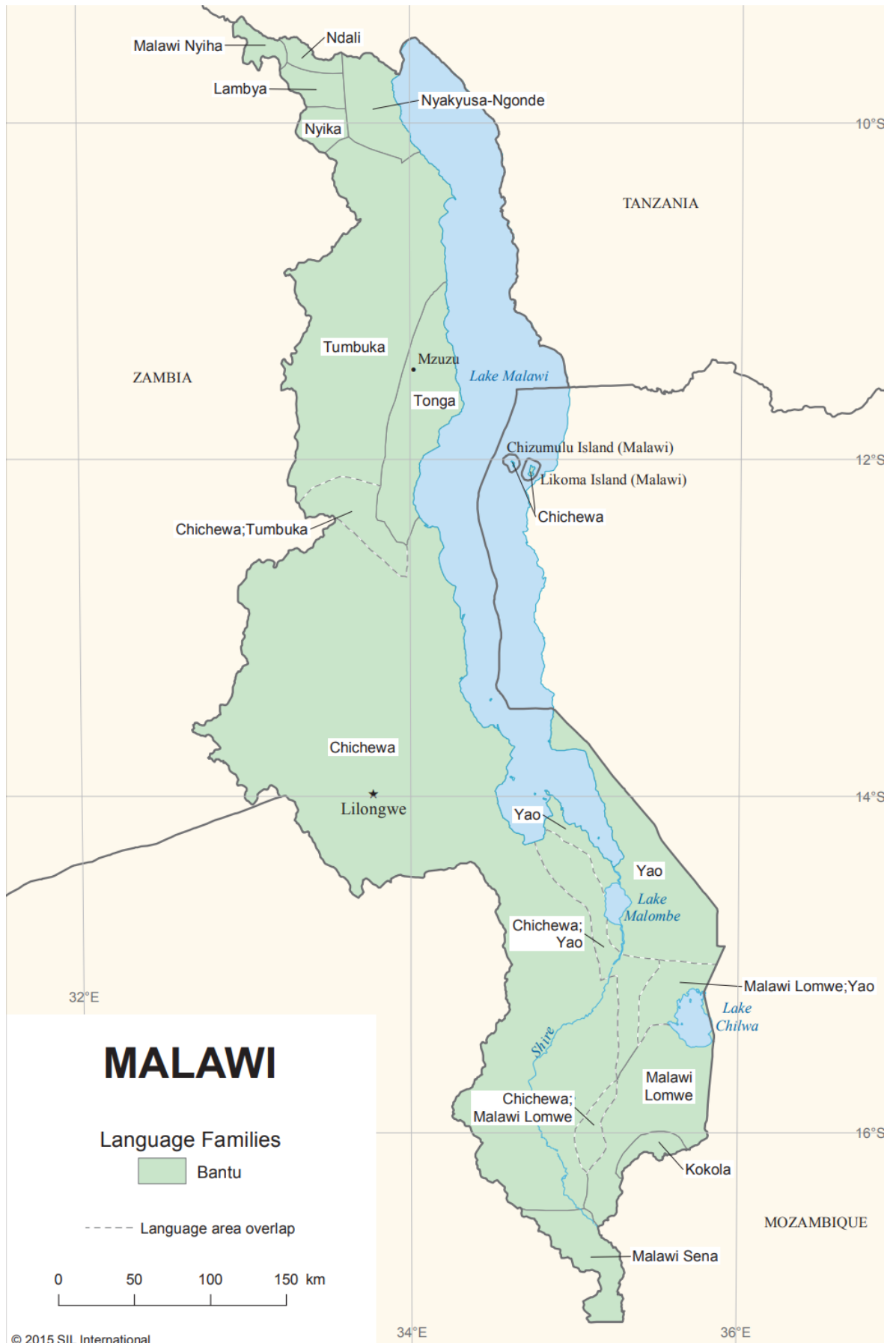
Figure 1. Map of language distribution in Malawi from Ethnologue 2018. Used with permission.

Research has identified an emerging language variety in Malawi, dubbed Malawi's 'new language' (Moto 2001) and 'Chibrazi' (the 'language of brothers') (Kamanga 2014, 2016, Huiskamp 2016). This has been described as a youth language and urban contact vernacular and initial research into the variety took place amongst university students (Lekera 1994, Jalasi 1999). Kamowa (1994), Nawata (2000), and Tchesa (2009) have all conducted studies into 'Chancellor College Chichewa' (Chibrazi) and highlighted lexical and semantic differences from Standard Chichewa. Moto (2001) and Kamanga (2014, 2016) extend the speech community of Chibrazi and note that its use is widespread in Malawi. It has been shown to be a variety which incorporates linguistic resources from English, French, Chichewa and other Malawian languages, Shona, and Latin (Moto 2001). It is used by speakers to express solidarity and to create and perform a shared social identity (Moto 2001, Kamanga 2014). It challenges the boundaries between named languages in the country and represents speakers' flexible and creative use of their linguistic repertoires. The use of translanguaging, language use which transcends the boundaries between named languages (see Section 3.2. for a discussion of translanguaging), has been found to be used by Malawians in online contexts by Alimi and Matiki (2017).

1.3.4 Language policies in Malawi

The difficulties facing language planning in post-colonial Malawi are summarised by Kayambazinthu (1998, p388) as two-fold: acknowledging the 'practical usefulness' of English as a language of modernity and 'world civilisation' whilst also recognising that there is a need to maintain a sense of 'cultural identity' for Malawians and ensure 'ease of communication with the masses'. This section will discuss changes to national-level language policies in Malawi (Section 2.3.1. provides further discussion on the terms 'official language' and 'national language').

The strong link between Malawian languages and distinct ethnic groups was evident in pre-colonial Malawi as each language had a 'roughly equal position as dominant languages of their cultures' (Kayambazinthu 1998, p370). The colonial period and the arrival of British missionaries and colonisers saw the introduction of English to Malawi, used by the

colonisers as their main official language and the language of government, business and the judiciary and at times the 'indigenous languages started playing second fiddle to English' (Simango 2006, p1968). During this time English also became associated with high prestige, was considered to be the language of 'high culture' (Vail and White 1991, p153), and perceived as having high 'sociopolitical and economic value' (Kamwendo 2005, p148). The colonialists considered introducing Chinyanja as the national language of the country. However, fears that this may have caused Malawians to unite and rise against the British meant that this consideration was short-lived, instead they opted for a 'divide and rule' approach by promoting Chinyanja and Chitumbuka as indigenous languages for different regions (Kayambazinthu 1998, pp400-401, Chilora 2000, p2, Kamwendo 2005, p147). Later attempts by the colonial administration to implement Chinyanja as the sole official Malawian language were also opposed by the Livingstonia Mission in the North of Malawi who argued in favour of the use of Chitumbuka in the North in, for example, education (Kamwendo 2005). In 1947, two of the major Malawian languages, Chinyanja and Chitumbuka were made official languages (Kayambazinthu 1998, p400). After achieving independence, in 1964, the colonial period language policies were continued with English, Chinyanja and Chitumbuka all retaining their official status (Moyo 2001, p3). Maintaining the colonial period language policy was commonplace for many postcolonial nations (Moyo 2001, p3). In the case of Malawi, maintaining the official role of English may have been a strategy by the new independent government to unify Malawi's 'many and diverse ethnic groups' (Batibo 2007, p15).

This arrangement was not kept in place for long however. With a stated purpose of promoting national unity, Malawi's first president Dr Hastings Banda, sought to spread Chinyanja as a lingua franca throughout Malawi. A ruling at the 1968 Annual Convention of the governing Malawi Congress Party (1978, p6, cited in Kayambazinthu 1998, p403) brought this into effect as follows:

> Malawi adopt Chinyanja as a national language
> That the name Chinyanja henceforth be known as Chichewa
> That Chichewa and English be the official languages of the state of Malawi and that all other languages will continue to be used in everyday private life in their respective areas.

Creating unity was a key focus of the early government with some in the Malawi Congress Party adopting the slogan 'one Kamuzu [Banda], one flag, one nation, one language and one Party' (McCracken 2002, p86). Chinyanja and Chichewa are closely related and the reason for the changing terminology – from Chinyanja to Chichewa – is believed to be due to the fact that Chichewa is the language spoken by the Chewa tribe to which President Banda belonged (Moyo 2001, p4, Mchombo 2014, p26). This change in language policy has led to what Mchombo (2017, p195) has called the 'dominance of Chichewa in the cultural fabric of Malawi'. This policy, English as official language and Chichewa as a national and official language, continued under the rule of President Banda which ended in 1994 with the rise of multiparty democracy in Malawi and the election of a new president. With a new president and ruling party new language policies were introduced between 1994 and 1997. Through 'ad hoc and reactive' policy making (e.g. announcements at political rallies or on radio) five other Malawian languages were elevated to official languages status – Chitumbuka, Chitonga, Chiyao, Chilomwe and Chisena (Kayambazinthu, 1998, p411, Moyo 2001). This new language policy was not based on sociolinguistic surveys or information regarding the number of speakers for each of these languages but has been claimed to be motivated by two reasons: 1) senior politicians desiring their languages to be official languages and 2) to appease voters in areas which were not fully in support of the new political party (Moyo 2001). No further changes have been made to the national level language policy in Malawi so, currently, Malawi arguably has seven official languages – English, Chichewa, Chitumbuka, Chisena, Chilomwe, Chiyao, Chitonga – and one national language – Chichewa. However, despite the language policy changes of the 1990s, there has been little change in practice to the position of languages in Malawi since the 1960s and, due to a lack of underpinning research or effective implementation of these newer policies, the de facto policy of English as official language and Chichewa as national language exists in contemporary Malawi.

As noted above, there have been numerous changes to national level language policies in Malawi since the colonial period. These changing policies and the lack of substantive change that they have brought due to an absence of any serious follow-up in implementation could be the reason that literature on Malawi's language policies does not present a consensus on the contemporary policy context. The majority of commentary on national level language policy in Malawi focuses on the roles of English and Chichewa and

does not mention other languages in the country or the roles that they have. Grimes (1996, p305) states that the national language is English. Similarly, Simons and Fennig (2018) also state the English is the national language, additionally noting that Chichewa is the de facto language of national identity. English and Chichewa are reported as both being official languages by Matiki (2001, p201, 2003, p155) and both Kishindo (2001, p3) and Kamwendo (2003, pp30-31) state that English is the official language and Chichewa is the national language of the country. Mtenje (2013, p95) notes that English is the main official language and Chichewa is the national language while also reporting that Chichewa also acts as an official language. Similarly, while using different nomenclature, Crystal (2003, p53) states that English and Chewa are official languages and then in a later publication Crystal (2010, p368) states that English and Nyanja are official languages. Baldauf and Kaplan (2004, p9) note that English is the official language and that Chichewa 'in some form' is the national language. The Scotland Malawi Partnership (2015) state that English is the official language of Malawi, Chichewa is the official language of the Southern and Central Regions and, including other Malawian languages, state that Tumbuka is the official language of the Northern Region. Potentially indicative of the apathy which plagues language policies in Malawi is the fact that different branches of the Government of Malawi are not coherent in stating what the language policy is for the country. Indeed, the Malawi Government's official website states that English is the official language and that Chichewa is a common language while the Malawi High Commission for the United Kingdom state on their website that both English and Chichewa are official languages.

1.3.5 Language-in-education policies in Malawi

Language-in-education policies in Malawi have been noted by Kayambazinthu (1998, p389) as characterised by the dilemma of when to use Malawian languages and when to introduce English. The changing language-in-education policies which will be outlined suggest that this has remained true to the present day. Mirroring the national level language policies, changes to Malawi's language-in-education policies have generally been implemented by newly elected governments and based on little sociolinguistic research. During the colonial period, colonial schooling used English as a MOI alongside indigenous languages in the early years of education (Mtenje 2013, p96). During the colonial period there was opposition to Chichewa being used as the sole Malawian language in education with Levi Mumba, a leading Tumbuka educationalist arguing that 'people go to school to learn their own vernacular books, after which they wish to learn English which is more

profitable' (NNM1/16/4, Mombera District Council, 1931/39 cited in Kayambazinthu 1998, p400). Since Malawi achieved independence there have been three major changes to the language-in-education policies: 1) In 1969, Chichewa was introduced as the MOI for the first four years of schooling, after which English was to be used as the MOI (Chilora 2000, p2, Mtenje 2013, p96). This was part of the new government's goal to ensure Chichewa became a dominant language in the country. 2) In 1996, coinciding with the introduction of free primary education for all, a new policy directive was introduced stating that children should be taught in their mother tongue for the first four years of education, after which, as before, English would be used as MOI (Secretary for Education 1996, cited in Kayambazinthu 1998, p412). This policy follows widely accepted international advice regarding the importance of early years' mother tongue education in school (UNESCO 1953). 3) Finally, the most recent change in Malawi's language-in-education policy occurred in 2014, after Malawi's New Education Act was introduced and when it was announced that the MOI would be English from the beginning of primary school (Mchombo 2017, p195). The various changes to language-in-education policies in Malawi are important to this study as they provide a top-down perspective on which languages are deemed valid for use in the education system.

1.3.6 University language policy

Crucially however, the new policy does not technically affect the tertiary level of education due to the fact that the New Education Act only legislates for primary schools, secondary schools and teacher training colleges. While the MOI in Malawian universities is generally accepted to be English (International Association of Universities 2013) there is currently no specific official nationwide policy which dictates for tertiary level. The National Council for Higher Education (NCHE) is the designated body for accrediting universities. In their criteria for accreditation they refer to language use on two instances. However, rather than stating a concrete language policy they instead make vague statements:

> Students completing programmes at undergraduate and postgraduate levels demonstrate good communication skills in English (NCHE 2014, p15).

Students successfully completing an undergraduate programme demonstrate competence in written and oral communication in English (NCHE 2014, p18).

It is unclear what level of English language skills is indicated by 'good communication skills' and 'competence'. The NCHE's criteria make no mention of Malawian languages and so it may be assumed that the MOI for university courses should be English; however, this is crucially not directly stated. The NCHE criteria document does state that it is a requirement that universities provide relevant support to any students who are struggling and enable them to develop their skills to ensure they are able to pursue tertiary level education (NCHE 2014, p36). Research has shown that the use of English as a MOI at university level has been found to be an issue as Kamwendo (2003) reports that university students do not have an appropriate level of English language skills to pursue tertiary education through an English MOI with many universities addressing this skills deficit by providing compulsory communication skills courses.

1.3.7 Criticism of Malawi's language policy

The language policies and language-in-education policies in Malawi have been widely criticised by Malawian academics. This is mainly due to the fact that they do not accurately reflect the multilingualism and linguistic resources which are in found in the country. Due to this Moyo (2001, p1) has stated that there 'is a crucial need for language policy in Malawi to be reviewed'. One domain which has been particularly criticised is the political domain. The language requirement for becoming a member of parliament in Malawi is that an individual is able 'to speak and read the English language well enough to take part in the active proceedings of Parliament' (Government of Malawi 1998, p16). By placing English as the sole language requirement this immediately restricts the ability of a majority of Malawians to participate in the political domain. Additionally, within parliament itself research has shown that this English-only policy negatively affects the participation of politicians (Matiki 2001, 2003). MPs will be mocked for using incorrect English in parliament (Matiki 2001) and a number do not feel that they have an adequate level of English to effectively participate in debates and parliamentary proceedings (Matiki 2003). Additionally, all parliamentary proceedings are published in only English meaning that a substantial portion of the Malawian public are unable to accurately know what is occurring in the political world in the country (Matiki 2001).

Another domain in which the dominant position of English results in issues is in the health sector. Research has shown that a minority of doctor-patient interactions occur in English (Kamwendo 2004a). However, English is the only official language requirement for medical staff to work in Malawian hospitals. This results in what Kamwendo (2004a, p228) refers to as a 'linguistic handicap' in which staff are unable to effectively interact with patients and need to make use of unofficial interpreters to assist them in their work. This again highlights a conflict between the official language policies which are in place and the actual linguistic reality of Malawi.

Most pertinent to this study are the language-in-education policies in Malawi. Simango (2015) has suggested that despite the various changes to language-in-education policies, Malawi has yet to produce a policy which is effective, and which is widely supported. The implementation of these policies has been characterised as ineffective and has lacked appropriate teacher training and resource development (Moyo 2001, Kamwendo 2003, Mtenje 2013). Effective language planning in low-income countries is difficult due to a lack of financial resources leading to ineffective implementation (Breton 2003, p209). The 1996 mother tongue language policy has been used as a scapegoat for the low standard of education in Malawi (Kishindo 2015). In reality, this policy was never effectively implemented as resources were never produced in any language other than English and Chichewa and teachers were placed in areas in which they could not speak the mother tongue of their students. This policy was also not widely supported by the public who wanted to see their children be taught through an English MOI, believing this to be the best way for their children to acquire English language skills (Msonthi 1997, Matiki 2001, Kamwendo 2008). These reasons have contributed towards the new English-only policy which Kamwendo (2015, p24) states is 'pedagogically unsound' and is not inclusive as it does not take into account the multilingual reality of Malawi. This new policy goes against research in Malawi which shows that development of literacy in Chichewa aids literacy development in English (Shin et al 2015) and that a Chichewa MOI, instead of an English MOI, does not negatively impact reading ability in English but improves reading ability in Chichewa (Williams 1996).

The legislation which dictates the language-in-education policy in Malawi is the New Education Act. This act was introduced in 2013, to replace the 1962 Education Act which

was deemed to be obsolete and in need of reform (Law Commission 2010) and to work towards improving education provision in the country. The New Education Act seeks to ensure that education in Malawi will produce students who have 'knowledge and skills relevant for social and economic development of the nation' by providing quality education which is inclusive and accessible (Law Commission 2013, pi). Education in Malawi should provide a means to 'promote national unity, patriotism and...loyalty to the nation' as well as 'an appreciation of one's culture' (Law Commission 2013, pp8-9). At the same time, it should produce graduates who are able to 'compete successfully in the modern and ever-changing world' (*Ibid*). Curricula should be developed to ensure that they are relevant to Malawian students, Malawian society and the 'dynamic global economy and society' (Law Commission 2013, p41). Education is then positioned as an experience which should benefit, and be of relevance, to students in the local context but also to prepare them to participate in the global context.

When reviewing the 1962 Education Act, the Malawi Law Commission criticised the absence of a clear language-in-education policy within it and stated that 'there is need to have a provision on language of instruction in schools' (Law Commission 2010, p63). The New Education Act contains the following legislations prescribing the medium of instruction:

(1) The medium of instruction in schools and colleges shall be English

(2) Without prejudice to the generality of subsection (1), the Minister may, by notice published in the Gazette prescribe the language of instruction in schools (Law Commission 2013, p42)

This was followed by a policy announcement in March 2014 by the Minister of Education who stated that 'the New Education Act mandates pupils to be taught in English from Standard One' (Kanyumba 2014 cited in *Nyasa Times*, 5th March 2014). This policy was to be implemented in the following academic year, beginning in September 2014. In reality this new policy only officially affected the MOI for the initial four years of education. It has however, renewed debate on which languages are appropriate for use within education in Malawi and divided public opinion (Chiwanda 2014, Gwenge 2014), to the extent that

implementation of the policy was delayed. A number of Malawian linguists have directly given evidence to the government that shows that the policy has negative pedagogical implications (Kamwendo 2015, Kishindo 2015, Miti 2015b, Simango 2015). Currently, the policy still stands however it is unclear if any widespread, practical implementation has taken place. Kretzer and Kumwenda (2016) note that currently most schools in the country still use Chichewa and English.

A 'coherent language policy' (Kishindo 2014, personal communication) does not exist in Malawi. Instead, the 'incoherent and contradictory language polic[ies]' (Matiki 2001, p205) are viewed by many Malawian linguists as merely 'statements made for political expediency' (Kishindo 2014, personal communication). For Kayambazinthu (1998, p369) languages policies in Malawi have been created '*ad hoc*' and represent an example of 'reactive language planning' which is 'based more on self-interest and political whim than research'. The de facto policy which is assumed by many in Malawi is that English acts as the official language of the country – the language of business and government – and Chichewa acts as the national language. The changing language policies in Malawi have affected how languages are viewed. Positive attitudes towards English and negative attitudes towards Malawian languages are found to be widespread in the country (Kretzer and Kumwenda 2016). Simango (2015, p54) notes that these negative attitudes are complex however and do not necessarily indicate that Malawians 'love' English more than Chichewa but that they believe that English can be used to 'move out of poverty', Additionally, Kayambazinthu (2000, p35) states that English is the prestigious language of the elite and that Chichewa, while 'it has been devalued' and is not as prestigious as English, still retains 'higher status than the other vernacular languages in Malawi'. The dominant position of Chichewa has had a detrimental impact on other minority languages in the country, leading to their marginalisation (Kishindo 1994, Kamwendo 2005) and tensions between ethnolinguistic groups (Kamwendo 2004b). Unlike English, Malawian languages are viewed as having little instrumental value for individuals (Kayambazinthu 2000, Matiki 2006, Kretzer and Kumwenda 2016) but can have integrative value as markers of ethnic identity (Kayambazinthu 2000). English is widely viewed as synonymous with education (Kayambazinthu 2000, Matiki 2001, Kamwendo 2003) and negative attitudes towards the use of Malawian languages pervade the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels. Kamwendo (2010) shares anecdotal evidence of University of Malawi students and staff who view Malawian languages as inferior and show disrespect towards

their use in education, even ridiculing students who study African languages and linguistics.

In conclusion, Malawi's Constitution states that '[e]very person shall have the right to use the language and to participate in the cultural life of his or her choice' (Government of Malawi 1998, p8). This constitutional right however appears to be limited as the legislative dominance of English in key domains such as politics, health and education restricts the use of Malawian languages within them. Language planning in Malawi has numerous issues which result in a tension between policy and the linguistic reality of the country. A key issue in Malawi's language planning is that policies do not rely on research evidence and are created without the consideration of any relevant sociolinguistic data (Moyo 2001, Kamwendo 2015). This study will provide sociolinguistic data which will provide evidence towards the debate regarding language-in-education policy in the country. Additionally, the findings could be used to inform language planning specifically at the university level and generally throughout education.

Chapter 2:   Language planning

To understand the sociolinguistic environment in Malawian universities, a number of issues must be considered. The Research Background is split into two chapters. This first chapter will provide an overview of key areas such as: language planning (Section 2.1); language policy in Africa and language policies in universities (Section 2.2); and orientations towards language planning (Section 2.3). It is important to provide information on the different aspects of language planning as understanding the reasons for different types of language planning and language policy is crucial, in the present study, to understanding the reasons behind Malawi's language policy changes and behind people's attitudes towards languages and language policies. The literature covered in this chapter is therefore particularly relevant when answering Research Questions 3 and 4 of this study which focus on language attitudes and language policy:

3) *What are the attitudes of students and staff towards the suitability of various languages as MOI in tertiary education in Malawi?*

4) *Could changes be made to create a more effective language-in-education policy for Malawian universities?*

Following this overview, the next chapter will discuss differing viewpoints for understanding language attitudes and multilingual communication, how these can manifest in education, and the implications that this has for language planning and language policy in Africa.

2.1 Language planning

Language planning is a process which aims to 'manipulate language use and usage' (Christian 1988, p197) and is viewed as a crucial process in the construction and effective functioning of a wide range of institutions and systems within nations as 'the formulation of a rational language policy in a multilingual nation is in itself an economic issue and

should have as high a priority as other economic issues' (Djite 1990, p96). It has also been viewed as a crucial aspect of nation building itself and in the construction and control of a national identity (Anderson 1983). It is thought to be 'particularly urgent on the African continent' (Gadelii 1999, p9) due to the high rates of linguistic diversity on the continent. Language planning as an academic research area has been present since the 1960s (Tollefson 1989) and a variety of types of language planning and particular aspects of the language planning process have been identified and critiqued.

Language policies, as noted by Spolsky (2004, p6) exist within 'highly complex, interacting and dynamic contexts' and are affected by a range of non-linguistic factors such as 'political, demographic, social, religious, cultural, psychological [and] bureaucratic' factors. While language policies have been noted as crucial elements in language planning, Johnson (2013, p3) notes that while they are closely linked there is a complexity in the relationship between these two terms, acknowledging that language policies can arise which are not the intended outcome of language planning efforts or, indeed, that have not been planned. Similarly, Spolsky (2004) suggests that that the existence of an explicit or official written language is not essential for a language policy to exist. In researching language policy written documents do not then constitute the only data which is needed to ascertain the policy situation. Spolsky (2004, p5) identifies three components of language policy within a community as follows:

1) Language practices – the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire
2) Language beliefs or ideology – the beliefs about language and language use
3) Any special efforts to modify or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention, planning or management

Language policy within a given speech community can therefore be seen as a combination of the above factors, all of which can be influenced by, and influence, one another. Within a speech community, these three components however may not necessarily be in agreement with one another and may reveal seemingly different or contradictory language policies (Spolsky 2004, p217). Often there may be a disconnect between policy and practice with Spolsky (2004, p218) suggesting that the 'real' language policy of a

community can best be ascertained by looking at the reality of their language practices. These policies can exist at a variety of levels, from government led national policy to family language policy (Spolsky 2004, Johnson 2013).

While acknowledging the value in considering language policy as more than just written, official legislation, Johnson (2013) questions whether all instances of language practice and language ideology should be considered to be 'policy'. He further distinguishes between different types of policy: Top-down versus Bottom-up; Overt versus Covert; Explicit versus Implicit; and De jure versus De facto (Johnson 2013, p10). Language policies are crucial elements in language planning and, following Johnson's (2013, p9) definition, this study views language policy as 'a policy mechanism that impacts the structure, function, use, or acquisition of language' and as something which can be official or unofficial. As discussed in Section 1.3.4 official policy statements in Malawi are often overlooked and a de facto policy of English as official language and Chichewa as national language is in place.

A key initial distinction in language planning is between status planning and corpus planning (Haugen 1987). Corpus planning involves the development of a particular language – the creation of grammars, dictionaries, standard orthographies - while status planning involves promotion and widening of the functional uses of a language and the roles it has within an institution or country. Corpus planning was commonplace in early language planning interventions in Africa as linguists spent substantial amounts of time in documenting languages which did not have a standard orthography. Blommaert (2008, p305) suggests that the act of creating grammars for these unwritten languages caused them to be 'born'. The distinction between whether to subject a language to corpus planning or status planning highlights a key ideological influence on language planning processes. Certain languages were not viewed as civilised or developed enough to be used for many functions and it was thought that languages needed to be transformed into a model similar to those in allegedly civilised European countries to be of use in high function roles such as government administration and education (Haugen 1987, Ekkehard Wolff 2017). These 'conventional views of language planning' tend to 'focus on language itself rather than on its speakers' (Wiley and García 2016, p49). Another type of language planning discussed by Cooper (1989) is acquisition planning which involves trying to

promote a language, not necessarily in terms of status, but in terms of number of speakers (see also Darquennes and Nelde 2005). The more speakers a language has the more 'major' (*Ibid,* p5) it is viewed as being. The distinction between acquisition planning and status planning draws attention to how language planning can be used to perpetuate inequality. Promoting a language in terms of status without also increasing the number of people who speak it can isolate the language and the functions it has to the realms of an educated wealthy elite. As discussed in Section 1.3.7 the language planning in Malawi has led to a situation in which English is the language of the elite, while Chichewa has developed as lingua franca in the country.

2.2 Language planning and language policies in the African context

This section will provide more detail on the language policy situation in the African context, the major influences on language planning, and the variety of policy approaches which exist in Africa. By highlighting the various pressures on language planning in Africa this will provide a background for understand the changing language policies in Malawi. Understanding the rationale behind the changing language policies in the country will provide insight into the rationale behind individuals' language attitudes.

Language-in-education policies in Africa have undergone various fluctuations (Dimmendaal 2015, p45), from the colonial period to the present, as the states within the continent have been influenced by various external forces and internal national goals. This section will present an overview of the practical steps which have been taken with regards to language planning and language policies in Africa. There are two major stages which have influenced the language-in-education policies within Africa: 1) colonisation and the implementation of colonial language policies; 2) the post-independence construction of the African nation state. These stages will be discussed in turn, followed by a brief discussion of more recent changes to policies. Bamgbose (2004) views the legacy of the colonial language policies as the most important factor in the contemporary linguistic situation in Africa. Reviewing the changing language policies found in Africa is important to the present study as it then helps to explain the contemporary linguistic situation in Malawi and the impact that this has on individuals' attitudes towards language.

2.2.1 Colonial legacy

Liddicoat (2013, p131) states that globally 'there is no simple correlation between colonisation and language policy' and this is true within the African context as the language policies were dependent upon the governing approach taken by the particular colonial power. In this respect, African countries were generally placed into one of two groups - those with a colonial power who favoured use of African languages within education or those who discouraged the use of African languages within education. Direct colonial rule, as practiced by France and Portugal, coincided with the use of the colonisers' language within education while indirect rule, as practiced by Britain and Germany, used African languages within education (Obondo 2007, Albaugh 2014 pp22-35, Orekan 2010). Malawi, a British colony, used a form of this approach as outlined in Section 1.3.4. The only African state not colonised, Ethiopia, chose to use Amharic - considered a national lingua franca - for use within education (Dimmendal 2015).

The assimilationist approach practiced by France had the overall goal of providing Africans with a connection to French culture, as their native African cultures were considered illegitimate (Mazrui 2013, Cogneau and Moradi 2014). Liddicoat (2013, p131) suggests that the total immersion in French within the education system had the direct consequence of de-marginalising and isolating African languages and creating a sense of inferiority around them. Perhaps surprisingly, the colonial language-in-education policies which favoured use of African languages had similar effects (Albaugh 2014). Using African languages ensured that Africans were 'kept in a linguistic prison' (Alexandre 1972, p79). This, coupled with the selection of local elites who would be given more Western-style education through a European language, caused the majority of Africans to view African-language education as 'second-rate' and something to be 'resented' (Skattum and Brock-Utne 2009, p49). One exception to this was the colonial German approach which 'elevated African languages' (Albaugh 2014, p33) and, while seeking to maintain cultural distance between African and German culture, viewed African cultures and languages as legitimate (Mazrui 2013, pp140-141). These various colonial approaches towards language-in-education policies resulted in what Bamgbose (1991, p69) termed the 'inheritance situation' which is 'how the colonial experience continues to shape and define post-colonial problems and practices.' This 'inheritance situation' also impacts on how individuals view European and African languages and could play a role in how languages are viewed by individuals in Malawi's universities.

2.2.2 Post-independence language policies

The consequence of these differing language policies had varying effects on African countries post-independence as each newly independent state initially retained the former colonisers' language-in-education policy (Bamgbose 1991, Obondo 2007, Orekan 2010, Albaugh 2014). At this time, around 40% of African countries had language-in-education policies which made use of African languages (Albaugh 2014, p1). The post-independence period was another crucial stage in terms of language policies in Africa. Phillipson, discussing the rise of the nation state within Europe, writes that 'the most powerful source of group identity was the nation, a key constituent of which was a national language' (2003, p41) and central to the conception of independent nation states is the ideology of 'one nation: one language'. This was evident in the newly independent African nations who needed to grapple with a number of issues when designating language roles within their countries. Schmied (1991, pp19-20) identifies three main factors influencing the choice of language policies in newly independent Africa: 1) language issues were not high on the list of priorities for African governments and it 'was much easier...to maintain the linguistic status quo' rather than develop policies which deviate from the colonial policy; 2) for international communication it would be beneficial to promote European languages (mainly English) over African languages; 3) for the purposes of national cohesion a European language would be favoured over one African language due to both the multi-ethnic nature of most states and the arbitrary way that the colonial powers split states up which led to the break-up of ethnolinguistic groups into different countries. In Malawi, as discussed in Section 1.3.4, English retained its official function and, shortly after independence, language planning steps were taken to promote Chichewa as a language of national unity which has generally been effective.

In terms of language-in-education policies the effects of these three pressures, with a few exceptions, meant that a substantial portion of African states had policies in which European languages were the only or main language of instruction within schools. This is due to the fact that, in the years following independence, while Francophone states retained the French-only policy of the colonisers, a majority of Anglophone states, rather than retain the use of local languages, opted for a 'straight to English' approach. This results in a status quo in which, as in Malawi, English and education become inextricably linked (Matiki 2001). Albaugh (2014) states that, aside from a handful of experimental

projects, there was a general language-in-education policy inertia from the 1970s until the 1990s.

2.2.3 Recent developments

During the 1990s, African governments were moving away from autocratic one-party rule and opening up to a more democratic system. Albaugh (2009, 2014) suggests that this, coupled with an increasing global pressure towards recognising linguistic rights and the desire to provide education for all has led to an increased acceptance of local languages within education.

The international development community has largely been criticised for not paying serious attention to language policy issues (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1995, Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, Djite 2008). However, there have been recent efforts to promote quality education in Africa and across the globe, recognising that mother tongue education is one crucial aspect in achieving this (UN 2015b, UNESCO 2015a, UNESCO 2015b). This, coupled with development models which seek to be more inclusive highlight efforts to raise awareness of the importance that language-in-education policies have in Africa. Rather than being a case of English versus African languages, Ferguson (2013a, p34) suggests that achieving sustainable development requires acknowledging that both international languages, such as English, and local African languages, can have a role to play. More recent development models take the focus away from government priorities and give more power to civil society and NGOs who Albaugh (2014) states are key figures in the promotion of multilingual policies.

While some (Obondo 2007, Albaugh 2014) claim that African language-in-education policies are moving towards embracing African languages and Albaugh (2014, p1) states that currently 80% of African countries have language-in-education policies which use local languages as MOI, this is not conclusively deemed to be the case in practice. Despite Albaugh's assertion, there still remain issues around language-in-education policies in Africa, with Oaune and Glanz (2010) noting that Africa is the only continent in which a majority of children begin primary education using a foreign language. The discrepancy between these two statements is perhaps due to the fact that, while African

governments might pay lip service to policies which advocate for use of African languages, little is done to effectively implement these policies (Boyer and Zsiga 2014). While Albaugh is optimistic in identifying the use of multilingual policy approaches within education, this is often poorly implemented resulting in one of two scenarios: 1) children will be taught in an African language which is not their first language or 2) policy will not be followed and the desire for European languages will put pressure on schools and teachers to teach in English even if this cannot be achieved effectively (Ogechi 2009, Arkorful 2014, Beyogle 2014, Kiramba 2014). This is due to the impact which historical policies have had on how Africans view their own languages in relation to European languages, leading to the view that using African languages will 'shut the proverbial window on the world' (Adegbija 1994, p106). This study will provide insight into the extent to which this view exists amongst individuals in Malawian universities.

The fluctuations which African countries have experienced regarding which language to use as MOI have resulted in arguments which are either in favour of European languages and against African languages or vice versa. Schmied (1991) summarises the arguments in favour of European languages as follows: it is more cost effective as all resources are available in these languages; technological terminology is more readily available in these languages; globalisation means that these languages are essential for mobility; it is necessary to avoid tribalism. Heugh (2002) states that these reasons are effectively myths: the short-term costs of implementing African language policies outweigh the long-term costs of not doing so; there is no reason that African languages cannot develop technical terminology; the use of African languages within education does not mean that Africans will not learn 'global' languages and gaining literacy in one's first language makes acquiring a second language easier. Ssebbunga-Masembe et al (2015) also note that there are cognitive benefits for children beginning their education in their own language instead of a foreign language. While there are exceptions (e.g. Ferguson 2013b, Clegg and Simpson 2016), discussions surrounding MOI in Africa still largely focus on the promotion of either European languages or African languages with little advocacy for truly multilingual MOIs which take full advantage of codeswitching (CS) or translanguaging (Section 3.2. and 3.3 will provide further discussion of CS and translanguaging).

Recent changes which are of interest to this study are those which have occurred in Zambia and Tanzania, countries which share a border and common languages with Malawi. In 2013, the Zambian Ministry of Education, Science, Vocational Training and Early Education announced that '[f]amiliar languages will be used for teaching initial literacy and content subjects in the early education (pre-school) and lower primary school (Grades 1 to 4)…The new policy shall be implemented in January 2014, in all the primary schools, public and private' (MoESVTEE, 2013, p.3 cited in UNICEF 2017, p1). This policy fore-fronted the use of local Zambian languages more so than previous language-in-education policies in the country. In 2014, in Tanzania, it was announced that a new language policy would be introduced which would use Kiswahili as the sole MOI in primary schools, secondary schools and universities (Yogi 2017). These recent policy changes represent Ministries of Education placing more focus on the importance, and validity, of the use of African languages in education. Malawi's recent language-in-education policy change is in a markedly different direction to these neighbouring countries and ignores international advice and academic research on the benefits of mother tongue based multilingual education.

2.2.4 Language policy in universities

Globalisation and the internationalisation of higher education is increasingly affecting universities worldwide (Yang 2002, Vila 2015, Liddicoat 2016). Institutions now have to develop policies which recognise that they are operating in a global context and beyond the confines of national borders (Stromquist 2002). This increasing internationalisation has renewed the importance of universities to engage in language planning and implement language policies. The role which English has as an international language forms a key aspect of language planning for universities worldwide (Doiz, Lasagabaster and Sierra 2013, Liddicoat 2016). The use of English as a medium of instruction continues to grow across universities worldwide (Dearden 2014) and, at an institutional level, the use of English can act as a symbol of the internationalisation of universities (Duong and Chua 2016). In many European contexts universities are coming to terms with the increasing role English has to play as a medium of instruction within higher education. It has been suggested that the introduction of, and need to learn, international languages such as English in multilingual settings causes tensions to arise (Doiz, Lasagabaster and Sierra 2013). There is then a tension between adopting language policies which will allow engagement with the global market versus those which will foster and maintain national

culture and identity (Bulajeva and Hogan-Brun 2014). Additionally, concerns have been raised regarding the threat which English poses towards national and minority languages as it increasingly dominates the domain of higher education globally (van Der Walt 2010, Bolton and Kuteeva 2012, Tamtik and Jang 2018).

This has largely occurred due to the position which English has globally and particularly the dominant position which it has as an academic language (Crystal 2003, p93). As universities themselves seek to become more international, English becomes a language with which they need to engage to aid that internationalisation (Garrett and Balsà 2014, Soler, Björkman, and Kuteeva 2018). As noted above, this is increasingly an issue in the European context, as European universities are being forced to reconcile the positions of English and national languages in their institutions (Garrett and Balsà 2014, Soler, Björkman and Kuteeva 2018). The African, and Malawian, contexts differ however in that they exhibit, as aforementioned, what Bamgbose (1991, p69) terms an 'inheritance situation' in which African countries continue to implement policies which reflect those in the colonial period and, in much of Africa, favour the use of colonial languages in education (Kamwangamalu 2018). For Anglophone Africa, this generally means use of English within education at tertiary levels. Liddicoat (2016) suggests that for universities in English-speaking contexts such as the UK and USA the internationalisation of universities has been business as usual. In this regard, the Malawian context is more similar to the UK than it is to other multilingual European contexts as English has always been the de facto MOI for university. While the same pressure of internationalisation is present within the universities, the challenge in Malawi is then not how to introduce English into a system in which national languages have been used but instead how to introduce those national languages into a system in which English has always been dominant. The internalisation of higher education and the ability of African universities to engage with, and adapt to, globalisation is viewed as a crucial factor in being able to produce graduates who can contribute effectively to societal needs within the continent and across the globe (Puplampu 2006). The internalisation of higher education is then another key factor in determining individuals' language attitudes within Malawian universities as it influences perceptions around language use in the universities as it adds to the prestige which English already has in education.

Regarding language policy, in the European context, universities in non-Anglophone countries are widely regarded as crucial institutions for the maintenance of a national language and preparing graduates for the national labour market (Soler and Vihman 2018). While this has not traditionally been the case in much of Africa, universities have the potential to be key sites for creating a 'multilingual habitus' in the African context and can raise the status of African languages when they share academic spaces with elite languages such as English (Benson 2008, pp26-27). Further, this can develop the multilingual repertoires of graduates, enabling them to develop and implement other 'language-related reforms' to make other sectors of society more inclusive (*Ibid*). The use of a multilingual language policy, which includes African languages, within higher education can influence the public's perception on the value of those languages in other stages of education (Phaahla 2014).

International advice has consistently stressed the importance of mother tongue-based education in the early years of schooling (UNESCO 1953, 2003, 2008). In much of Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) however this is then followed by a transition, in policy if not always practice, to English-medium instruction for the remainder of education (Simpson 2017). Indeed, as Ekkehard Wolff (2016, p38) notes 'most if not all African countries aim for higher education to be run through a foreign language'. This results in a situation in many countries in which, at a policy level, colonial European languages are recognised as suitable languages for use as MOI in higher education with a notable absence of African languages (Brock-Utne 2003, Koch and Burkett 2006). In the absence of an official written language policy institutions may base their policies on national languages policies, as Dyers and Abongdia (2014) have noted in Cameroon, leading to the adoption of a European language. These general trends are of importance to this study as it can be seen that regionally, at an official policy level, African languages are generally not viewed as suitable for use in education. This study will reveal whether this view is shared on the ground by grassroots stakeholders in university education in Malawi.

There are notable exceptions to this however such as the Department of Kiswahili at the University of Dar es Salam in Tanzania which uses Kiswahili as a MOI (Brock-Utne 2003) and the Adekunle Ajasin University in Nigeria which teaches language and literature courses in Yoruba (Awobuluyi 2013). Of particular note is South Africa in which there is

national legislation (South African Department of Higher Education and Training 2018) as well as individual university policies (e.g. University of South Africa 2016, Rhodes University 2014 among others) promoting the use of African languages and multilingualism in universities based on the country's constitutional recognition of 11 official languages. While there are attempts to enact this policy (see Madiba 2010, Ndebele and Zulu 2017), there is often a discrepancy between policy and practice and the multilingualism promoted does not manifest itself (Koch and Burkett 2006, Moodley 2010, Drummond 2016, van der Merwe 2016, Mkhize and Balfour 2017). Against this backdrop of high use of non-African languages within university education there are calls for the introduction of African languages and the promotion of multilingualism at university level in Africa with adequate resources provided to support implementation (Brock-Utne 2003, Balfour 2007, Dyers 2013, Odour 2015, Ekkehard Wolff 2016). This in part is due to the effect which legitimising languages at university level can have on the status of those languages and the linguistic landscapes of countries themselves (Mutasa 2015).

This section has provided an overview of the prevailing trends in language planning and language policy in Africa. It has been shown that generally European languages are favoured at the expense of African languages. This is also the case in university education specifically, as European languages, and English in particular, are viewed as suitable languages and languages which will allow universities to connect and compete at international level. This section has provided a contextual background for the current policy situation in Malawi which will provide context for understanding participants' attitudes towards languages. It has concluded with calls towards a shift in policy which takes into account multilingualism at university level, which will inform policy suggestions in answer to Research Question 4 regarding language policy changes in the universities. The next section will focus on theoretical orientations towards language planning and highlight how these relate to changing theoretical views of international development. This discussion will highlight the theoretical position which this study takes in relation to language policy generally, and in the Malawian context specifically.

2.3 Orientations for language planning

A key element which affects all language planning initiatives is the view, or orientation, towards language which planners adopt. This section will briefly discuss language

nominations before providing an overview of theoretical approaches towards language planning. These factors are important to the present study as they illustrate how the manner in which language and languages are referred to and understood can impact individuals' attitudes towards them.

2.3.1 Language nominations

Language nominations can be highly contested and controversial terms. Of particular difficulty are the terms *national* and *official* language – areas of language planning which are often written into a country's constitution. However, these escape a consensus definition (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997, Ouane 2003) and are used to mean different things in different countries. An official language is generally described as one which 'has been chosen for public communication' (Stavans and Hoffman 2015, p39) and is used in official, high level domains such as parliament, government communications, newspapers, business, and legal systems. National languages, on the other hand, often have a more symbolic role in representing a country's nationhood and ethnic identity. Stavans and Hoffman (2015) suggest that only standard languages are able to become national or official languages, as languages without a written tradition will be unable to effectively fill the roles required of such languages. This means speakers of certain languages will never be able to have their languages fill these prestigious roles, unless they are subject to corpus planning.

Language nominations – the labels which are used to describe different 'types' or roles of languages – can be 'considered to have a reflective function' as they provide an indication of the contemporary general attitudes towards the languages which they describe (Aronin, Laoire and Singleton 2011, p173). This relates to the concept of status planning, in which the act of assigning a language with the label of *national* or *official* can itself promote a language and a group of speakers and bestow them with greater prestige. Other language nominations such as 'vernacular language', 'mother tongue', 'international language' also create and contain value judgements concerning the languages in question, and speakers overtly or covertly evaluate the language based on the label used to describe it (*Ibid*, p174). This can, in turn, affect the rates of use of particular languages. While language nominations can be enforced from the top-down in the form of official government policy, they can also be created more naturally, from a bottom-up perspective in a community of

speakers. In this instance, the specific label attached to a language acts as a 'sensitive and dynamic diversity marker' which indicates the particular social position of a language amongst a community at any given time (*Ibid*, p180). This fact can be used to gauge the success, or lack thereof, of official language policies as language nominations act as 'one naming unit' which captures the 'linguistic, social and personal dimensions of a language' (*Ibid*, p188). Language nominations can be considered to be sensitive and dynamic diversity markers which enable applied linguists and policy makers to 'keep a finger on the pulse' of the changes in functions and status of any given language in a given society. Analysing the ways in which individuals in Malawian universities conceptualise their languages will provide further insight into the sociolinguistic context.

The remainder of this chapter will discuss a broader view of orientations towards language, specifically with regard to language planning. This fundamental aspect of language planning has been stressed by Ruiz (1984, p16) who stated:

> Orientations are basic to language planning in that they delimit the ways we talk about language and language issues, they determine the basic questions we ask, the conclusions we draw from the data, and even the data themselves.

In addition to affecting the ways in which language and language issues are discussed, orientations can affect the ways in which language users are viewed. Ruiz (*Ibid*) highlights three orientations which have continued to affect language planning processes: language as a problem; language as a right; language as a resource. Ruiz's orientations are discussed in this study as they have been noted to underlie 'policies on language, especially…in multilingual settings' (Lo Bianco 2001, p1) and they highlight the crucial role which attitudes have in the foundation of language policies. These varied ways of viewing language within language planning can also be seen in the ways in which the international development community has approached the role of language within development. Coleman (2017) presents an extensive overview of the changing relationships between language, language policy and the work of the international development community more broadly. He notes that, while the role of language within development has been discussed for more than forty years, 'language and development' lacks status as an academic discipline and there are no 'theories of language and development' (Coleman 2017, pp442-

443). He then presents three key stages in language and development: 1) institutionalisation of development; 2) human development; and 3) development goals. During this time attitudes towards the role of language in development have changed. The changes towards the role of language in development will be discussed alongside Ruiz's framework. This will illustrate the ways in which changing conceptualisations of language are connected to changes in international development as it is important to highlight that language policy issues are tied to wider issues and a major influence on language planning in Africa is potential socioeconomic impact. The issues addressed in this section then help to provide explanations for the language attitudes of students and staff within Malawian universities. They will highlight the rationale which has influenced language planning in Africa and in Malawi. The influence of language planning in turn can affect individuals' attitudes and language usage and so can be viewed as an underlying foundation for the sociolinguistic investigation of this study.

2.3.2 Language as a problem

This orientation views language planning as a process through which problems relating to language can be managed and solved (Fishman 1974, p79). These problems often stem from the fact that language contact can coincide with conflict between individuals and communities of speakers (Nelde 1987) as 'groups using different languages often compete for access to material and symbolic resources' (Grin 2003, p3). Problems are thought to be accentuated in areas with high linguistic diversity as the greater the number of languages, the greater the complexity of the situation (Mackey 1979, p48). Ruiz suggests that viewing language as a problem is a perception which 'offers no hope' (1984, p28) due to the fact that language planning issues are not simply linguistic issues but affect other aspects of social life as well. This can then result in discrimination towards linguistic communities, particularly ethnic minority communities, as their language skills become problematised and seen as deficient – as something which must be, at best, improved and, at worst eradicated (Ruiz 1984, p21). Appropriate orientations towards language planning are therefore necessary to ensure language planning efforts are socially just. This stigmatisation and discrimination of speakers based on language can have negative effects on wellbeing and mental health (Hallet, Chandler and Lalonde 2007) and is now used to argue for the promotion of language planning which accommodates linguistic minorities. Zuckermann (2013) views this as an ethical reason which must be taken into consideration when conducting language planning, as, in his view, it is

inherently unethical to adopt language policies which may have detrimental effects on the wellbeing of minority groups.

This 'language as a problem' viewpoint is most closely linked with the first stage of development which Coleman (2017) calls the 'Institutionalisation of Development' and which spans from the end of the Second World War until the mid-1970s. A number of former colonies achieved independence in this period and the field of language planning itself 'emerged in response to the perceived language problems facing multilingual nations that became independent in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s' (Taylor-Leech and Benson 2017, p343). The main focus of development in this phase was on modernisation, developing infrastructure and encouraging economic growth (Coleman 2017, p447). Modernisation in this period largely meant becoming more like Western countries and, in Africa, 'modernization was a strong factor in diminishing the status and roles of African languages' as 'the general belief was that modernization was best achieved in an imported official language' (Bamgbose 2011, p4). For many countries in former colonies this meant the adoption of policies which made use of a European language. While many African countries were in a unique position requiring them to develop language policies in newly independent states there was 'limited scholarly attention' given to language planning efforts across Africa, little expertise provided regarding how to implement effective language policies, and a tendency towards language-in-education policy dominated by monolingualism (Coleman 2017, p448-449). This stance has been central to language planning in Malawi in which there are considered to be too many Malawian languages, which leads to the adoption of largely monolingual policies and the dominance of English.

2.3.3 Language as a right

A rights-orientated view of language planning is one which situates itself in the ideology that there exist fundamental and basic human rights which all individuals should have access to, and part of this involves being able to enact one's rights in one's own language. This approach to language planning involves creating declarations at national and international levels detailing what rights language communities have. Within this perspective, key linguistic rights for individuals and communities include:

the right to be recognized as a member of a language community;

the right to the use of one's own language both in private and in public;

the right to maintain and develop one's own culture;

the right for their own language and culture to be taught;

the right of access to cultural services;

the right to an equitable presence of their language and culture in the communications media;

the right to receive attention in their own language from government bodies and in socioeconomic relations. (UNESCO 1996, p5)

A rights-based approach to language planning then focuses on the implementation of policies which will allow language communities to be able to preserve their language, to use their language in public domains, to access services in their own language. This is viewed, by Hamel (1994, p271), as fundamental to the survival of ethnic minorities. At the individual level, this rights approach has largely meant 'the right to learn the mother tongue, including at least the right to basic education in the mother tongue' (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1994, p2) and has gradually become associated with language rights specifically in education (Arzoz 2007, p2). However, a number of issues have been highlighted in taking this approach. By conflating linguistic rights with human rights – which are protected by legislation – without addressing the complexities associated with this, linguistic rights are easily, and often, ignored despite the existence of declarations (Ruiz 1984, pp24-25). Arzoz (2007, p2-3) argues that outside an educational context, language rights are 'less certain' and are 'ideals and aspirations' rather than legal 'entitlements'.

'Human Development' – the second stage of development identified by Coleman – lasted from between the mid-1970s until the end of the twentieth century. This stage signalled a move away from growing industrialisation and move towards embracing human rights. There was a move towards the importance of human development influenced by Sen's (1999) *Development as Freedom* which argued for the importance of ensuring that basic human needs (and basic human rights) are met to ensure the personal, social and

economic development of individuals. The ability individuals have to contribute towards a country's social and economic development is determined by the 'quality of a country's human resource base' (Rassool, Edwards and Bloch 2006, p533). However, in Sub-Saharan Africa, due to the use of often former colonial languages which the majority of the population do not have skills in or access to, individuals are unable to contribute effectively in the formal economy and there is an 'under-development of the human resource base' which is 'a major barrier to social and economic development' (Rassool, Edwards and Bloch 2006, p536). Coleman (2017, p451) notes that, regarding language, the major trends present in the earlier development stage continue; however, the priority which is given to the promotion and use of English in the field of international development begins to be questioned and there is 'a discourse shift from homogenizing language policies to those which celebrate diversity and difference' (Chimbutane 2017, p356).

This rights-based focus on language planning arguably reflects the mid-1990s language policy in Malawi which introduced five Malawian languages as official languages, and which advocated for mother tongue instruction in the early years of education. However, as discussed in Sections 1.3.4 and 1.3.5 these policies largely remained unimplemented and have been forgotten. Unlike in South Africa, which constitutionally states that there are eleven official languages in the country and that people have a right to use and access services in those languages, the de facto policy in Malawi is that English is an official language and Chichewa is a national language. For the general public in Malawi then, there is little conception of a legislative right to be able to use Malawian languages in a wide range of domains.

2.3.4. Language as resource

The final language planning orientation offered by Ruiz – and the one which he most strongly promotes – views language as a resource. This is apposite to the language as a problem orientation, as it views multilingualism, at an individual and community level, as something which is valuable. This is similar to what Tauli (1974) would term 'language as a means' – that language can be used instrumentally as a tool for achieving specific purposes and language planning can be used to develop and change linguistic environments to ensure they efficiently achieve these purposes. The success of language

planning efforts can then be measured quantitatively. This however ignores the argument that 'language is so closely tied to group identity' (Kelman 1972, p199 cited in Ruiz 1984, p17). Ruiz argues that viewing language as simply a tool without considering 'language as sentimental attachment' ignores the social aspects of language planning success (Ruiz 1984, p17). For Ruiz, viewing language as a resource means viewing language as something which should be 'managed, developed and conserved' and minority linguistic groups as 'important sources of expertise' (Ruiz 1984, p28). This approach emphasises linguistic diversity as a beneficial occurrence for a number of reasons including: cognitive benefits for multilingual individuals; increased cultural sensitivity in a globalised world; strengthening national security (*Ibid*). In adopting this approach multilingualism can be viewed as a resource (Lo Bianco 2001, de Jon et al 2016). As Batibo (2014, p19) has noted, to create practical, effective, and inclusive language policies in Africa multilingualism must be viewed as a resource.

The orientation of language as resource is present in two additional justifications of language planning given by Zuckermann (2013) in addition to the ethical reason given above. These are aesthetic and economic justifications. The aesthetic justification for language planning efforts which emphasise the role of minority languages and of multilingualism is closely related to the contemporary 'language endangerment crisis' (Nettle and Romaine 2000, p23). This viewpoint takes languages as cultural resources or assets (see Gorter et al n.d.) and for this reason, and this reason alone, they should be maintained. Linguistic diversity is seen as something which is beautiful and must be maintained and protected. However, tackling language planning from a purely aesthetic argument can be impractical, as Grin (2003, p36) states that viewing a language as metaphorically valuable does not mean it will be valuable economically.

This introduces a final justification for language planning efforts: that they will be economically beneficial. Grin (2003, p23) introduces language planning as a process which should, ultimately, increase the aggregate welfare of a society. Thus, according to Grin, language planning efforts should create and implement policies which will be the most cost-effective in increasing welfare in a society. While Grin (2003, p39) suggests that policies which promote 'linguistic homogeneity – or, in other words, 'zero diversity' – are ill-advised, since they underestimate the benefits and overestimate the costs of

diversity', linguistic diversity is not viewed as something which should be preserved for purely aesthetic or ethical reasons. Language planning and language policy issues, despite aesthetic or ethical arguments 'can no more be free of calculations of costs and benefits…than any other policy issue' (Bruthiaux 2003, p90). While bearing this in mind, it should also be noted that an effective language as resource orientation recognises both the extrinsic and intrinsic value of language (Hult and Hornberger 2016, p33). Viewing language as a resource only for particular functions or strictly as a financial or economic resource can have detrimental effects of linguistic communities (Ricento 2005, p384, Harrison 2007, p89).

'Development goals' – the final stage of development discussed by Coleman – more fully embraces this 'language as a resource' orientation. This stage, which began at the beginning of the twenty-first century and continues to the present day, is signalled by the introduction of development goals, namely the Millennium Development Goals and the Sustainable Development Goals, global targets set by the United Nations with the aim of providing sustainable development for all countries. This phase has coincided with a growing awareness of the importance of mother tongue education alongside a more critical view of the 'monolingualist doctrine' (Coleman 2017, p449) and emphasis on the role of local languages in the development process. Bamgbose (2011) has suggested that the failure of development in Africa is, in part, due to the use of an official language (e.g. English or French) which the majority of the population do not speak and are therefore excluded from development initiatives and contributing to the development process. This has been noted by Nkhoma and Mugaba (2013) as a major issue in development initiatives in Malawi.

The role of language within international development is often stated by linguists – 'language is the 'missing link' in global policy initiatives for development' (Norton 2014, p636), 'development is not possible without language' (Bamgbose 2014, p650), 'language is both a right and means of development' (Romaine 2013, p11). UNESCO (2012, p1) also recognise the role that language can play in development:

> Language is the key to inclusion. Language is at the center of human activity, self-expression and identity. Recognizing the primary importance that people place on

their own language fosters the kind of true participation in development that achieves lasting results.

Despite this, in reality, there is a lack of attention given to the importance of language in development which is 'particularly noticeable in education' (Taylor-Leech and Benson 2017, p347). When there is a 'recognition that language does matter…that language must necessarily be an imported official language such as English or French in Africa' (Bamgbose 2014, p650). This results in the 'the indiscriminate use of (mostly) English by the nebula of development actors in Africa' (Lafon 2013, p86). This is the case with the newly developed Sustainable Development Goals in which language 'receives little or no attention' (Marinotti 2016, p2). Marinotti suggests that the development approach which adopts a monolingual, often Eurocentric, approach cannot be effective and that 'linguistic reality requires an overtly multilingual approach to development, particularly human development' (Marinotti 2016, p3). Language, and language policy, are unique and crucial resources in development initiatives while also being similar to other resources in that they must be adapted towards particular contexts (Makoe and McKinney 2014). For this study, investigating the sociolinguistic context of Malawi's universities can provide information which is valuable in policy creation and thus could play a role in the overall development trajectory of the country.

Using Ruiz's framework, this section has discussed varying theoretical approaches to language planning. There are two main distinctions which arise from this discussion: language planning which favours linguistic diversity versus that which favours linguistic uniformity; language planning which focuses on ethical and aesthetic arguments and language planning which focuses on economic arguments. The two sides of this latter distinction are not mutually exclusive as moral/aesthetic arguments often combine with economic arguments as non-market values such as an individual's wellbeing can provide an economic, ethical and aesthetic justification for certain language planning endeavours (Grin 2003). This section has also focused on the changing roles of language within development. Despite the focus placed on English, there is no evidence that English is a 'superior instrument for development' (Bamgbose 2014, p650, see also Arcand and Grin 2013). The adoption and integration of African languages, and the realisation of the contribution they can make, will be a key step in the realisation of the SDGs in Africa.

There is a need to realise that sustainable development practice involves 'adopting a heteroglossic ideology and promoting multilingualism for all of the world's citizens' (Taylor-Leech and Benson 2017, p351). Through presenting varying orientations towards language planning, a number of issues have been highlighted which could have implications for how individuals in Malawian universities view and use language. These include: viewing multiple languages as problematic and impractical in policy; viewing choice and freedom of language use as a fundamental right; viewing language use and language maintenance as tools for maintaining languages for aesthetic reasons and/or economic reasons; and viewing multilingualism as a resource.

This chapter has focused on the practical and theoretical approaches towards language planning and the role of language in international development. It has been shown that there is an increasing awareness of the importance of promoting inclusive language policies which embrace multilingualism to ensure effective language policies which can enable socioeconomic development for individuals and nations. These changing approaches have to varying degrees impacted the current language policy situation in Malawi. Crucially for this study, Malawi's recent language policies (as discussed in detail in Chapter 1) do not embrace multilingualism but instead focus on the monolingual use of English in education. Based on the literature discussed in this chapter, this study adopts an orientation which views multilingualism as a resource and which views language planning and language policy as crucial elements of individual and national socioeconomic development. Understanding the ways in which embracing multilingual approaches could assist the socioeconomic development of African countries, combined with this study's findings on the multilingual nature of Malawi's universities, will allow suggestions to be made concerning improving the effectiveness of language policy in Malawi. The next chapter will discuss the changing conceptualisation of language and multilingual language use and the impact which this can have on language policy, outlining the key concepts which will be used to analyse the linguistic situation in Malawian universities.

Chapter 3:   Language attitudes and language use

The sociolinguistic situation in Malawian universities will be ascertained through investigating the language attitudes and patterns of language use of individuals within them. This chapter will discuss language use and language attitudes in multilingual, and specifically African, contexts. Section 3.1 will provide an introduction to language attitude studies noting a number of key concepts and related studies in African universities. Section 3.2 will provide an overview of changing conceptual approaches towards multilingual language use, introducing the concepts through which language use will be analysed. Finally, Section 3.3 will discuss research into multilingual language use in education, with a focus on university education, highlighting research contexts in Africa which are similar to the focus of this study. The literature reviewed in this chapter is relevant to answering Research Questions 1, 2, and 3.

1) *What are the patterns of language use amongst students and staff within the domain of tertiary education in Malawi?*

2) *What factors lie behind the patterns of language use?*

3) *What are the attitudes of students and staff towards the suitability of various languages as MOI in tertiary education in Malawi?*

3.1   Language attitudes

Understanding the language attitudes of individuals in Malawian universities is a key aspect of understanding the sociolinguistic context of the universities as it is a 'pivotal concept' in sociolinguistics (Garrett, Coupland and Williams 2003, p2) and research has shown that individual and community attitudes can play a key role in language use (Milroy and Gordon 2003, p21, Myers-Scotton 1982, p127, Leitner 2004). Attitudes towards language can provide insight into linguistic practices in multilingual societies (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970). It has been suggested that language attitudes can thus act as a form of

invisible or implicit language policy which can influence how language is used in institutions and can at times contradict official explicit language policy (Kachru 1991, Pulcini 1997, Erling, Obaidul and Seargeant 2010, Nero 2014). This section will discuss important factors which have been identified as influencing language attitudes before going on to discuss research concerning attitudes towards English as a global language and finally language attitudes in the African context.

3.1.1 Key concepts

Language attitudes, as noted above, are key elements within language policy. They can influence the successful implementation of official language policy legislation as Baker (1992, p21) notes that '[l]anguage engineering can flourish or fail according to the attitudes of the community'. Language attitudes can reflect attitudes towards language at a variety of levels such as attitudes towards grammar, accent, or to multilingual language practices such as codeswitching or bilingualism generally (Baker 1992, Garrett 2010). Attitudes can also be determined or influenced by a number of variables such as gender, age, language background, educational background, and social class (Baker 1992, pp48-75).

It has been noted (see Baker 1992, Garrett 2010) that language attitudes can be considered as made up of three factors: cognition; affect; and behaviour. The cognitive aspect of language attitudes relates to beliefs about society and the world and the relative position of languages within it. The affective aspect reflects emotional feelings which individuals possess towards particular languages. Finally, the behavioural aspect relates to the extent to which individuals will engage in particular actions relating to their use of particular languages. The following example from Garrett (2010, p23), concerning a student learning Spanish as a foreign language, illustrates these three components:

Cognitive component – the student believes that learning Spanish will give her a deeper understanding of Spanish culture

Affective component – the student is enthusiastic about being able to read literature written in Spanish

Behavioural component – the student is saving money to enrol on a Spanish course

However, these three components are not necessarily always congruent. An individual's affective attitudes towards a language variety may not necessarily be reflected in their own behaviour with Garrett (2010, p28) noting that that the 'links between people's attitudes towards language varieties and their own behaviours are likely to differ according to the complexity of domains in which language is used'. Additionally, attitudes can exist as both inputs and outputs (Baker 1992, Garrett 2010). For example, favourable attitudes towards an indigenous language can act as an input to individuals wanting to learn that language and creating more favourable attitudes towards an indigenous language can be an output of a successful language course.

There are multiple data collection techniques in language attitude research. As outlined by Garrett (2010), these can broadly be defined under three main approaches: societal treatment of languages; direct measures; or indirect measures. Societal treatment involves taking a macro-level approach towards attitudes through analysis of publicly available documents and texts which provides insight into the discourse and attitudes towards language which are visible at a societal level. A direct approach involves studying the overt language attitudes of individuals through asking direct questions related to their attitudes. Conversely, an indirect approach involves eliciting individuals' covert language attitudes through techniques such as the matched guise technique (see Agheyisi and Fishman 1970). The study of attitudes in both direct and indirect approaches often involves the use of scaled measurements. Common scales used are Likert scales in which individuals are given a statement and asked to rate the extent to which they agree/disagree and semantic differential scales which consist of two semantically opposite adjectives (e.g. friendly/unfriendly) at either end of a point-scale with participants asked to rate, for example, where they would place a speaker on the scale (see Baker 1992, pp17-18, Garrett 2010, pp55-56). Attitude-rating scales of this kind can provide insight into the complexity of individuals' language attitudes and lend themselves to more advanced statistical analysis (see Garrett, Coupland and Williams 2003). The data collection methods adopted in this study will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

Following Drogojevic's (2017) definition, this study defines language attitudes as speakers' evaluative reactions to different languages or language varieties. The two main dimensions of language attitudes identified by Drogojevic (2017) are status and solidarity.

These two dimensions will be used to investigate attitudes in Malawian universities and can be viewed in more detail using the concepts of instrumental/integrative attitudes and overt/covert prestige, which will now be discussed in more detail.

Two key factors in language attitudes are instrumental and integrative motivations towards languages (Baker 1992). Often viewed in the context of second language acquisition (SLA) (see Gardner and MacIntyre 1991, Baker and Jones 1998, p176) instrumental motivations relate to the external factors which use of a language can influence such as career opportunities and financial reward (Woodrow 2015, p404, Dörnyei, Csizér and Németh 2006, pp12). These are often associated with utilitarian reward and are orientated towards gaining social status and material advantages for the individual (Baker 1992, Norris-Holt 2001, Ndhlovu 2014). Integrative motivations relate to emotional attachment and the intrinsic positive relationship individuals have with a language due to its associations with culture and identity (Otwinowska-Kasztelanic and De Angelis 2012, Aronin 2012, Andrade and Evans 2013). Integrative attitudes, unlike instrumental ones, are more focused on social, interpersonal relationships, solidarity and individuals' desire to be part of a community (Baker 1992, p32). These orientations are not mutually exclusive however and an individual can possess both instrumental and integrative attitudes towards one language (Baker 1992, p35). The political, economic, and social resources which languages allow individuals to access can therefore influence attitudes towards those languages (Giles and Marlow 2011).

Another important concept which has emerged from sociolinguistic research into language attitudes is prestige, which can be separated into overt prestige and covert prestige. Language varieties, generally standard varieties, with overt prestige are associated with higher status and socioeconomic success (Chambers 2003). Varieties with covert prestige, usually non-standard or 'vernacular' varieties which can be stigmatised, have been shown to also hold positive attributes relating to specific local contexts and can be used to convey friendship and group solidarity (Labov 1966, 1972, Trudgill 1972, 2003). As varieties which have overt prestige are associated with high status elites they can also contain negative characteristics associated with the elite such as being pompous, snobbish, and arrogant (Bourhis, Giles and Tajifel 1973, Giles and Marlow 2011). Speakers who adopt the overt prestige forms can lose the solidarity they have within their social networks and

also risk being ostracised and stigmatised by their social groups (Giles and Edwards 2010, Giles and Marlow 2011). Varieties with covert prestige, which are generally non-standard varieties, can also bestow negative attributes on speakers such as being unattractive and uneducated (Labov 1966, Macaulay 1975). The concepts discussed in this section will be used to analyse participants' attitudes towards languages in the Malawian university context.

3.1.2 Language attitudes in Africa

The above concepts can be used to investigate evaluative judgments made by speakers on varieties of a single named language or, in the multilingual context, by speakers comparing two or more named languages. Indeed Nelde (2005, p327) notes that the notions of language loyalty (or group solidarity) and prestige are fundamental elements in multilingual identity. An additional factor influencing multilingual attitudes are the local and global contexts. Seeking membership and access to an international community of English speakers is increasingly viewed as a motivation for individuals to learn the language (Ryan 2006, Seilhamer 2013). Individuals' desire to use English to access knowledge is in line with the commonly held view that English is 'the medium of a great deal of the world's knowledge' (Crystal 2003, p110) as a number of industrial and technological innovations have occurred in English-speaking countries and were initially communicated through English. English is viewed as a key factor for local employment opportunities due to the fact that, as in much of Africa, it is believed to be of greater use than local languages in the formal labour market and the type of graduate level jobs students wish to obtain (Djite 2008, p 62). While the beliefs regarding the beneficial role which English can have for individuals in developing countries are at times ill-founded, it has also been noted that while not being sufficient, English skills are often necessary for individuals to access opportunities which will allow them to enhance their socioeconomic position (Coleman 2011, Ferguson 2013b). Additionally, due to globalization, many individuals possess a 'bicultural identity' drawing both on aspects of their local culture and on global culture (Arnett 2002). Local languages then can act as important markers of ethnic and national identity and at the same time global languages such as English can be viewed as crucial languages for access to international culture and international networks (Austin and Sallabank 2011).

Due to the international role of English, in many African countries it holds a key function in political and educational systems (Ricento 2010) and dominates higher education alongside other former colonial, European languages (Ferguson 2006, p130). In many postcolonial contexts, the colonial status of English coupled with its current status as a global language results in it being viewed with high, overt prestige (Stavans and Hoffman 2015, p105). This is not without criticism as noted by Phillipson (1992, 2003, 2008) who views the imposition of English in Africa, and elsewhere, as a form of imperialism or neo-imperialism. The global dominance of English and its use in high level domains in Africa perpetuates a system which ensures its dominant position at the expense of African languages and speakers of those languages. However, instrumental attitudes towards the colonial European languages and integrative attitudes towards local languages are found in language attitude research in Africa (Aziakpono and Bekker 2010). The perceived instrumental value of English is widely recognised in Africa (Schmied 1991, Adegbija 1994, Webb 1996) and Adegbija has noted that there are also integrative attitudes towards English as individuals seek to acculturate towards the elite English-speaking society. Magogwe (1995) has shown that high school students in Botswana have high positive attitudes towards English due to its status as a global language and the instrumental and utilitarian functions it can serve. Additionally, they exhibit positive attitudes towards Setswana, primarily due to a sense of national loyalty. However, they exhibit negative attitudes towards the use of Setswana in education due to the fact that it is perceived to have low instrumental value in the country. Alebiosu (2016, p21) also notes the potential conflicting instrumental and integrative attitudes towards English in Nigeria in stating that 'the educated ones exhibit a love-hate relationship to English' due on the one hand to it being instrumentally useful in achieving their goals but on the other having little connection to their national and cultural heritage. The role that English has within Africa is complicated however as Lang (2016) notes that Liberian high school students resent being placed in English as a Second Language classrooms as they view English as their language. It has also been noted that English is becoming a marker of Ghanaian identity (Anyidoho and Kropp-Dakubu 2008) and is considered by some to be a Kenyan language (Ogechi 2009).

It has been noted that in many African contexts citizens place value in English and other former colonial European languages and devalue their mother tongues, which is reinforced by policies created by African governments which exemplify 'negative attitudes towards

their own languages' (Williams 2013, p84, see also Ayub 2013, Zsiga, Boyer and Kramer 2014). However, Hutchison (1997) warns against drawing generalisations regarding language attitudes on the continent highlighting that there are varied and complex political, social, economic and linguistic factors across countries and within them. The colonial legacy and sociolinguistic contexts of individual countries can be unique but there may be general tendencies found amongst them. Adegbija (1994) has discussed the need for language attitude research in SSA which focuses on the reasons behind attitudes towards European and African languages respectively, as a crucial element for successful language planning and language policies. Investigating individuals' language attitudes in Malawian universities will then provide valuable data which can be incorporated into language policy creation. The remainder of this section will discuss language attitude research in Africa, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa. This research will allow for a comparison with this study's Malawian context.

3.1.3 Language attitudes in African universities

Previous research into language attitudes in African universities has highlighted the importance of instrumental and integrative elements in influencing individuals' attitudes towards particular languages. Generally, research shows that African students possess positive attitudes towards former colonial European languages and negative attitudes towards local languages for use in tertiary education. A number of specific studies will now be presented to discuss this in more detail and to provide an overview of the context in which this study is situated.

In Nigeria, Ajepe (2014) has shown that university students have more positive attitudes towards the English language that they do towards their mother tongues as they view it as an elite language which has associations with being civilised. Also in Nigeria, Adriosh and Razi (2016) report similar findings in which, while the importance of English is acknowledged, and the language viewed positively, there is also support for the introduction of local languages. Similarly Mohr and Ochieng (2017), investigating the Tanzanian context, find that individuals have strong positive attitudes towards English and towards its use as a medium of instruction in education despite the fact that it is infrequently used in the home. This, again, is due to the perceived instrumental functions of the language and the access to economic growth which it allows. Also in Tanzania,

Halvorsen (2010) finds that students and staff at the university of Dar es Salaam display positive attitudes towards the use of English as it is viewed as an international language, a language of modernity, and crucial for employment. However, they also indicate that students will learn more easily and effectively through the use of Kiswahili. Halvorsen suggests that there is a confusion regarding the language situation and that there is not a consensus on what languages should be used.

Kamwangamalu and Tovares (2016) find that, amongst university students in Kenya and South Africa, English is the language which holds the highest level of prestige. It has instrumental value for students as a key language in the education system and for international access. It also has an interpersonal function in that it can act as a unifying language between various ethnolinguistic groups. They find that in Kenya, Kiswahili holds a position of prestige between English and less prestigious mother tongues. They note that the Kenyan students refer to their native languages as vernaculars suggesting that this subconsciously stresses the lack of economic value and low prestige they associate with these languages. However, they also find that Kenyan students identify the positive integrative benefits of their native languages as key aspects of their identity. Their South African participants highlight that the use of English is associated with prestige and education, and negatively with pretentiousness, but that Zulu can be used to highlight and maintain ethnic identity.

The instrumental value of English is also found in Sarfo's (2012) study of students in two Ghanaian universities. Sarfo finds that students view the language positively as it is a useful language for social mobility and for employment opportunities. Additionally, Sarfo finds that students do not view the language as a colonial language and suggests that the integrative functions of English may increase in the future as more students begin to use it as a regular language of communication with their friends and family.

Positive attitudes towards African languages have been identified in other contexts. Letsholo and Matlhaku (2017) find that amongst students at the University of Botswana, minority language speakers show positive attitudes towards minority languages and generally are supportive of the use of minority languages in education. English and Setswana L1 speakers are however less supportive of the inclusion of minority languages.

They find a general tendency amongst students to view European languages as more useful languages to learn, followed by Setswana, followed by other Botswanan languages. Similar to the Kenyan context, a European language is held in highest prestige followed by an African language of wider communication followed by minority African languages. These findings could be relevant to the Malawian context given the position of Chichewa in the country as discussed in Section 1.3.4.

Dyers and Abongdia (2014) find that students at the University of Yaoundé in Cameroon have positive attitudes towards the use of French and also towards the use of a bilingual French-English MOI. They also illustrate that, while questionnaire results indicate negative attitudes towards the use of indigenous languages in education, qualitative interviews suggest that students feel that home languages would aid their comprehension and provide a connection to their culture. This contrasts with lecturers who are more negative towards the use of indigenous languages.

Irakoze (2015) investigating two universities in Burundi, the University of Burundi and Hope University, finds that students' preferred MOI is English, followed by a minority who prefer French and even less who prefer Kirundi. There is a perception amongst students that English is the most prestigious and important language for them to know in order to access improved socioeconomic conditions. Additionally, they believe that Francophone African countries lag behind Anglophone ones in terms of economic development, as English is necessary to engage internationally. Also in a Francophone context, Bello et al (2015) in Benin, discussing the difficulties of English language teaching at university level, suggest that English is necessary for individuals and nations in Africa to engage with the world. This is echoed by Abushafa (2014), discussing English language teaching at Libyan universities, who states that English is a crucial language for students to be able to live and work across the globe. Melliti (2008) has shown that students studying science subjects in Tunisian universities view English as an important language for them to pursue scientific subjects and suggests that English is replacing French in some domains for students and that the use of English as a medium of instruction at university could be favoured in scientific disciplines. These studies illustrate that even in Francophone Africa, English is increasingly being viewed positively as a suitable MOI within university due to the instrumental benefits which it is perceived to allow.

The majority of language attitude studies conducted in African universities have taken place in South Africa. Ditsele (2016) investigating Setswana-speaking university students' attitudes towards Setswana finds that students exhibit positive attitudes towards the language and are in favour of its use in higher education. Ditsele's participants do note that it is currently not feasible to use the language for examination purposes due in part to the perceived limited technical terminologies in the language. Distele also reports that English is a language of overt prestige for the students, due to its instrumental functions such as employment opportunities while Setswana has covert prestige and important integrative functions for students as its viewed as a key part of maintaining their culture.

Ndebele and Zulu (2017) highlight that there are generally dismissive attitudes towards the use of African languages in education in Africa. However, they also illustrate that the use of isiZulu as a medium of instruction at the University of KwaZulu-Natal provides evidence that African languages can be used in education. They advocate for use of African languages alongside English and suggest that this can have positive benefits to how African languages are perceived in education and across other social domains. Schlettwein (2015) investigating students at the University of Stellenbosch and the University of the Western Cape finds that English is the most highly ranked language for use at the universities, followed by Afrikaans with students displaying negative attitudes towards other South African languages. Similar attitudes are found by Mbaye (2016) amongst students at the University of Limpopo who have positive attitudes towards the use of English as a medium of instruction but negative attitudes towards the use of African languages. Olivier (2014) has also shown that general public attitudes towards the use of African languages in tertiary education in South Africa are highly negative. Also at the University of the Western Cape Dyers (1997), Dyers and Abongdia (2014), and Abongdia (2014) find generally positive attitudes towards the use of English as a sole MOI. This is due to the instrumental benefits of the language and its associated prestige. Some students do exhibit negative attitudes towards English due to difficulties they have with an English MOI and correspondingly have positive attitudes towards local languages due to both a belief that it would be easier to comprehend concepts in local languages and to the associations of these languages with students' identities. At the University of Cape Town, Noboda (2010) finds that students are aware of the instrumental benefits of English as an international language and one with social prestige. They also are aware of the integrative

benefits of local languages, using these languages to chat to friends on campus. Unlike other studies, Noboda suggests that, due to students' awareness of the benefits which can be given from a range of languages, they are ambivalent towards the use of any one language as a medium of instruction.

Dalvit and de Klerk (2005), investigating Xhosa-speaking students at the University of Fort Hare, find that they have strong positive attitudes towards English, again for instrumental reasons, as it is viewed as essential for social mobility and increasing employment prospects. It is seen as a dominant language within education. While students show mildly favourable attitudes towards Xhosa, they indicate that use of Xhosa may cause tensions with other language groups and may inhibit their English proficiency. Additionally, they view it as only suitable within a strict range of courses (e.g. arts and humanities subjects). Aziakpono and Bekker (2010) also studied Xhosa-speaking students, at Rhodes University. Their findings are similar to Dalvit and de Klerk in that English is viewed positively, and students are in favour of an English-only policy for the perceived instrumental benefits. However, they also find that students are in favour of a bilingual policy which uses Xhosa alongside English, due to the instrumental and integrative associations which they have with Xhosa. Students again drew attention to the multilingual nature of the universities as a potential difficulty in implementing a policy using Xhosa.

Lombard (2017) finds that students from a range of language backgrounds at the University of South Africa show favourable attitudes towards English, acknowledging that it is a key international language. Lombard also finds that students have favourable attitudes towards the inclusion of African languages within the universities, as they recognise that they have a constitutional right to be able to access education in their mother tongues. Parmegiani (2014), investigating Zulu students at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, finds complexities in the relationship students have between languages and their identities. For some students, the only language which they view ownership of and which plays a role in their identity construction is Zulu. For others however, they are not restricted to ownership of just one language and also view English as an important part of their identity. Also at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Nkosi (2014) finds that postgraduate students are positive towards the use of isiZulu as a medium of instruction, after they have completed their course using the language as a MOI. Nkosi suggests that

students who have not had isiZulu MOI will have negative attitudes towards the language (as found in Moodley 2010, Mashiya 2010) but students have positive reactions to their experience as they find it easier to learn in isiZulu than English. Nkosi finds that for a number of students their choice to pursue isiZulu instruction is based on their lack of proficiency in English. At North-West University, Hilton (2010) finds that students view English most positively as the most suitable language for use at university level. Hilton also highlights that Afrikaans students hold positive attitudes towards the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction which contrasts with Setswana- and Sesotho-speaking students, who view English as the most appropriate language for use in academic contexts, and do not support the use of their home languages in education. They do however view these languages as the most appropriate for use in non-academic social interactions. Focusing on the use of Swahili in tertiary education, Wildsmith-Cromarty and Conduah (2014) have shown that both Swahili- and non-Swahili-speaking students at a South African university are positive towards the introduction of Swahili at tertiary level. This is due to the perceived benefits which the language has as an African lingua franca.

This section has summarised a range of studies on language attitudes amongst students and staff in universities in Africa. The main findings which emerge from these studies are positive attitudes towards English (and other European languages) due to the instrumental benefits that they have. Negative attitudes are displayed towards local languages however the integrative functions and covert prestige of African languages are widely acknowledged in the studies. Given that these are the results in numerous African contexts, it is expected that this study's findings will also reflect this broader trend. The next section of this chapter will focus on language use, providing a theoretical overview of multilingual language use followed by studies conducted into language use in African universities.

3.2 Terminology and changing views of language

In addition to the frameworks discussed in the Section 2.3, highlighting the ways in which language can be viewed specifically regarding language planning, the ways in which language is conceptualised and discussed more generally also impact planning processes and subsequently attitudes. One major issue within language planning is the disconnect

between policy and practice. This is evident both in the lack of effective implementation and in the lack of appropriate and consistent terminology. As noted in Section 2.3.1 there are significant issues surrounding the labels used to identify and categorise languages and the effect which this has on how they are perceived and on how they function both among the public and in official domains.

Language planning is influenced by 'prevailing language ideologies' (Sallabank 2012, p119). Traditional language planning efforts coincide with views of languages as distinct, fixed entities, viewing language 'as a noun' (Lewis, Jones and Baker 2012, p656). However, a move away from this to thinking of language as a more dynamic process which is created through the active interaction of speakers – viewing language 'as a verb' (*Ibid*) – may have implications for future language planning efforts. Rampton et al (2015, p8) note that the increasing globalised nature of the world and the superdiversity of sociolinguistic situations which this causes 'announces the collapse of traditional classificatory frameworks' such as those traditionally influencing language planning. Language use, both generally and within institutional spaces, is a highly complex, multi-layered activity which is 'flexible, unstable and dynamic' (*Ibid*), and rigid language policies cannot effectively accommodate the complex linguistic repertoires of speakers. The acknowledgment of the increasingly complex sociolinguistic situation, particularly in multilingual environments coupled with the recognition that it is difficult to enforce and legislate on language use against the wishes and practice of speakers (Gadelii 1999, p24, Bamgbose 2011, p5), suggest that a new approach to language planning and policy creation needs to be taken. While some scholars (Blommaert and Rampton 2011) are moving away from a view of language as fixed, named constructs, others (Grin, Gazzola and Vaillancourt 2013) view this as impractical when discussing language planning as, they state, most individuals affected by language planning would readily accept concepts such as native languages or mother tongues.

Further areas for consideration when discussing language planning are how multilingual speakers actually use their languages, specifically how they use all of the resources in their linguistic repertoire in any one instant. The remainder of this chapter will discuss codeswitching (CS) and translanguaging, concepts which can be used to describe multilingual language use and challenge the idea that monolingual language policies are

most effective. Sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2 will discuss changing views of multilingual language use, providing a history of the key concepts. Section 3.3 will then outline the application of CS and translanguaging in education with a focus on the African context. These concepts are discussed as they will be key tools in framing and analysing the multilingual context of education in Malawi. The topics covered in this chapter will be key to answering Research Questions 1 and 2 regarding language use:

1) *What are the patterns of language use amongst students and staff within the domain of tertiary education in Malawi?*

2) *What factors lie behind the patterns of language use?*

3.2.1 Changing views of multilingual language use

Codeswitching (CS) has been claimed to be the most widely studied phenomenon within language contact and bilingualism studies (Grosjean 1982, Bullock and Toribio 2009). It has been studied from a number of different perspectives and, within linguistics, is studied from a variety of disciplines including: sociolinguistics; pragmatics; grammar; cognition (Gardner-Chloros 2009). The term 'codeswitching' was originally coined by Vogt (1954) but continues to have a number of varied definitions, with approaches to the nature of codeswitching changing markedly in this time.

Early studies concerning the use of more than one language by a bi/multilingual speaker were influenced by the view that a bilingual speaker was similar to two monolingual speakers in one person (Grosjean 1989, p3). While Haugen (1950, p211, 1973) suggests that bilinguals may alternate between two languages, this is not viewed as a combination of languages, they are not speaking a mixture of the languages but are 'at any given moment speaking only one'. Initially, a phenomenon such as CS was thought to be impossible and where bilingual speakers did use elements of one language whilst speaking another, this was simply due to the need to 'resort to the other for assistance' (Haugen 1950, p211). Similar to Haugen, Weinrich (1953 cited in Bullock and Toribio

2009, p67) claims that '[T]he ideal bilingual switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics, etc.), but not in an unchanged situation, and certainly not within a sentence.'

Gumperz has largely been claimed to have brought the concept of CS to the foreground of bilingualism and language contact studies, as his research resulted in scholars realising that 'CS was not an isolated, quirky phenomenon but a widespread way of speaking' (Gardner-Chloros 2009, p9). In a marked change from previous approaches Gumperz believed that CS did not represent 'imperfect knowledge of the grammatical systems in question' (1982, p64).

CS scholarship then began to conclude that 'language alternation is sophisticated, rule-governed behaviour that in no way reflects a linguistic deficit' (MacSwan 2017, p170). Myers-Scotton (1993, p19) continued to develop the idea of CS 'as a type of skilled performance with social motivations' while also proposing a universal system for establishing what constrained the type of switches speakers used. Myers-Scotton proposed another model to explain the constraints on CS. The model - the Matrix Language-Frame Model (MLF) - states that all instances of CS will be made up of a Matrix Language and an Embedded Language. The Matrix Language will commonly be the dominant or majority language within a speech community, with the Embedded Language being the minority language. Unlike Gumperz, Myers-Scotton's model is used to provide explanation for intrasentential CS. Also, unlike Gumperz's assertion that CS involved speakers drawing their resources and creating switches using 'two distinct grammars', the MLF asserts that CS is built around the grammar of the Matrix Language and any use of the Embedded Language involves modifying the grammar of the Embedded Language to correspond to the Matrix Language. It should be noted that an analysis of language use in Malawian universities using this model is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Some of the issues which Myers-Scotton highlighted in previous models of constraints on CS have been levelled against the MLF, and it has been developed gradually since it was first introduced (Gardner-Chloros 2009). A major issue within developing rules for CS lies within the aforementioned multi-faceted nature that CS can display. Gardner-Chloros (2009, p10) presents another issue within CS due to the fact that CS is a 'construct which

linguists have developed to help them describe their data' and so 'the word CS can mean whatever we want it to mean'. Terminology within the field has escaped concrete definition with terms being used interchangeably or contradictorily by different researchers (Matras 2009).

An alternative theoretical approach to the field of CS seeks to move away from the concept of 'codeswitching' as the use of two distinct language units. Meeuwis and Blommaert (1998) and Gardner-Chloros (2009) suggest that CS can be considered a language variety, not merely some combination of two distinct languages. Haugen's statement that CS was not possible due to the fact that it would result in the creation of a 'new entity' is precisely what the concept of 'translanguaging' theorises – 'translanguaging is an ideological viewpoint in which language is no longer conceptualised as a noun but as a verb' (Lewis, Jones and Baker 2012, p656) and which includes 'the full range of linguistic performances of multilingual language users' (Wei 2011, p1223). The term was originally coined by Williams (1994) as 'the ability of multilingual speakers to shuttle between languages, treating the diverse languages that form their repertoire as an integrated system' (Canagarajah 2011a, p401). Translanguaging views language(s) not as distinct entities made up of unique grammatical rules but as fluid. Translanguaging 'does not refer to two separate languages nor to a synthesis of different language practices or to a hybrid mixture' (García and Wei 2014, p21) but rather to a new conceptualisation of language use and language practices amongst bilinguals.

Proponents of translanguaging (Lewis, Jones and Baker 2012, Wei 2011) do not suggest that it takes over completely from the concept of CS, but that while CS is a tool through which bilingual speech can be analysed through the separation of two languages, translanguaging provides a sociolinguistic ideology which celebrates the fluidity of language use. Adamson and Fujimoto-Adamson (2012, p609) define CS as the alternation between two languages, whereas translanguaging is a process which uses CS 'in a pedagogical approach to negotiate meaning in classroom settings'. That this definition places translanguaging solely within the classroom is likely due to the term originating within studies of bilingual education and the early associations of the term as a pedagogic resource. However, translanguaging can be used outwith the classroom and is a 'social

practice that is part and parcel of everyday social life' (Lin 2013, p196) and is a 'natural skill for any bilingual individual' (Williams 2002, p29). A key difference between translanguaging and CS is ideological 'in that codeswitching has associations with language separation while translanguaging celebrates and approves flexibility in language' (Lewis, Jones and Baker, p659) and 'languages are not placed in a hierarchy according to whether they have more or less power' (García 2009, p78). The key differences between translanguaging and CS, and the different approaches towards translanguaging will now be discussed in Section 3.2.2. Following this the role which translanguaging and CS can have in education will be explored (Section 3.3), with a focus on the potential use of translanguaging in higher education (Section 3.3.1). Section 3.3.2 will provide an overview of previous research conducted into language use in African universities. This chapter will conclude by highlighting the ways in which CS and translanguaging have been adopted in Africa (Section 3.3.3).

3.2.2 Translanguaging vs. codeswitching

Opinion differs as to whether translanguaging and CS can be considered compatible. Jonsson (2017, p29) notes that 'translanguaging has been criticized' as 'being "just another term" for codeswitching'. While Wei (2017, p19) suggests that 'translanguaging has never intended to replace codeswitching or any other term' the epistemological orientation of translanguaging does, for some, fundamentally challenge 'the code view of language' (see Makalela 2014, Makalela 2015, also Slotte and Anlholm 2017). Other scholars view translanguaging broadly as the dynamic creative use of language by multilingual speakers and consider translation, borrowing and CS to be instances of translanguaging (MacSwan 2017, p191) with Bagwasi (2017, p206) stating that pedagogically 'translanguaging involves the use of regulated or pedagogical codeswitching and translation'. The varying interpretations of translanguaging can be identified as either 'weak' or 'strong' translanguaging (García and Lin 2016). Weak translanguaging, which would also support a CS approach, 'supports national and state language boundaries and yet calls for softening these boundaries, supporting flexible instructional strategies in teaching additional languages' (García and Lin 2016, p126), while a strong approach would suggest that named languages are not what speakers use but instead individuals have a unique set of linguistic resources which they use to make meaning. The strong approach advocates for what Wei (2017) refers to as an idiolect – a unique linguistic repertoire for individual speakers and posits that the conceptualisation of

languages as separate entities is an ideological and social construct. Proponents of 'strong' translanguaging argue that 'languages do not exist as real entities in the world and neither do they emerge from or represent real environments; they are, by contrast, the inventions of social, cultural and political movements' (Makoni and Pennycook 2006, p2). In this strong version, CS is incompatible as multilingualism – the existence of which itself is questioned (MacSwan 2017) – does not involve speakers switching codes, switching from one language to another, but simply speaking their own idiolect, using their individual and unique linguistic resources to make meaning. Wei (2017, p11) suggests that CS is not able to fully analyse the speech of multilinguals as this assumes 'the existence of different languages' without incorporating an 'understanding of the sociopolitical context' in which multilinguals express themselves.

While CS is 'language centered and treats language systems as discrete units', translanguaging 'is speaker centered and assumes unitary language systems' (Makalela 2016a, p92). The difficulties of discussing multilingual language use in this way become apparent in the fact that, even if it is accepted that named languages do not exist as separate entities, the construction of these, however artificial and ideologically loaded, means that they do exist for speakers and they are important for individuals who can identify themselves as speakers of a particular language and, by extension members of a particular nation, region or tribe (Bagwasi 2017, p208).

MacSwan (2017, p175) disagrees with this conceptualisation of multilingual speech, drawing attention to the fact that while 'we each speak individual languages…our individual languages are remarkably similar to the individual languages used by members of our linguistic community (or communities).' He puts forward a perspective on translanguaging which focuses on multilingualism. This is a 'multilingual perspective on translanguaging' in which he acknowledges that, while translanguaging is a useful theoretical concept it does not necessitate the non-existence of discrete languages and CS. He views translanguaging as a useful way of encouraging the flexible and creative use of students' linguistic repertoires in classrooms but states that multilingualism is 'psychologically real, in the integrated sense, but also universal' (MacSwan 2017, p191) with CS again being considered an instance of translanguaging but also a tool for analysing and understanding multilingual speech. The main issue in these different views

of translanguaging is the ways in which multilinguals view their own speech. Wei (2017, p14) states 'there seems to be little point in asking what languages or varieties' multilinguals use as, in his view, they do not think of their speech in terms of different named languages. However, those who disagree with this 'strong' view of translanguaging do so because it is 'not a case of anything goes' (Plüddermann 2011, cited in Lafon 2013, p78) and that there are still rules which dictate the ways in which multilinguals use their language(s), rules which can be empirically investigated through a CS analysis.

Lafon (2013, p78, see also Lyons 2009) views translanguaging as an unhelpful, and potentially harmful concept as 'drawing lines between the various phenomena [i.e. languages] involved is often helpful, even if boundaries are, as is often the case in human sciences, tenuous'. In this view translanguaging could lead to the loss of African languages as a hybrid language practice may undermine the use of a standardised African language. Canagarajah (2011a) contests this viewpoint, taking translanguaging to be a means through which multilingual speakers can exhibit their complex and multifaceted identities. As will be further discussed in Section 3.3.3 translanguaging is relevant to the present study due to the influence which colonialism has had on the sociolinguistic situation in the Malawian, and African, context.

3.3 Multilingual language use in education

The use of CS within education policy is something which has rarely been seriously considered (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997). Much like CS generally, its use within the classroom environment has been viewed negatively, as something which would be detrimental to a child's education (see Martin-Jones 1995, Ferguson 2003). However, studies have shown that CS can be used as an effective pedagogic resource within the educational environment. CS has a number of useful functions within the bilingual classroom environment such as: aiding student participation and performance (Clegg and Afitska 2011, Viriri and Viriri 2013); clarification (Ferguson 2003, Uyes 2010, Chimbganda and Mokgwathi 2012); classroom management (Canagarajah 1995, Ferguson 2003); humanising the classroom environment and expressing a shared identity amongst staff and students (Ferguson 2003); and reiterating important information (Adendorff 1993). Despite the wide use of CS within bilingual classrooms and the wide

array of functions for which it is used, teachers are reported to maintain negative views towards it. Arthur (1996) highlights that, in Botswana, CS is used by teachers who will then reprimand its use amongst students. Arthur further finds that teachers will be 'ashamed to admit to its part in their classroom practice' (1996, p21). As this negative view of CS is the dominant viewpoint in regard to CS in education Ferguson (2009) suggests that it is essential to understand the, at times complex, attitudes of policy makers and teachers towards CS if changes to policy are to occur.

As stated above, translanguaging was first introduced in a pedagogical context and the majority of writing on translanguaging focuses on its benefits in the classroom. It can be used in the classroom to 'maximise understanding and performance' (Lewis, Jones and Baker, p658) and allows 'multilingual classrooms [to] become havens of fluid, unbounded and interdependent repertoires through which students make sense of the world and become who they need to become' (Makalela 2016a, p93). A translanguaging pedagogy allows teachers to make their classroom spaces 'translanguaging spaces' (Wei 2017) which remain 'linguistically real' (Langman 2014, p198) for their students which enables them to 'engage students' and make the classroom a space in which 'students' lives and concerns' are valued (*Ibid*). Translanguaging spaces are defined by Wei (2011, 2017) as spaces created for and by translanguaging. They are creative and transformative spaces in which individuals are able to fluidly (re)construct different identities and linguistic practices. Translanguaging spaces are not fixed, but fluid spaces which interact with the wider social spaces in which they are situated (Dewilde 2017, p58). Straszer (2017), in a study of a Finnish-language pre-school in Sweden has shown that teachers and students are able to create translanguaging spaces through the use of multimodal visual images in the 'translingual landscape'. Baker (2001, pp289-290, summarised in García and Lin 2016, p119) suggests that the potential educational advantages of translanguaging in education are as follows:

1. It may promote a deeper and fuller understanding of the subject matter
2. It may help development of the weaker language
3. It may facilitate home-school links and cooperation
4. It may help the integration of fluent speakers with early learners

Translanguaging, in this context, takes language to be a 'social resource' which can be used for learning, teaching and 'identity performance' (García and Lin 2016, p121). It offers an 'ideological and pedagogical shift for linguistic rights and social justice in education' (Paulsrud et al 2017, p17) and could form an integral part of inclusive, equitable, and quality education.

3.3.1 Universities

Despite, or perhaps due to, the growing trend for institutions of higher education to adopt an English-only medium of instruction policy (Dearden 2014), translanguaging has been found to occur in universities in a variety of countries worldwide (see Mazak and Carroll 2016). Although the majority of translanguaging in education research focuses on primary and secondary education there is a growing interest in translanguaging at tertiary level. Higher education is particularly well suited to translanguaging given the diverse and global nature of student and staff as well as curricula (Mazak 2016). As in other educational contexts, translanguaging can be used in higher education to enable students to achieve their learning goals (Madiba 2013, 2014, Daryai-Hansen, Barford and Schwarz 2016, He, Le and Lin 2016). It can also provide languages which are perceived to be less prestigious with an elevated status in the academic context (Mazak, Mendoza and Mangonéz 2016). Attitudes towards translanguaging vary within higher education as Groff (2016) illustrates that translanguaging in Indian universities is widespread and viewed as an acceptable and normal occurrence. However, in the United Arab Emirates (Carroll and van den Hoven 2016) and in the Basque Country (Doiz and Lasabaster 2016) the use of translanguaging is met with stigma and it is a practice which is actively discouraged. The use, and acceptance, of translanguaging in higher education is thus highly contextualised (Mazak 2016, p8) and dependant on the social, cultural, linguistic and pedagogical situation in individual institutions. Whether translanguaging is present, and permitted, in Malawian universities will thus be dependent on the specific context of each university environment.

As with CS, difficulties arise when attempting to adopt translanguaging within the classroom. A key issue is attitude as, while 'negative attitudes to bilingualism have waned' and 'translanguaging is gradually gaining acceptance in education' (Alimi and Matiki 2017, p202), this is mostly at the level of educational researchers or individual

teaching practitioners and is not yet fully embraced at an institutional level, in curriculum design and implementation, or in policy. This is due to a variety of factors including time constraints (Childs 2016) and perceived difficulties in assessing translanguaging (Canagarajah 2011a). It is also due to the new ways in which translanguaging invites individuals to conceptualise language (Childs 2016) and the burden of a 'monoglossic ideology' which 'value only monolingualism' (García and Torres-Guevara 2009, p182). This often results in individuals being unable to 'characterize their practices' or 'talk about their teaching aims and goals in terms of translanguaging' (Langman 2014, p196) as 'acts of translanguaging' are generally 'not elicited by teachers through conscious pedagogical strategies' (Canagarajah 2011b, p8). Canagarajah (*Ibid*) does note that adopting translanguaging within the classroom requires 'minimal pedagogical effort from teachers' but that more effort must be undertaken to develop resources and guidance for instructing teachers how to do so.

3.3.2 Language use in African universities

Research from studies of language use in African university contexts will now be discussed. Similar to studies of language use in African universities, while this research covers a range of national, cultural, and linguistic contexts, it may provide insight into the general trends which can be expected in Malawian universities. A key initial finding from previous research is that, as in Malawi (Kamwendo 2003), research has shown that African students do struggle with the use of English as a medium of instruction in Tanzania (Komba 2015), Botswana (Ntereke and Ramoroka 2017), South Sudan (Barnett, Deng and Yoasa 2008) and South Africa (Tshotsho, Mumbembe and Cekiso 2015). Ferguson (2013a, p37), referring to Kenya and South Africa, notes that these difficulties lead universities to establish additional communication skills support for first year students. As noted in section 1.3.6 such communication skills courses are implemented across universities in Malawi. Additionally, this can lead at times to multilingual language practices being utilised by students and staff to aid students in their comprehension.

A key concept when investigating patterns of language use, as will be seen in the studies discussed below, is domains of language use. The concept of domain was introduced by Fishman (1965, p231) who suggests that 'domains are defined…in terms of institutional contexts or socio-ecological occurrences' and 'they attempt to designate the major clusters

of interaction situations that occur in particular multilingual settings'. Domains are distinct clusters which are varied in such a way as may affect the language use within them. In this study, drawing on Fishman, two main domains are investigated, academic domains and social domains. Domains can be affected by a number of factors, of which Fishman (1965) suggests interlocutors, place, and topic as being particularly influential (see also Ljosland 2014). In Malawi, Kayambazinthu (2000) has shown that interlocutors, setting, topic and linguistic competency are influential in determining language choice across different domains. Similarly, linguistic proficiency has been found to be a factor in affecting language choice amongst students in Nigerian universities (Stell and Dragojevic 2016) and Norwegian universities (Ljosland 2014).

A key concept related to the notion of domains is the concept of diglossia (Fishman 1968). A diglossic view of language use is one in which languages are hierarchically separated 'with each having its own functionally exclusive domain' (Fishman 1968, p45). In the African context, this would materialise as languages with high prestige such as English, being viewed as the language of prestigious domains (e.g. education, politics) and African languages, with less prestige, would be used in less prestigious domains (such as in the home). The concept of diglossia however, is 'increasingly…called into question' as this functional exclusivity and separation of language into specific domains is not the case in reality (García 2009, p78). Instead, García (2009, p79, see also García 2014) suggests the concept of transglossia in which languages are not separated into specific functions but exist instead in a 'functional interrelationship'. Instead of positioning languages in a hierarchal relationship as functional in separate domains, transglossia forefronts the 'already mixed language worlds' of individuals and their integrated meaning-making resources (Dovchin, Pennycook and Sultana 2018, p30). Dovchin, Pennycook and Sultana (2018) base their formulation of transglossia on Bahtkin's (1981, 1986) notion of heteroglossia which suggests that named, or unitary, languages in fact consist of varieties which differ both formally and socio-ideologically (Bahtkin 1981, pp271-272). As such, Dovchin, Pennycook and Sultana (2018, pp32-36) further position transglossia as a way to view language which goes beyond the formal and systematic structure of language, taking into account the social, cultural and political context and history of language. In a transglossic approach then individuals are able to transcend both the boundaries of separate named languages and the boundaries of separate domains in which those languages are used. Again, referring to Fishman's concept of a diglossia, 'translanguaging calls the

concept of diglossia into question as: unlike diglossia, languages are no longer assigned separate territories or even separate functions, but they may co-exist in the same space' (García 2009, p78). Transglossia thus relates more closely to translanguaging (see Section 3.2) and the notion of translanguaging spaces (see above in Section 3.3) and these concepts will be used to analyse and understand the ways in which language is used in Malawian universities.

In Morocco, Chakrani and Huang (2014) find that setting and interlocutors have a significant influence on the choice of language used by students. The use of French is most prevalent within the class and when interacting with staff while the use of Moroccan Arabic is more prevalent outside of the class and when interacting with friends. They find that students will codeswitch when interacting with friends however the use of codeswitching is minimal in class and when interacting with staff. They suggest that students conform to a strict monolingual French-only policy when in classes which is illustrative of the hegemonic role which French has in the Moroccan education system while local languages are viewed as inadequate. Kalmanlehto (2014) investigates students' language use patterns in Tanzania, finding that the dominant pattern is that English is the language of the classroom and Kiswahili is the language outside of the class. However, 'code mixing' can also occur across domains. Also in Tanzania, Halvorsen (2010) finds that students will use both English and Kiswahili when engaging in ICT activities at university. Similarly, Njurai (2015) has shown that mathematics students in Kenya will make use of their multilingual repertoires when engaging in mathematics tasks. Njurai finds that practices vary between students. Some students would only use English during the task as they found the instructions simple to understand and were used to being taught in, and using, English when engaging with mathematics. Other students use their multilingual repertoires to assist in the comprehension and interpretation of the tasks. In Rwanda, Marie (2013) finds that students in universities engage in coping strategies to enable them to negotiate English-medium instruction. These coping strategies involve the use of codeswitching and translanguaging when working on academic tasks in groups. Additionally, Kinyirwanda is used as a common language amongst students with different linguistic repertoires.

In South Africa, Dominic (2011) finds that in classroom environments English is in 'complete dominance' over African languages. Dominic does however find that when students are engaged in academic work together they will codeswitch if necessary to aid their comprehension. He also suggests that, due to the multiple linguistic repertoires amongst students, codeswitching frequently occurs in informal contexts. The dominance of English in South Africa has also been noted by the South African Department of Higher Education and Training (2015). This dominance of English is also noted by Bayiga (2016) investigating students in Uganda, who finds that English dominates linguistic practices amongst student groups. This is due to the status that English affords students as it differentiates them from those who are not university educated. It is also in line with the expectations which society has regarding how university students should speak. While this is the case Bayiga also notes that translanguaging and codeswitching will occur across domains but more commonly in informal social contexts.

Irakoze (2015) has investigated language practices in two universities in Burundi. Irakoze finds that French and English are the main languages used in formal classroom contexts and when interacting with lecturers outside of the class. This is true even at one university in which there is a monolingual French-only MOI. Kurundi is at times heard within classes as students will codeswitch when they seek to express solidarity with a lecturer (i.e. when explaining an absence). Kirundi-French codeswitching is the norm for students communicating with one another in classroom settings and is used as a means of performing student identity. Additionally, Irakoze notes that, at one university, it is rare that Kirundi will be used monolingually but that codeswitching will be the norm. Wills et al (2014) find that university lecturers teaching in Maths and Science will teach predominately in French while acknowledging that only one third of their classes could fully understand the language and would minimally use Malagasy to clarify concepts for students. Kouega (2008), reporting on language use at a university in Cameroon, has found that it is notable due to the absence of any African language in the university context studied. French is the dominant language within the university; however, some courses are taught in English. Kouega does not report the presence of any multilingual language practices in the university context. Ould Amed (2012) finds that the majority of students interviewed at Nouakchott University in Mauritania consider the university to be a bilingual community and that all signage, examinations, formal meetings and student union

meetings and newspapers as all produced in both Arabic and French. Ould Amed suggests that codeswitching does occur in the university.

In terms of non-standard language varieties being used within universities, Orekan (2010) reports that Nigerian Pidgin English is gradually increasing in usage on university campuses. Rizk (2007) reports that university students in Cairo exhibit differing attitudes towards their use of a 'youth language'. Students in prestigious degree courses, with high social capital, feel positive towards their youth language use whereas those in less prestigious courses exhibit negative attitudes towards it. That non-standard language varieties are used within universities reflects findings discussed in Section 1.3.3 regarding Chibrazi, a 'new language' found in university campuses, and elsewhere, in Malawi.

This section has presented findings from previous research into language use in African universities. To summarise, there is a general pattern of language use in which English, or European languages, are the dominant languages used in formal domains. However, it has also been shown that students and staff will draw on their multilingual resources to scaffold learning within academic domains and to assist in the completion of academic tasks.

3.3.3 Codeswitching and translanguaging in Africa

The reality for the majority of African countries is that their language-in-education policies are not effectively followed in practice. Part of the reason for this is that there is a lack of written resources in local languages (Schmied 1991) and poor teacher training is commonplace (i.e. teachers are unable to teach in the prescribed MOI). Additionally, there is often strong pressure from parents to teach in European languages (see Zsiga, Boyer and Kramer 2014). The reality of language use within African education which results from this is that CS is highly prevalent (Ferguson 2003, Heugh 2013).

In Kenya, Kiramba (2014) notes that because an English-only MOI cannot be effectively enforced, pupils and teachers must adopt a CS MOI. Mati (2004, p5) highlights the difficult position in which teachers in South Africa find themselves as 'CS practices are

not only inevitable but also necessary in schools where English is being learned at the same time as it is being used' as the MOI, to ensure effective learning. However, teachers must negotiate using CS practices while also ensuring they 'deal with the popular demand for access to English' (Mati 2004, p6). Mati also highlights that language-in-education policies are routinely not followed in South Africa and the MOI used within schools will be highly dependent on pressures from the local communities. This means that the education experience and level of potential educational achievement for students will be dependent on the particular school they attend. While Mati (2004, p14) suggests that the use of CS within African education may have a negative effect as students do 'not have access to the possibility of normal cognitive and academic development in either L1 or L2', he concludes that CS 'does help in learning' (p21) and that, while it is not official policy, it is embedded in teaching practices in South Africa and can be used strategically to learners' advantage. Also in South Africa, van der Walt and Mabule (2001) suggest that CS between English and African languages may at times be detrimental to students' learning as it is used unofficially, and that this also implies that the African languages are not 'developed' enough to be used as the sole MOI. Rose and van Dulm (2006, p12) disagree, asserting the 'codeswitching may be used as a communicative tool by both teachers and learners in multilingual classrooms, and that it ought not to be regarded as either detrimental to the academic enterprise, or as socially unacceptable'. While the above studies refer to either primary or secondary education, van der Walt and Hibbert (2014, p204) note that despite the fact that African languages 'were never intended for use in higher function such as higher education', CS is also prevalent at the university level. A key issue in the use of CS within African education is that it is, most often, used in contradiction to the official language-in-education policy.

While studies have highlighted that CS can be used effectively within a bi/multi-lingual educational context and although CS is 'a widespread phenomenon, playing a crucial role in the interactions taking place in the classroom, it does not receive official recognition' (Ndayipfukamiye 1994, p91). Adendorff (1993) and Vorster (2008) argue that for CS to be applied effectively requires the development of appropriate resources, curricula, pedagogies and teacher training in how to apply CS within the classroom environment. As CS is a phenomenon which 'multilingual speakers have available to them without it having been explicitly taught', it adds another dimension to the 'complex issue of language choice' within African education (Ncoko, Osman and Cockcroft 2000, p239).

Lin (2013) states that a problem with a substantial portion of research into CS within education is that it is descriptive in nature. A major goal of CS classroom-based research is to provide evidence that CS is a legitimate practice and highlight the functions that CS has within education. As a result of this 'legitimating mission', studies 'tend not to be too critical of existing practices' and so 'stop short of pointing ways forward for analysing how codeswitching practices can be further improved to achieve better pedagogical…purposes' (Lin 2013, p14). This then hinders the ability for CS to be considered as a viable MOI. For CS to be considered an attractive option for a language-in-education policy within Africa, a number of actions must be taken: more research into the current disparity between policy and practice in African education institutions, highlighting the already widespread use of CS; efforts to reduce perceptions of African languages as inferior and unsuitable for educational purposes; and development of resources which would aid the use of CS within education.

Given the widespread nature of multilingual communication in Africa amongst individuals, communities, regions and states across the continent, this 'evidently presents a case for use of translingual communication that blurs boundaries between languages' (Makalela 2016b, p187). The adoption of a theory of language based around translanguaging can be seen as a reaction against colonialism and coloniality (McKinney 2017). Prior to colonisation, Canagarajah (2011b, p3) suggests that there is 'evidence that translanguaging has been practiced in pre-colonial communities' as the diversity of languages between neighbouring villages and tribal groups made it necessary to 'adopt translanguaging in contact situations'.

Translanguaging is perhaps particularly well suited to the African context due to the influence which colonialism had on the sociolinguistic situation in the continent. Two key consequences of colonialism are 1) the introduction of a 'monolingual bias' (Makalela 2016b, p187) stemming from the 19th century European conceptualisation of language as 'discrete and separate entities' (Childs 2016, p35) and 2) the arbitrary division of Africa into separate nation states without consideration of tribal and ethnolinguistic groups (Makalela 2016b). Regarding the former, it has been claimed that the notion of a standard language in many parts of the Global South, Africa included, is a 'reflex of colonialism'

(Lüpke 2015, p3) and, prior to colonisation, Africa was 'a continent without languages' (Samarin 1996, cited in Makoni and Pennycook 2006, p14) in the sense that communication occurred not through the medium of a discrete, named language but 'rather in terms of stylistic inventories…where people ostensibly from different 'language backgrounds'' communicate (Makoni and Pennycook 2006, p14).

Regarding the former key consequence of colonialism stated above, the creation of arbitrary boundaries in the form of African nations, this resulted in the imposition of 'essentialist identities and strict boundaries' on diverse and heterogeneous groups (Lüpke 2017, p277). One result of this is that distinct, named languages exist to describe 'hitherto identical or related languages' thus reducing the number of speakers of these named languages which enhances the 'dominance of the imported official language' and results in division between difference groups (Bamgbose 2011, p2). This also resulted in the introduction of European concepts such as national language, mother tongue and first/second language and the 'invention of miscellaneous concepts such as Anglophone, Francophone, and Lusophone Africa' all of which do not reflect the multilingual language practices of communities in Africa and 'are not accurate description[s] of Africa's sociolinguistic compositions' (Makalela 2016b, p189).

This results in what Heugh (2015, p281) describes as a 'tension' between views of language emerging from Europe as 'hermetically sealed entities' and the 'more fluid use of language in multilingual settings in Africa'. To address this tension Makalela (2016b, p190) introduces the concept of 'Ubuntu translanguaging' which can 'account for complex translingual discourse practices' in Africa and which can challenge 'language understandings from the Global North' and reflect the 'sinuous understanding and use of language that developed in Africa' (Childs 2016, p35). Adopting a translanguaging lens in Africa allows the fact that language boundaries are ideologically constructed to come to the fore and that language use and language rules are 'socially, politically or historically determined' becomes key to understand the sociolinguistic context of communities and institutions in Africa (Bagwasi 2017, p205).

There are increasing calls for reflection on the way in which language policies are framed as current policies are 'rooted in notions of language as homogenous, standardised,

codified entities with clear boundaries' (Erling, Adinolfi and Hultgren 2017, p142) which is not necessarily appropriate to multilingual communities. The conceptualisation of language is seen by Makoni and Mashiri (2006, p63) to be one of the main causes in the failure of language planning and language policies in Africa. Further, a monoglossic conceptualisation of language is considered by some to be a product of coloniality (McKinney 2017, see also Makoe and McKinney 2014). Integrating translanguaging concepts into language planning and language policies could have a positive impact on education in Africa as it would more accurately reflect the linguistic practices of individuals in the education system, encourage a positive attitude towards multilingualism, and challenge the dominance of former colonial languages in Africa (Early and Norton 2014, Makoe and McKinney 2014, Makalela 2016a, 2016b, Bagwasi 2017). Adopting a translanguaging approach to policy would 'take into account language-as-resource or more accurately, the whole linguistic repertoire as a resource' (Gorter and Cenoz 2017, p239). Noboda (2010) has suggested that the long-term use of translanguaging would help to facilitate learning at the University of Cape Town. The use of translanguaging has been noted to be a common method of communication for multilinguals (Lopez, Turkan and Guzman-Orth 2017). Indeed, Makalela (2013, p121) suggests that from a multilingual speakers' point of view, the way in which they use language corresponds more to a translanguaging view of language use than to codeswitching while Mazak (2016) states that translanguaging is a view of language use which is based on the lived experience of bilinguals.

While recognising that CS can also be a legitimate and useful tool to analyse language use (see Wei 2018), this study adopts a translanguaging view of language. The view taken in this study is that translanguaging and CS are epistemologically different, that CS refers to the shifting between two or more separate, distinct languages while translanguaging focuses on the integrated linguistic repertoires of speakers and challenges the boundaries between named languages. Additionally, CS offers a language-centred approach while translanguaging offers a speaker-centred approach focusing on the process through which individuals make meaning and creatively use their linguistic resources to perform various functions and identities. Translanguaging is transformative and challenges traditional, often Eurocentric, views of language. Translanguaging has been shown to be a useful pedagogical approach and evaluating Malawian universities as translanguaging spaces provides a useful conceptual tool for analysing language use within them. Additionally,

taking a translanguaging approach in the African context, as discussed above, can offer an opportunity to decolonise language planning and language policy, challenging Western, colonial perspectives on multilingual language use. Additionally, translanguaging allows 'fixed language identities' which are 'constrained by nation-states' to be explored and transformed, highlighting the ways in which linguistic resources with specific historical and national associations can be used in new ways (Creese 2017, p8). When analysing language use in Malawian universities this allows for a perspective which acknowledges: the linguistic ecology in Malawi (see Section 1.3.3); the history of language planning in the country (see Sections 1.3.4 and 1.3.5); the role which colonial languages have in African language policies (see Section 2.2); and the global role of English (see Section 3.1.2). While acknowledging these factors translanguaging also allows a perspective for understanding the creative and flexible ways in which individuals can make use of their linguistic resources, which challenges and transcends their historical baggage, to perform their identities and make sense of the world as Malawians in the 21st century. Translanguaging, as used in this study, refers to a theoretical orientation towards language use which blurs the lines between language boundaries, takes multilingualism as the norm, and views speakers as possessing linguistic repertoires which consist of linguistic resources drawn from sources which could be identified as traditionally named languages but which exist as an integrated system.

This chapter has illustrated a number of key concepts and research which will inform the analysis of language use and language attitudes in this study. It has reviewed previous research surrounding language use and language attitudes in African universities. General trends which have been identified are that English is viewed positively as a MOI in universities due to the instrumental benefits which it is perceived to have while African languages are viewed negatively. Positive attitudes towards African languages are mainly due to their integrative functions as important markers of solidarity and identity. Regarding language use, it is common that English is the dominant language within the academic domain of universities however CS and translanguaging have been found to occur in academic domains.

The changes within bilingualism and language contact studies have been discussed and shown that the concepts surrounding how bilinguals can use two languages

interchangeably has changed drastically over the last 60 years. Originally researchers were concerned with the concept of borrowing from one language to another and skeptical of the ability of bilinguals to effectively interchange between two languages as a communicative resource. However, recent theories have been proposed to consider bilingual speech as being a legitimate language variety in its own right. Negative attitudes towards CS and translanguaging have been present throughout research on the topic and, while academic discourse has moved away from this prescriptivist stance, public perceptions towards CS and translanguaging remain largely negative both generally and within educational environments.

The advantages and limitations of using CS and translanguaging in educational contexts have been discussed. Building on the previous chapter's discussion of various approaches to language planning, it has been shown that there is a changing perception of the usefulness of adopting language policies which more directly take into account the multilingual reality of the contexts in which they are to be adopted. As noted above this study adopts a translanguaging view of language as, particularly within the African context, translanguaging can provide a useful theoretical stance which celebrates and utilises the fluid and multi-layered linguistic repertoires which individuals possess. The research discussed in this section will inform the answers to Research Questions 1, 2 and 3 of this study, namely:

1) *What are the patterns of language use amongst students and staff within the domain of tertiary education in Malawi?*

2) *What factors lie behind the patterns of language use?*

3) *What are the attitudes of students and staff towards the suitability of various languages as MOI in tertiary education in Malawi?*

The next chapter will discuss the methodological approach taken in this study.

Chapter 4:   Methodology

4.1 Linguistic ethnography

The methodology of this study is ethnographic in nature and consists of four data collection methods: participant observation; participant recording; interviews; and focus groups. During the fieldwork period in 2016, I spent four months living in Malawi and working with the communities that I was researching. An ethnographic approach is taken as this allows for an in-depth study of the particular institution – in this case the universities in Malawi. Copland and Creese (2015, p14) state:

> Linguistic ethnography is an interpretive approach which studies the local and immediate actions of actors from their point of view and considers how these interactions are embedded in wider social contexts and structures

Ethnographies can be used to investigate how individuals in a given situation or institution use language to navigate their experiences within the situation or institution. An ethnographic approach therefore provides detail and insight into the lived experiences of the individuals under study. The 'ideological shift from defining languages as bounded/separate entities' towards an awareness of translanguaging and the multilingual use of languages presents a complicated scenario which an ethnographic approach can begin to make sense of (Pérez-Milan 2015a, p5, see Section 3.3 for discussion on translanguaging).

Unamuno (2014, p413) states that the 'the study of multilingualism in institutional settings needs to be carried out from an ethnographic perspective' as this enables the relationship between the localised interactions between individuals and wider historical and political contexts to be studied. The interaction of individuals within Malawian universities is 'situated in social knowledge and mediated by cultural ideologies' (Copland and Creese 2015, p1). For this study, then, an ethnographic approach allows for an understanding of the specific patterns of language use within the local context of the university environment but also provides insight into how these patterns relate to wider social issues and 'larger

historical, political and socio-economic configurations' (Pérez-Milan 2015b, p103) which face university students and staff, such as post-colonialism (Heller and Martin-Jones 2001) and globalisation (Pérez-Milan 2015b). An ethnographic methodology then allows for an in-depth investigation into patterns of language use and language attitudes in Malawian universities. This will directly allow Research Questions 1 and 2 on language use and factors influencing it, and Research Question 3 on individuals' attitudes to be answered. It will also provide detailed information which will inform Research Question 4 on suggestions for language policy in Malawi, based on the language use and language attitudes which are found.

The methods adopted are largely qualitative in nature, however the data produced lend themselves to quantification. This allows generalisations to be made regarding the linguistic landscape of universities while also providing a thick description of the university context (Creswell and Clark 2011). Adopting four distinct but complementary methods allows for a triangulation of data collection which strengthens the quality of data collected and the resulting analyses (Dörnyei 2007, Starfield 2015).

4.1.1 Triangulation of methods

The methods for data collection which were chosen in this study provide an integrated approach to studying the sociolinguistic context of Malawian universities. Concerning language use the data collection methods can largely be split into two broad categories: those which deal with 'actual' language use and those which deal with 'reported' language use. Participant observation and participant recording provide insight into the actual language practices of individuals in the university space. Interviews and focus groups provide insight into individuals' reported language use. The integration of these methods can provide a more detailed and more nuanced analysis of language use within the universities. The data which are collected during the observation and recording stages can be used as discussion points in the interviews and focus groups. A comparison can be made and if the actual language use and reported language differ the reasons for this can be explored and interrogated during interviews and focus groups, which provides a deeper layer of analytic data. Concerning language attitudes, the data can present both covert and overt language attitudes. The participant observation and recording can provide unprompted examples of both types of language attitudes while the interviews and focus

groups can elicit examples of both types by prompting participants with particular types of question.

The participant observation and recordings allow me to develop an understanding of the context of the university which I am then able to discuss with the participants. This allows me to show an awareness of the students' university lives and not remain a complete outsider which can result in a higher quality of interview. The data obtained during these periods provides me with a legitimate foundation on which to frame questions during the interview – to be able to ask about real-life instances that have been observed and to allow interview participants to compare these instances with their own experience. Further, the interviews and focus groups allow an opportunity to explore any attitudes which were observed in the observation period. This allows myself and participants an opportunity to explore my outsider perspective of the sociolinguistic context of the university and we can together co-construct an insider understanding of this context.

The data provided by each of these methods also act to complement one another. The data provided in the interviews and focus groups can help to explain the behaviour observed and recorded in the observation and recording segments. The data from the latter can also be used to illustrate the opinions and attitudes expressed in the former. Each data collection method then produces data which should not be viewed in isolation but is instead part of the overall integrated linguistic ethnographic approach. Basit (2003, p145) notes that '[q]ualitative data analysis is not a discrete procedure carried out at the final stages of research' and, as such, each stage of the data collection process builds on previous stages as the researcher seeks to understand the context under study. The remainder of this chapter will discuss: participants; equipment and data storage; ethical issues; and each data collection method in turn.

4.1.2 Participants

The sites in which the research was conducted were Chancellor College (CHANCO), the College of Medicine (COM), Kamuzu College of Nursing (KCN), the Polytechnic (POLY),[4] Lilongwe University of Agriculture and Natural Resources, the Malawi University of Science and Technology (MUST), Mzuzu University (MZUNI), and Blantyre International University (BIU). Figure 2 indicates where these universities are located in Malawi. As these universities have particular specialities (e.g. medicine, nursing, science, agriculture) this allows for a comparison of language use and attitudes across a range of disciplines. These universities are also found in different regions of Malawi, which allows for a nationwide picture to emerge. Participant observation and participant recording were conducted at the same institution. Due to the small size of university institutions I have omitted full details for the purposes of participant confidentiality. Staff, in particular, could potentially be identified and, given that the language practices in which they are engaged are potentially stigmatised, omitting these details is necessary. Participant observation, including classroom observation, and participant recording were conducted only at one institution while other sites were used for the majority of interviewing and focus groups. All student participants were undergraduate students within the universities, selected to represent a range of degree subjects, degree years, ethnic backgrounds, ages and genders. Additionally, academic and administrative staff in each university took part in the research. Research was conducted between August and November 2016.

---

[4] At the time of writing, these are the four constituent colleges of the University of Malawi (UNIMA).

University sites

Northern Region
📍 Mzuzu University

Central Region
📍 Kamuzu College Of Nursing
📍 Lilongwe University of Agriculture and Natural Resources

Southern Region
📍 Blantyre International University
📍 College of Medicine
📍 Chancellor College
📍 The Malawi Polytechnic
📍 Malawi University of Science and Technology
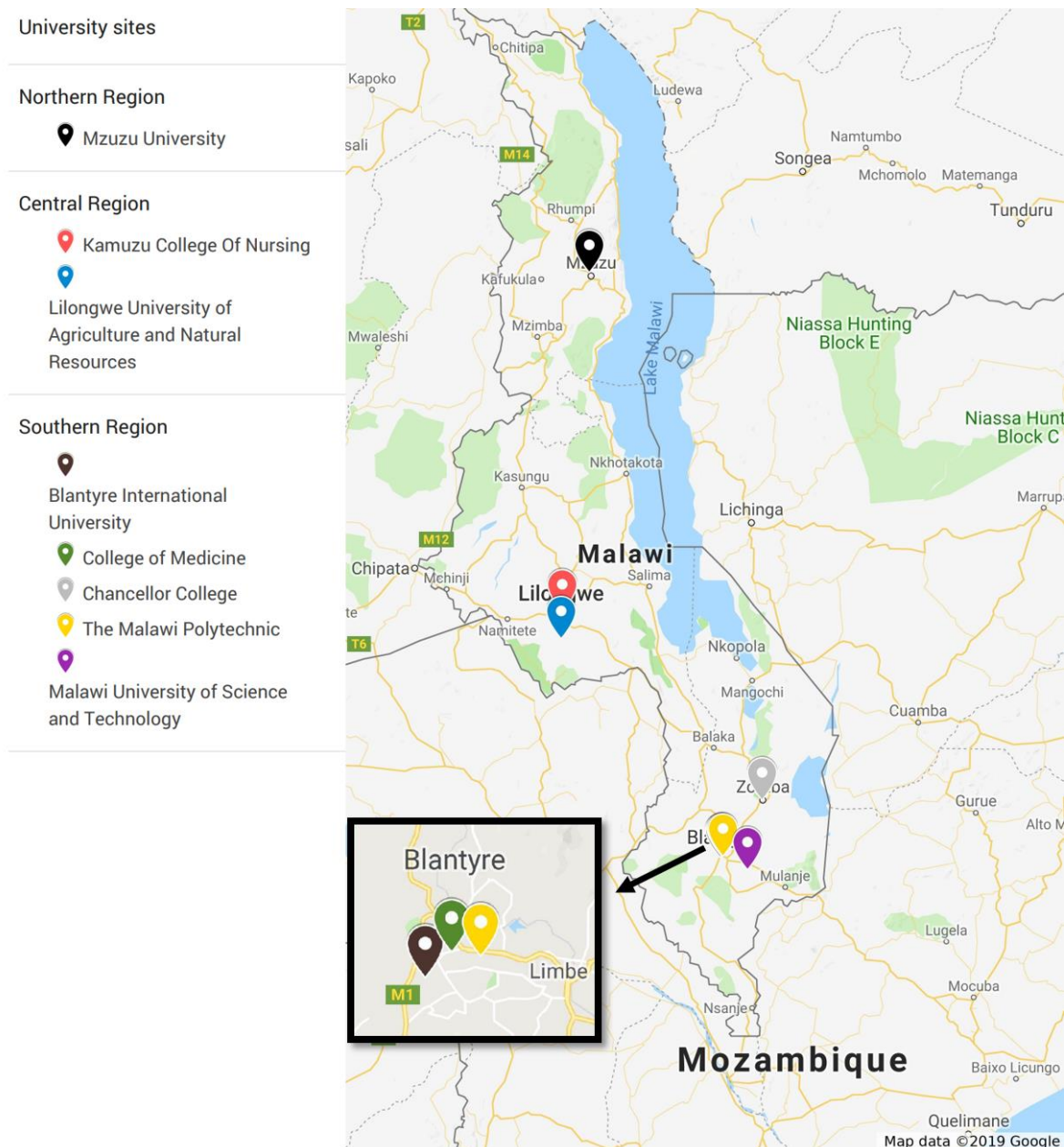
Figure 2. Map of university research sites

4.1.3 Equipment and data storage

For participant recording, HccToo Dictaphone recorders were used, with Sony ECMCS3 lapel microphones. Recordings of interviews and focus groups used two Dictaphones (one main and one backup). Immediately after each data collection session, audio recordings were transferred to a laptop computer and multiple copies then transferred onto hard drives. Ideally, all files would have been uploaded to a cloud storage system; however, bandwidth in Malawi was not adequate to deal with large files. This was addressed by ensuring multiple back-ups of all data were made. Transcriptions of audio files were then made as these 'provide a permanent and readily-accessible record of spoken language and

91

they can allow you to look at this in considerable detail' (Swann 1994, p39). Transcripts were securely stored. A hard copy of all field notes was created and both hard and soft copies stored securely.

4.1.4 General ethical issues

Ethical approval to conduct this research was given by the College of Arts Ethics Committee at the University of Glasgow. The main ethical issues present will be discussed below, with particular ethical issues pertaining to specific methods discussed alongside that method.

4.1.5 Confidentiality and anonymity

Participants were fully anonymised and not identifiable in any way in the research. Pseudonyms were employed in the data transcription phase to protect the identity of the participants. Limited information about participants is used when reporting, but only that which will not make them identifiable (e.g. a specific job title for a member of university staff). The research sites (i.e. specific universities) are referred to as the student population is large enough for basic characteristics to be mentioned without identifying the participant. All interview data were treated as confidential and all personal information and audio files were viewed only by myself. Anonymised transcriptions of audio data could potentially be viewed by my supervisors and examiners – participants were made aware of this. Data were stored on a password protected laptop and secure cloud storage with pseudonyms used in file names to ensure anonymity. Issues of confidentiality could potentially arise with participant recordings - as individuals could be identified from the voices. However, this was not an issue as audio recordings were heard only by myself.

4.1.6 Consent

Where appropriate, participants were provided with information consent sheets. For all data collection methods participants were adequately informed of the research process (i.e. what they were expected to do). The majority of participants were asked to sign a declaration stating that they agreed to take part. Where it was not possible to present participants with consent sheets (i.e. during participant observation), they were fully

briefed on the information contained within the consent sheets and asked to give their verbal consent.

The other main issue of consent is that the particular focus of the research could not be revealed to participants initially, as it may have caused them to alter their behaviour, negatively affecting the data obtained. This was dealt with by telling participants broadly what the research was about. For example, participants were told that I was researching language use within Malawian universities. This was broad enough to contain the particular research interest without being deceitful towards participants while also not affecting the research goals. Participants were subsequently informed of this particular focus. If the participants were unwilling to have their data used, it was discarded. This is the procedure suggested by the British Association for Applied Linguistics (2006).

4.1.7 Harm to participants

Dörnyei (2007, p67) states:

> The primary principle of research ethics is that no mental or physical harm should come to the respondents as a result of their participation in the investigation.

To ensure no harm came to participants, all data collection took place in safe, secure sites on individual university campuses. The topics being researched were not particularly sensitive topics but participants were able to pull out of the study at any point and were not made to participate in anything which made them uncomfortable, nor answer any questions which they did not want to. Due to the nature of the university, it was possible that some potential participants would have been under 18 and so in a 'vulnerable group'. To avoid the ethical issues of researching 'vulnerable groups', care was taken to screen participants beforehand, to ensure under 18s did not take part. Despite this, during 2 interviews, it became apparent that the participants were under 18. These interviews were discarded and have not been used in this thesis.

4.2 Participant observation

This method consisted of auditing lectures and seminars for a range of courses at one university as well as participating in social activities with students. This focused participant observation took place over a period of four weeks at one institution however observation and recording of fieldnotes continued across all campuses.

The purpose of participant observation was twofold: to collect data concerning student and staff use of translanguaging and to note any covert or overt portrayals of language attitudes amongst students or staff. Participant observation was conducted as it 'allows researchers to see directly what people do without having to rely on what they say they do' (Dörnyei 2007, p185). Participant observation provides access to environments in which translanguaging naturally takes place while allowing the researcher the opportunity to 'describe in detail those conditions under which' particular languages practices, such as translanguaging, take place, 'conditions which other participants are not consciously aware of and would be unable to report (Muñoz 1983, p8). It allows for a detailed exploration of the 'hows and whys of human behaviour in a particular context' (Guest, Namey and Mitchell 2013, p75), in this case providing insight into participants' language behaviours within the university. Thus, language use patterns which students and staff would not be consciously aware of, and so are unable to report, were revealed. Fundamentally, participant observation also provided an opportunity to confirm that translanguaging practices where present in the university and allowed initial conclusions to be drawn regarding how they are used and how they are viewed, which could further be explored in the interview and focus group sessions.

An observation scheme was constructed to record instances of specific language use patterns. Swann (1994, p37) states that:

> [O]bservation schedules are often used by those who wish to investigate talk in different contexts – for instance whether certain activities, or certain classroom arrangements, encourage a more even distribution of talk, or different types of talk.

In this study an observation schedule was used to record instances of translanguaging, namely when translanguaging took place and the apparent purpose or the use of translanguaging. So as to not affect the observation, it was only practical to use the scheme during academic-based situations, in which note taking would not be considered unusual. By recording the instances of translanguaging in classes this enabled a 'comparison to be made between talk produced by different speakers [e.g. students or lecturers] or in different contexts [e.g. lectures or seminars]' (Swann 1994, p29) and was useful for investigating how often speakers make use of translanguaging (*Ibid*). While the schedule was used to quantitatively note instances of translanguaging for numerical comparison and helped to structure the observation (Swann 1994, p33) additional commentary was also made on any observations on the use of translanguaging or general observations of the academic environment. For other non-academic observation sessions, notes were taken immediately after the session.

While Swann (1994) suggests that the presence of the researcher will have an effect on the interactions which occur in the classroom, this was addressed by conducting the observation over a period of four weeks. This has the effect of desensitizing the participants to my presence to the extent that they eventually 'disregard the observer's presence' (Perry 2005, p122). The extended period of observation then enabled me to become someone whom the students could act naturally in front of (Guest, Namey and Mitchell 2013, p76). This subsequently reveals the aspects of language use which 'are taken for granted' and 'happen below the level of conscious thought' (*Ibid*).

Participant observation can take a variety of forms, at either extreme being full participation or nonparticipation/full observation. A form between the two – partial-participation – was employed here. The benefits of adopting a partial-participation approach are: it provides access to more covert attitudes and opinions which may not be accessed via nonparticipation; it provides more accurate data as the participant will feel 'closer' to the observer; it is not deceptive; and by not participating fully, more objectivity is maintained (Perry 2005).

There are limitations and issues inherent in using participant observation. A major one is considering how my own 'gender... [and] ethnicity...may affect observation' (Kawulich

2005, p16). While the goal of the participant observation is for participants to act as they would without the researcher present, my ethnicity may have acted as a reminder that I am not a member of the groups under study but clearly an outsider. This was addressed by initially promoting my identity, not as a Western researcher, but as a fellow student seeking to learn. This addressed any potential power imbalances and actively promoted a common shared experience between myself and participants, and so partially overcame obvious differences between us and reduced my position as an 'outsider' (Levon 2013, p74). To address these limitations, other methods were employed (see Section 4.3 Participant Recording) which removed me from the research context.

Consent to audit courses was obtained from staff prior to arrival in Malawi. After discussion with the Senior Management of the university on what courses it would be possible and suitable to audit, I then began to attend classes. At the initial observation session, a member of Senior Management would introduce me to each lecturer, we would explain my research and gain consent to observe the class. I would then explain my presence in the class to students. For non-academic observations, I reminded participants that I was acting as a participant-observer and may make notes on the interaction. For observations verbal consent was obtained. This was done so as not to formalise the situation and because it was impractical to obtain written consent in every instance, as it would have been unproductive to disrupt academic classes and social interactions. If consent was not obtained I did not audit classes; however, I still took part in social activities but did not make notes on the situation. It was felt that these social situations were still useful instances for building rapport with students for subsequent data collection and to refuse to take part in social situations unless I was actively researching them could damage my relationship with potential participants.

4.2.1 Data

The output from the participant observation was in the form of field notes and images. Field notes hold 'a special place in ethnography because of their role in documenting the complexity of social life' and the process of producing field notes involves the researcher 'choosing to describe what appears significant to participants' (Creese, Takhi and Blackledge 2015, p267). Audio and video recordings were not obtained at this stage as they could be too intrusive and influence the main aims of the participant observation.

Images were collected, in the form of noteworthy signage, taken on a phone camera within the university that highlighted use of a Malawian language or of the multilingual context. Collecting images allowed aspects of the linguistic landscape of the universities to be analysed. Linguistic landscapes are collective linguistic resources which are visible in a given space (Landry and Bourhis 1997) and it has been suggested that a translanguaging approach to linguistic landscapes is a useful way to understand multilingualism (Gorter and Cenoz 2015). Bringing in aspects of the linguistic landscape allows for another perspective on the sociolinguistic context of Malawian universities and provides insight into the ways in which languages are made visible within them. Examples of writing such as students' notes or staff-produced board notes or PowerPoints were also collected. Field notes were a summary of observations taken during each observation session.

4.3 Participant Recording

Participant recording involved giving students and members of staff recorders and microphones which they were instructed to wear for the duration of their university day. This allowed data to be collected which represented naturally occurring speech, without the intrusion of the researcher. Students were consulted prior to beginning the participant recording process to ascertain which days would be most beneficial for the production of speech in a range of environments. Situations which were sought included student speech during lectures; seminars; study groups; meetings with academic and administrative staff; and social contexts. A number of staff were also recorded; this was mainly to compare staff use of translanguaging when being recorded with participant observation of staff. Two whole-class recordings were also made.

After each day participants were asked to complete a short summary of the activities they engaged in and who they interacted with, in this way providing 'contextual information' to inform and supplement the audio-recordings (Swann 1994, p37). These details assisted in a more detailed analysis of language use patterns (Meyer and Schareika 2009, p23).

Participant recording provided an additional perspective to participant observation as, as mentioned above, it removed the observer and any effects my presence may have had. Further, in addition to observation field notes, actual audio recordings enabled me to

'capture...contexts in their integrity' providing 'a much more accurate and detailed account of what has taken place' (Speer and Hutchby 2003, p316). These recordings are not 'prone to the interpretive filtering effect' which occurs when making field note observations (*Ibid*). Speer and Hutchby (2003) also note that, despite concerns regarding the intrusiveness of recording equipment, these concerns are not generally realised in participants' behaviour. Thus, recordings give a far more accurate representation of actual language use behaviours, producing 'data nearly uncorrupted in the research process' (Meyer and Schareika 2009, p15).

Consent to conduct the recordings in the university was obtained from Senior Management at the same time as obtaining consent to conduct observation. There was no formal recruiting process to enlist participants. During the period of participant observation, I established connections with students and became an easily recognisable presence on the campus. During the initial weeks of participant observation, I discussed my research with a number of students and friendship groups at the university and informed them that I wanted to conduct participant recordings. At this point I explained that I was looking for participants willing to be recorded over the course of one week at university. Participants were informed of what was involved so that the research was not overly disruptive to them. From students who expressed interest in participating, I contacted them and checked their availability over the provisional fieldwork dates. The recording stage included twenty participants.

When participants had been selected, I met each one individually to instruct them on how to properly use the recording equipment. At these sessions I obtained consent from all participants and confirmed the classes that they would be attending/other activities they would be engaged in over the recording period. Participants then began the recording process – I would meet each participant at the beginning of the day to begin recording and confirm their schedule for the day. At the end of each day I would collect the recording equipment from students and confirm any changes to their schedule. Participants were recorded from between one to five weekdays within the university environment. The pre-collection procedure was put in place so that, when participants were engaged in self-recording, it was as undisruptive to their routines as possible (Pérez-Parent 2002).

4.3.1 Data

The output from participant recording was audio files which were subsequently transcribed. It was not necessary to complete full transcriptions for all audio files as the main facet of language use which was of interest was the use of translanguaging. Instances of translanguaging were transcribed as well as any comments which depicted a participant's language attitudes. The data provided by the participant recording was used to provide examples of translanguaging in the university. It was not necessary to transcribe all of the approximately 300 hours of recording. Instead, two student participants were selected who differed in a number of characteristics. In addition, two staff members and whole class recordings were analysed. The analysis of this data involved listening to thirty-minute sections of each recording for instances of translanguaging which were then transcribed. The recordings were chosen to allow for a representation of each possible context in the university which is of interest. A total of approximately sixty minutes of participant recordings were transcribed.

4.3.2 Particular ethical issues in participant recording

When participants were recording it was possible that third-party individuals who had not given their consent could be recorded. To deal with this, I spent the initial period of participant observation discussing my research widely with the student body. Students undertaking recording were also well-informed to be able to tell others about the research in which they were participating and were given my contact details which they could share with other students should anyone wish to contact me regarding the research. If someone did not wish to be recorded, participants were able to turn off the recording device. Participants were informed that, should they desire to stop taking part in the research, then they were free to do so at any point.

4.4 Interviews

92 interviews, 27 staff and 65 students, were conducted in universities across Malawi.[5] Interviews were conducted after participant observation was completed (see Appendix 3

---

[5] In the initial fieldwork period a small number of interviews were conducted with further education college students. These have not been included in the final study and are not included in the 92 interviews stated. However, for this reason, the unique number identifier for some interview participants referenced in the following chapters will be higher than #92.

for a breakdown of participants by university). This allowed the interviews to be informed by observations made during initial stages, which could then be explored more deeply (Billson 2006). Interviews were conducted as they provide insights into participants' language attitudes and 'perceptions of their experiences' (Starfield 2015, p147). The interviews allowed participants to present their perception on their situations, thoughts and experiences in their own words (Spernes 2012, Jones 2012). They provide direct access to individuals who are 'the best sources of the desired information' (Dressler and Oths 2015, p506, see also Edley and Litosseliti 2010). These data then allow the researcher to gain a better understanding of the experiences of the participants and the effects these experiences have on their attitudes and behaviour (Silverman 2009, Weller 2015). By utilising interviews within this research, this provides 'in-depth, rich data' (Angouri 2010, p33) on the experiences that individuals have concerning language use at university and on their opinions regarding which languages are used.

Participants' own views on the linguistic situation within universities are essential for obtaining an understanding of the context as 'the participants' subjective interpretation of their own behaviours…is seen as crucial to understanding' (Dörnyei 2007, p131). The interviews were conversational in nature and the interview schedule, in Appendix 1 and Appendix 2, contained questions designed to build rapport with participants, to ensure that they felt comfortable and confident enough to present their ideas and opinions (Schilling 2013). A combination of direct and indirect questions regarding language use and attitudes were used so as to elicit both covert and overt responses. This was done to 'reduce the effects of social desirability bias' (Fisher 1993) which arise within self-reported language behaviour. Despite these steps, participants may not have reported their language use habits accurately – either consciously or because they were unaware of their own language use habits (Romaine 1995, pp317-318, González-Vilbazo et al 2013, p7). This is not a major issue as the triangulation of methods allows for comparisons to be made between what participants are observed to do and what they report that they do. In this instance, participants' reports on their language use and the behaviours they wish to portray are as useful as the participant recordings for providing information on the sociolinguistic context of the university.

Interviews were semi-structured as a less rigid structure allows a mixture of 'probes, prompts and open or closed questions' (Adamson 2006, p3) to be used and so gives more freedom for the interviewer to adapt to the particular interview situation (Byram 2012). This is useful as it allows the researcher to '"interpret" responses from interviewees' (Adamson 2006, p3) based on detailed responses. This approach also allows participants to expand on topics or ideas which they themselves feel are important (Longhurst 2010). An interview schedule was used to ensure that the interview was not completely unstructured as there were clear topics to be covered – language use and language attitudes.

Recruitment for interview participants differed between universities. At the site of the participant observation and participant recording, students were recruited during my observations both from the classes in which I conducted observation and from the social settings. This then allowed for a comparison between my observations and the students' interpretation and views of language use within different contexts, which is 'an important aspect of ethnographic inquiry' (Muñoz 1983, p10). For other universities contact was made with gatekeepers who provided access to participants (Saunders 2006, Byram 2012). The gatekeepers were university staff and students, who were contacted regarding the research prior to my arrival in Malawi. Subsequently a 'friend-of-a-friend' (Schilling 2013) method was used, in which participants suggested other individuals who were interested in taking part in the research: this has been noted as being one of the most effective ways of gaining access to a community (Milroy 1987, Milroy and Gordon 2003, Tagliamonte 2006).

Interviews and focus groups (discussed below in Section 4.5) are valuable data collection methods. However, these methods are not without issue as there are a number of factors which can affect participants' responses when using these methods and they should not be considered as portraying an objective truth regarding the topic under investigation.

Interviews are not simply interactions following a question and answer format, with a passive interviewee. They are conversations between two (or more) people and, as such, the interviewer themselves becomes an important part of the process and must take an important role in actively listening, reacting and participating in the conversation (Gillham 2000, Lillrank 2012, Potter and Hepburn 2012). The characteristics of the interviewer can

thus have an impact on the dynamics of the interaction and so too affect the responses given by the interviewee (Byram 2012). These characteristics, such as age, gender, class ethnicity, can have complex effects on the interview which can be hard to determine (*Ibid*). As noted in Section 1.1 the characteristics which I bring to this research are important to consider when viewing this study as a whole.

A key factor which can affect interviewee responses is social desirability bias. Participants may give answers which do not accurately reflect their own perspectives but those which they feel are more socially acceptable or which are the answer they perceive the interviewer wants to hear (Byram, Gillham 2000). Combatting this requires ensuring anonymity and not being overly judgemental about participants' responses. These elements are, however, more difficult to control for within larger group settings such as focus groups as participants can be affected by each other (Fern 1982, Garrett 2010). A related issue is that of acquiescence bias in which a participant may respond favourably to a question regardless of the content and regardless of their true opinion, in the belief that this is what the researcher wants to hear (Garrett 2010).

An important consideration which emerges from the nature of interview and focus group research is to what extent they provide access to the 'truth'. Johnson (2001, p116) suggests that the 'most important ethical imperative is to tell the truth'. However, in a context in which participants report different things from one another or, indeed in which a single participant's responses are contradictory or are not reflected in their behaviour, this complicates the 'truth'. Interview and focus group research should then not be considered as a portrayal of an objective truth but as providing some representation of participants' subjective experiences as they report them and should be conducted alongside other data collection methods (Gillham 2000).

4.4.1 Data

Each interview was transcribed. Responses from direct, closed questions were analysed quantitatively. Transcripts were then analysed qualitatively using a coding scheme.

4.5 Focus groups

Focus groups were the final stage of the data collection. Eight focus groups were conducted with students. After interviews students were asked if they were able and interested in taking part in focus groups and groups were constructed to consist of participants with differing attitudes towards language policies within education. In this way they were designed to complement the interviews and to act as a means of providing more description from comments made in the interview process. Marczak and Sewell (2007) define focus groups as:

> [A] group of interacting individuals having some common interest or characteristics, brought together by a moderator, who uses the group and its interaction as a way to gain information about a specific or focused issue.

The focus group as a data collection method was chosen to supplement the material gained from the other methods. The focus groups were 'effective in supplying information about what people think, or how they feel' (Freitas et al 1998, p2) concerning the linguistic situation in university. They allow a perspective which 'reduces the role of the researcher' and 'allows the informants the opportunity to be the primary sources' of ideas (Al-Ghazali 2014, p6). Focus groups were conducted in addition to interviews as the 'spontaneity of interaction among participants' (Freitas et al 1998, p4) in the focus group is 'a valuable way of gaining insight into shared understandings and beliefs', and gives participants the opportunity to 'hear the views and experiences of their peers, and cause them to reflect back on their own experiences and thoughts' (King 2004, p256). This causes participants to 'stimulate each other in an exchange of ideas that may not emerge in individual interviews' (Billson 2006, p3) and leads to a wide range of responses (Watts and Ebbutt 1987). It is the 'synergistic dynamics of participants responding to and building on each other's views' (Edley and Litosseliti 2010, p167) which makes the focus group a valuable method. In this way, focus groups can 'provide a multi-faceted understanding' (Al-Ghazali 2014, p10) of the linguistic situation in Malawian universities. Focus groups were conducted after the individual interviews so that topics which arose in the interviews could be discussed in more detail, particularly topics which students presented varying opinions on (Freitas et al 1998, p7).

Participants were recruited from individual interviews. After each interview, information on focus groups was given and participants asked if they would be interested and available to take part. By allowing individuals at this stage to agree and volunteer to participate, this ensured that all focus groups consisted of participants who were willing to contribute their ideas (Morgan 1998). This was done to ensure active discussion and exchange of ideas as 'too much homogeneity can limit the range of perspectives' (Dreachslin 1999, p228, Freitas et al 1998) and 'diverse opinions and experiences may not be revealed' (Gibbs 1997). Groups of between two to seven participants were established, as Prince and Davies (2001) suggest that smaller groups act to encourage all participants to take part in the discussion.

Focus groups were conducted in available rooms on the respective university campuses. This was to ensure that the areas were accessible, comfortable and free from distractions (Freitas et al 1998, Masadeh 2012). Participants were seated in a circular arrangement as this 'allows for everyone to see everyone else, thus encouraging them to listen and engage with one another' (Masadeh 2012, p66).

4.5.1 Data

Focus groups were analysed similarly to interviews. Each focus group was transcribed. Responses from direct, closed questions were analysed quantitatively. Transcripts were then qualitatively coded.

4.5.2 Particular ethical issues in focus groups

Although consent had already been obtained from participants for interviews, it was necessary to gain consent from each participant prior to beginning the focus group. Similar ethical issues apply to focus groups in terms of anonymity and confidentiality as they do in individual interviews. An added ethical issue inherent within focus groups is that, while the researcher is able to ensure anonymity and confidentiality on their part, there is little control over participants discussing the focus group with others after it has been completed and sharing the views of the other participants with outsiders (Gibbs 1997). To address this, the focus group began with a discussion of the importance of confidentiality, that the

focus group acted as a safe space in which participants could feel free to state their opinions. Participants were asked to agree not to disclose the content of the focus group with outsiders.

4.6 Note on language use

4.6.1 In participant observation

It was made clear during all observation sessions, particularly in social settings, that I did not wish students to attempt to change their language use to accommodate me. When able, and appropriate, I spoke Chichewa with students to show them that I had some grasp of the language.

4.6.2 In participant recording

The beginning and end of each recording session when I met students to give them and collect the recording equipment took place in English. After that time students were free to use any language during their university day.

4.6.3 In interviews

Largely interviews were conducted in English. At times students engaged in translanguaging during the interviews, which some commented on and apologised for. A recurring topic in the interviews, from both students and staff, was that their English skills were not that good, and they may have been able to give better answers to the interview questions if they could use Chichewa. Two interviews specifically gave answers in Chichewa to a number of the interview questions. One interviewee did this in a post-interview discussion, further expanding on points she had made during the interview. Another interviewee engaged in translanguaging throughout the interview.

4.6.4 In focus groups

At the beginning of each focus group I stated 'Please feel free to use whatever language you want during the focus group chifukwa Chichewa changa sichili bwino kwambiri koma

ndiyesesa' meaning 'Please feel free to use whatever language you want during the focus group because my Chichewa is not very good but I will try my best'. I explained to participants that they could speak English or Chichewa (or indeed any other language they wanted) and if I did not understand what they were saying someone in the group could translate and summarise for me.

4.6.5 Researching multilingually

This study aimed to adopt a process of researching multilingually. My previous time in Malawi and attending Chichewa language classes for a year prior to my fieldwork allowed me to develop my Chichewa language skills. These were not at a level where the entire data collection could successfully be carried out in Chichewa but did allow me to bring multilingualism into the research at the level of data collection.

Using the knowledge of Chichewa which I possess throughout the fieldwork period allowed me to ensure that the data collection itself was not conducted through a strictly monolingual paradigm which placed English as the only appropriate language for use in academic research. This had a number of outcomes within the data collection process. By displaying my ability to speak some Chichewa, I was able to engage in translanguaging with participants and was also able to position myself as someone who wished to learn. This resulted in a number of instances where students and staff could teach me terms which I did not know, developing my Chichewa skills, and influencing the power dynamic of researcher-researched, positioning the participants as experts and those with valuable knowledge.

Throughout the data collection, participants used Chichewa to different extents, reflecting in part their own linguistic skills and practices. During focus groups, some participants spoke little Chichewa while others spoke Chichewa for a substantial portion of the session. For some, use of Chichewa remained inappropriate for a formal academic context or they sought to use English through a desire to make the session as easy for me to follow as possible. This raised another interesting aspect of researching multilingually which was the necessity to accept that due to the limitations in my language skills, I would not understand everything my participants were saying at all times during data collection (but could then

translate later in the transcription stage if necessary). This discomfort of not knowing was an essential aspect which had to be dealt with in the process of researching multilingually and in attempting to challenge a monolingual English-only research process.

4.7 Data analysis

4.7.1 Qualitative

The process of linguistic ethnography can produce rich qualitative data which is analysed 'to determine the categories, relationships and assumptions that inform the process of respondents' view of the world in general, and of the topic in particular' (Basit 2003, p143). The process of coding allows the data to be grouped together thematically which aids in this analysis (Phakiti 2015, pp32-35). This then gives a 'deeper understanding' of what has been studied and is continually refined in a process of reinterpretation (Basit 2003, p143). This aspect of qualitative data analysis is particularly useful in this research due to the four different data collection methods used and the variety of data which they provide. All of this data can be analysed and re-analysed in an iterative process in which each dataset provides material for the interpretation of the other datasets and which also culminates in a clearer, deeper understanding of the ethnography as a whole. NVivo (NVivo qualitative data analysis Software; QSR International Pty Ltd. Version 10, 2012) was used for the qualitative analysis of all datasets.

4.7.2 Quantitative

While, as mentioned in Section 4.1 the research is qualitative in nature, some of the data, such as responses to direct language attitude statements, lend itself to quantification. Descriptive statistics can then be used to analyse responses to direct language attitude statements (see Chapter 7).

4.8 Clarifications

4.8.1 Transcription conventions

Interviews and focus groups were fully transcribed to the extent that they allowed an analysis of the content of the sessions. Where the audio was incomprehensible [inc] was

used. At times, individuals used non-Standard English and [sic] is used to mark this. Following Creese and Blackledge (2010) and in line with the translanguaging approach of this study, there is no distinction made between different named languages in the transcribed data. At times where translations are necessary these are given in round brackets.

4.8.2 Translation

Translation was required for many types of data: focus groups, interviews, participant recordings, linguistic landscape images. I initially attempted the translation then would check this with an individual who works as Chichewa translator and tutor and at least one other Chichewa speaker. For some data these individuals would be unsure of the correct translations referring to the language used as 'youth language' (see Section 1.3.3). In these instances, the translations were then checked with participants themselves with whom I am still in contact.

4.8.3 Note on language(s)

While this study adopts a translanguaging view of language this has emerged gradually throughout the linguistic ethnography fieldwork and the data analysis. In the results reported below distinct named languages and CS are discussed. While some participants do conceptualise their language use in a way which conforms to a translanguaging view (see Section 5.4), named languages are also important to individuals for ideological and social reasons. Named languages are therefore used in reporting the results to recognise that while they are socially and ideologically constructed, these constructions are important for individuals. Using named languages is then essential to provide an accurate analysis of the individuals' attitudes and language use, and their perceptions towards these, without distorting the data to fit the researcher's epistemological view.

4.9 Research limitations

Major limitations in the present study were practical in nature. Student protests in Malawi during the fieldwork period resulted in many of the universities being closed. The result of this was that the majority of participant observation and all of the participant recording

necessarily took place within one university. While interviews and focus groups were conducted in all institutions, being able to compare observation and recording data across all institutions would have been valuable. Additionally, as noted in Section 4.8.3 the translanguaging approach within this study emerged from the data collected during linguistic ethnography. This attests to the suitability of ethnography to provide a detailed account of the sociolinguistic context within the universities. However, while the interviews were semi-structured, if questions had been written through a translanguaging lens there could have been less discussion of named languages and more questioning relating to individuals' fluid language practices.

This chapter has provided an overview of the methodological approach of this study. The methodology is ethnographic in nature, adopting participant observation, participant recording, interviews, and focus groups to gather as full as possible a picture of the sociolinguistic context within Malawian universities. The results from this linguistic ethnography will now be discussed. Chapter 5 will present an analysis of the findings regarding language use in Malawian universities, Chapter 6 will present the analysis of the findings regarding language attitudes and Chapter 7 will present the analysis of the findings regarding attitudes towards language policy.

Chapter 5:   Results - Language use

This chapter will discuss the ways in which language is used within Malawian universities and the factors which affect this. The chapter will begin in Section 5.1 by highlighting the expected findings based on similar research into language use in African universities. Section 5.2 will then present an analysis of data from interviews and focus groups which highlight the different academic and social contexts in which students and staff operate and the ways in which language is used in these contexts. Section 5.3 will provide more detail on factors affecting the ways in which language is used such as individuals' language skills, the language rules which operate in different spaces of the university, and who acts as the gatekeeper/s for what is appropriate language use. Finally, this chapter will conclude in Section 5.4 with an overview of translanguaging practices based on data from participant recordings.

The results discussed in this chapter provide the basis for answering the following research questions:

1) *What are the patterns of language use amongst students and staff within the domain of tertiary education in Malawi?*

2) *What factors lie behind the patterns of language use?*

5.1 Expectations

As discuss in Section 3.3.2, research into patterns of language use in African universities reveals that European languages are often dominant in educational domains as in Burundi (Irakoze 2015), Cameroon (Kouega 2008), Madagascar (Wills et al 2014), Morocco (Chakrani and Huang 2014), South Africa (Dominic 2011), Tanzania (Kalmanlehto 2014), Uganda (Bayiga 2016). However, research has also found that multilingual language practices will occur at times in education domains to aid student comprehension (Kalmanlehto 2014, Bayiga 2016) and to enhance solidarity between students and staff (Irakoze 2015). Additionally, multilingual language practices occur between students when

discussing academic topics outside of the classroom (Halvorsen 2010, Dominic 2011, Marie 2013, Kalmanlehto 2014, Njurai 2015) and when in social contexts (Dominic 2011, Irakoze 2015, Bayiga 2016). More generally, translanguaging has been found to occur in multilingual university environments globally (see Mazak and Carroll 2016).

As discussed in Section 3.3, the concept of 'domains' is used when analysing language use across the universities. Combining Fishman's (1965) concept of domain with observations during participant observation, the various contexts which are analysed below emerged as those which could be considered distinct domains whose differences could have potential impacts on language use. Additionally, the concepts of translanguaging spaces (Wei 2011, 2017), diglossia, and transglossia (see Section 3.3) are used to evaluate whether spaces are created in the university as a whole, and in individual domains, by and for translanguaging.

Findings from previous research into language use in African universities and research into Malawian sociolinguistics (see Sections 1.3 and 3.3.2) indicate that it is likely that English is a dominant language used within the academic domain in the universities while Chichewa is likely to be the dominant language of the social domain. Previous research, discussed in Section 3.1, has shown that African languages have integrative functions as languages with covert prestige which can act as languages of solidarity and can be used to express national identity and friendship (Dyers and Abongdia 2014 in Cameroon, Kamwangamulu and Tovares 2016 in Kenya, Aziakpono and Bekker 2010, Parmegiani 2014, Ditsele 2016 in South Africa). Further, as languages with overt prestige, in this case English, can be stigmatised in social domains (see Bourhis, Giles and Tajifel 1973, Giles and Edwards 2010, Giles and Marlow 2011), it is perceived as likely that Chichewa is dominant within social domains. As research has shown that Malawian university students struggle with the English language (Kamwendo 2003), and translanguaging is found in multilingual universities (Mazak 2016), it is also likely that translanguaging will occur for academic purposes and amongst students in social domains.

5.2 Reported language use

There are two broad contextual distinctions for the environments in which language is used in the domain of Malawian universities – the social environment and the academic

environment. This section will look at interview and focus group data to ascertain when students and staff report using particular languages and what the functions of these languages are in the varied contexts.

As will be illustrated through discussion of the self-reported language use of students and staff, the linguistic situation in the various universities, and locations and contexts within those universities, is complex.[6] The experiences of students and staff can differ, as can their own linguistic practices. There is therefore not a static, homogenous set of language practices in Malawian universities. While patterns of language use are fluid and varied depending on the context and, importantly, on the individual, general tendencies for language practices do emerge from participants' reports. The results reported in this first section are based on the self-reported language use of students and staff from interviews and focus groups. What emerges is not a fixed set of rules on how language is used in Malawian universities but general patterns. Comments will be reported that, at times, may contradict one another. That there will be outliers in reporting, that do not fit the general patterns, serves to enhance the understanding of the complexity of the sociolinguistic situation in the Malawian universities. Section 5.2.1 will discuss language use in a variety of academic contexts before moving onto discuss students' language use in social contexts in Section 5.2.3. Section 5.2.2 will present an analysis of data obtained from participant observation, focusing on the official signage of the linguistic landscape in university campuses. Similarly, Section 5.2.4 will present an analysis of student signage in the linguistic landscape.

5.2.1 Academic

There are a number of different academic contexts which are discussed by students and staff and which have the potential to have their own unique language practices for what is linguistically acceptable. Each of these contexts will be discussed in turn before summarising general comments on language use in academic contexts.

---

[6] Actual language use will be reported in Section 5.4, focussing on the use of translanguaging by students and staff.

5.2.1.a Lectures

When reporting on language use in lecture classes the majority of participants report that English is the language of the classroom environment. English is positioned as the language of education as it is 'the official language…in Malawi education system' [Staff #85 KCN].[7] Students report that when staff are teaching they use English and it is a language which they are encouraged to speak in class when communicating with each other and when asking the lecturer questions.

English is framed, by some, as the sole language of the university and the presence of any other languages is erased, as one student states that 'English is the only language in the university' [Student #42 CHANCO]. This is because of the nature of university. It is a prestigious domain at the upper levels of the education system and students and staff are expected to behave in a certain way. These expectations and the formal nature of university life influence the languages which are reported to be used in the universities as it is 'the formality of everything that [means] we have to use English' [Student #16 COM].

For some students, and staff, English is a language whose domain is the classroom. As a result, it is not a language for other areas of the university, it is 'just for the classes, just for the classroom' [Staff 44 CHANCO]. What emerges here is similar to the common perception in many African countries, Malawi included, that English means education (Matiki 2001). However, it is also the case that English is not the only language which is used in the classroom environment.

Chichewa is reported to be used in the classroom for two broad purposes: interpersonal relationships/classroom management and content clarification. Chichewa is reported to be used in the classroom to foster interpersonal relationships between students and staff through the use of humour. Students state that 'Chichewa is fun' and to 'joke in English wouldn't be that fun' [Speaker #4 KCN Focus Group].[8] When lecturers use Chichewa for humour it is 'very funny and it get [sic] people to interact' [Speaker #2 LUANAR Focus

---

[7] Participant interview references are given in the following format: [type of participant, interview number, university association]. So [Staff #85 KCN] = a staff member, interview #85, at Kamuzu College of Nursing.
[8] Participant focus group references identify the speaker in the focus group, followed by stating the university in which the focus group took place.

Group]. The language can also be used to hold students' attention as 'it can be used as a spice of some kind' [Speaker #3 CHANCO Focus Group], it is something which can be added into the classroom environment to make the lesson more exciting and can be used by lecturers to make sure the class is 'kept lively' [Speaker #3 LUANAR Focus Group]. Having a classroom environment which is not strictly English-only, and using translanguaging to bring in elements of Chichewa can be a useful means for establishing interpersonal relationships between students and lecturers. During the period of observation this was observed as a non-Malawian lecturer engaged in translanguaging in a class and then said 'I wanted to get your attention so tried to sound like you' [Observation Notes 3rd August 2016]. Another staff member notes that they would speak Chichewa as it 'brings level of connectedness, if I speak to my students here in Chichewa' [Staff #82 LUANAR]. Drawing from a range of linguistic resources can engage students and also be used to express solidarity with them.

A crucial reason mentioned for the use of Chichewa in lectures is to clarify subject content to ensure students fully understand what they are being taught. Staff report that they would use Chichewa to aid student comprehension with, for example, one staff member stating that they would use 'local languages…when you are trying to explain something that probably they [the students] are not comprehending' [Staff #81 LUANAR].

Often, however, there is a perception that, while Chichewa can be used in the classroom by a lecturer, it is not a language of teaching and learning. English is the 'official' language of teaching and learning and the use of Chichewa is for informal purposes or to compensate for a deficiency in students' understanding. When Chichewa is used in this way it is as 'a fall back' [Staff #81 LUANAR]. Its use is not viewed as pedagogically valid or appropriate and it is not seen to be of value in the academic space of the classroom. This is encapsulated by one student who states the Chichewa 'has nothing to do with our education, it has nothing, like 0%' [Student #71 LUANAR].

Individuals, while acknowledging that Chichewa is used in the classroom for pedagogic purposes, still claim that 'we are strictly required to communicate in English' [Staff #81 LUANAR]. One staff member states that even if you are using Chichewa to 'clarify more' then it remains 'just a slip of the tongue' and while in classes 'always it's English

communication' [Staff #85 KCN]. Further, the use of Chichewa for content clarification is not a technique employed by all lecturers as not all of them would introduce Chichewa into the classroom but instead remain solely with an English monolingual MOI. As a result of the strong association between English and education, even at times when Chichewa is being used for apparently pedagogical purposes it is not viewed as a language of education and this is not viewed as 'formal' or necessarily appropriate teaching.

One finding which emerged from the study relates to individuals' differing perceptions on the language use in academic contexts in other universities. There is a perception to some degree that universities with an arts and humanities focus would possibly use Chichewa more often while 'hardcore sciences or... natural sciences' would have to use more English as 'it can be a nightmare' to explain scientific concepts in Chichewa [Staff #81 KCN]. One student notes that their friends at the College of Medicine and the Malawi University of Science and Technology tell them that 'they only speak English' possibly to show that 'they are the best' [Student #77 KCN]. Additionally, certain universities, generally those with a medical or scientific focus, are viewed as having more of an 'international intake' so would be required to use more English [Student #17 COM]. However, conversely it is believed by some that those who are in arts and humanities courses will have a higher level of English language skills than those in science courses. As one student notes students who 'do speak English fluently' are those who are at 'Chanco' and do 'humanities' subjects [Student #1 MUST]. This is due to the fact those selecting students to attend science universities 'are not focusing much on the performance...in English' [Student #25 MUST]. What emerges then is a situation in which science universities are both viewed as having to use English due to the subject content but also having to use Chichewa to explain concepts to students. Arts universities are viewed as being able to more easily use Chichewa to explain subject content but also not necessarily needing to due to the language abilities of students. That these contradictions are simultaneously believed by some participants suggests that there is a perception that other universities will be making more use of English than the university which the particular interviewee attends. That this situation occurs is likely related to the prestigious façade which universities seek to present. Universities, and students, want to present their own institution as being prestigious and being believed to use English often is one way of achieving this.

5.2.1.b Asking questions

This perception of English as the language of education is also evident in participants' comments regarding the languages used by students in lectures, specifically when asking questions. In the formal academic context of the university, when students are speaking to staff they are aware of the expectation that they use English and so 'when you find them at the office or in class or around the campus, in my mind, it comes like I should just speak English' [Speaker #90 BIU].

These unwritten, shared rules around which languages should be used are not necessarily followed in practice. Reports from students and staff differ on the languages used by students when asking questions in class, something which is partly due to the different methods employed by lecturers. The discrepancy between the 'rules' and reality can be seen in the following extract from a student interview:

Researcher: Erm and then what about, like if a student has a question, like what languages would they use to ask the question?

Student #96 BIU: English. They use English we are not allowed to ask in Chichewa.

Researcher: Have you ever been in a class and someone has tried to ask a question in Chichewa?

Student #96 BIU: Yeah.

Researcher: What happens when that happens?

Student #96 BIU: Okay, uh it's okay it's uh basically uh maybe there are some questions which are better asked in Chichewa than English although for the lecturer

himself they understand better what the, what they say is, what the student is trying

to ask. Yeah sometimes they [the lecturer] have to say 'can you ask in Chichewa'

so that they can know.

Initially this student reports that it is a rule that Chichewa is not used to ask questions in class. However, despite this rule, they then provide an explanation of when this rule will be broken and how this will be directly facilitated by the lecturer. At times, students may be unable to convey their question accurately in a way in which the lecturer can understand and so the lecturer will request that they use Chichewa to ask their question.

This is not what happens in all situations and other students report that lecturers will be less favourable towards the use of Chichewa by students when asking questions in class. Due to the fact that the language of teaching is English, one student reports that 'most of the lecturers…don't allow [students] to ask questions in Chichewa' [Student #21 CHANCO] and if a student were to do so then the lecturer would instruct the person to speak in English. Many students report that 'lecturers tell us not to speak Chichewa to them' so that the students can spend more time using, and getting used to, English so that they can 'use more English instead of Chichewa' [Student #92 BIU].

5.2.1.c Student-staff interactions outside of the class

When students and staff are interacting outside of the classroom the languages which are used are, again, largely dependent on the staff member and also on the topic being discussed. Academic-based conversation may be more likely to take place in English as 'if it has something to do with academics then, yes, it has to be English but maybe if it was something else then we could ask them in Chichewa' [Student #19 COM]. For some staff they state that if a student were to approach them in their office and they 'want to speak to you in Chichewa' then 'you'll say "no speak to me in English"' [Staff #44 CHANCO].

For some students, interacting with lecturers means speaking in English whether 'we meet outside the gate [of the university]' [Student #75 KCN] or in the classroom. For others, however, non-classroom based interactions with lecturers have more flexible rules dictating what language or languages should be used. Outside of the classroom 'we can

negotiate' [Student #38 CHANCO] what languages are being spoken. While some staff, as reported above, are strict in maintaining an English-only environment, others are more open to being flexible and accommodating students' wishes regarding what languages are used. One lecturer states that, if a student spoke to him in Chichewa he would initially respond in English; however, 'if they still [continue] in speaking in Chichewa then okay I would speak Chichewa' [Staff #64 COM]. Conversely staff could speak to students in Chichewa and students may respond in English, as this excerpt from my observation notes illustrates:

> Library staff gives student into trouble for the noise of her laptop, in Chichewa, and she responds in English, saying "there is no sound". [Observation Notes 1st September 2016]

The language choices in this interaction could be dependent on the individual preferences of the interlocutors but also due to the fact that the library space, and library staff, are possibly less formal than class environments.

Additionally, some staff members note that they will ensure that they use English to communicate with students at all times, to reinforce their position of authority and command respect. One staff member notes that, in the department in which they work, students can think that they are 'inferior' [Staff #91 CHANCO]. In this case 'speaking Chichewa' would be like 'lowering yourself' so they choose to speak in English 'to show them that we can also speak this language' as it gives them 'a prestige' [Staff #91 CHANCO]. Similarly, another staff member refers to the 'power relations' between staff and students and that by 'speaking English there will be some kind of respect' as they are able to present themselves as 'an academic, a learned colleague in English' [Staff #48 CHANCO]. The use of English then becomes a way in which staff can assert their positions as educated academics.

5.2.1.d Student-based academic discussion

Student-based academic discussions provide another contextual domain for exploring factors affecting language use in the university environment. This domain covers

interactions between students which focus on academic, university work such as when students ask each other for help, when they are working on group assignments and when they are involved in study groups. In another academic, but arguably less formal, environment students' language practices are again found to be heterogeneous.

Staff perceptions of students' language use differs with some believing that students are likely to solely use English when conducting academic based discussions as 'it's just natural in Malawi that when you are doing something academic, something that is official, they will go into English' [Staff #91 CHANCO]. This belief, from some staff members, is illustrative of the close connection between English and education as was discussed above. Other staff, however, do not perceive student-based academic discussions to be English-only environments. They report that students will adopt a multilingual approach when discussing academic work, using various parts of their linguistic repertoires for different purposes, as exemplified in the below excerpt.

> Staff #87 KCN: Okay, they'll use Chichewa because eh it's handy, it's easy to use, um but they will blend in English because of most of the co- concepts we are discussing would not be easily translated into Chichewa. They can't quickly translate into Chichewa so they would blend in English so that they can take care of those concepts.

In this way students can be considered as engaging in translanguaging. While this still positions English as the language of academic concepts and terminology, it also highlights that students may be likely to use all of their linguistic resources to communicate in a way that is comfortable and effective, that is 'handy'. That English remains the academic language is echoed by another staff member who states that students would have to use elements of English as there are certain concepts that you 'cannot teach [and students cannot discuss] in in a a vernacular' [Staff #81 LUANAR]. While this places the 'vernacular' in a lower position to English, it also shows the necessity of a multilingual approach when students are working together on academic topics. This multilingual approach will be discussed in more detail in Section 5.4 which provides examples of translanguaging practices. As an additional point, the nominations used to describe Malawian languages are clear here, and emerged throughout the fieldwork period. Section 2.3.1 discussed the importance of language nominations in affecting and highlighting how

languages are viewed while Section 3.1.2 highlighted research from Kamwangamalu and Tovares (2016) which suggested that Kenyan students use of the term 'vernacular' to refer to Kenyan languages highlighted and reinforced their position as inferior languages. A similar conclusion could be deduced from Malawian students and staff use of the term 'vernacular'.

Students also hold English in the position of academic language, as one student states that 'Chichewa [is] for chilling and English [is] for school stuff' [Student #55 MZUNI]. This is, in part, due to the fact that the learning materials and resources which are available to the students are available solely in English and not in any Malawian languages. Some students report that as a result of the fact that 'the books, everything is English' students will 'try to discuss in English' [Student #56 MZUNI] to avoid potential confusion or mistranslation of terminology. Chichewa can be used for general discussion 'except technicalities' or specific concepts which have a specific English term for them [Student #62 MZUNI]. Some students highlight that they will only use English when discussing academic work because it becomes confusing to bring in more than one language and particularly when that language is perceived not to contain appropriate terminology for discussing academic subjects. One student highlights that this can work well for groups of students, giving an example in which he 'was using more of English' to explain a point and 'people were understanding what I was talking about' but when he 'was bringing in uh Chichewa element…people feel confused' [Student #94 BIU]. Additionally, it was observed that students would use English to discuss topics which were not related to course content but which were related to the academic context. This excerpt from my observation notes discusses this:

> Student started talking about an academic book and spoke English. Talking about the act of finding books in the library, talking about it in English. There seems to be a tendency when discussing academic topics that people would speak English. There is also a tendency when talking about having done things related to academic behaviour that people would talk in English. Talking about the physical activity of going to take a book out the library – there's no reason that *needs* to be in one language or the other – but student chose to use English. [Observation Notes 1st August 2016]

Others however highlight that it is very much dependent on who makes up the group. Students would use their knowledge of the individuals in the group as, as one student reports, they 'will know this one [another student] will understand better if I tell her in Chichewa' [Student #90 BIU]. Groups of students discussing academic work together are flexible in their language use and can adopt and adapt varying methods of communicating with one another with the ultimate goal of shared understanding of content.

What emerges quite clearly from a number of students' reports is that there is a collaborative process which takes place when working together as a group to produce a final assignment. This process involves use of multilingual repertoires for different stages of the process. Students use their repertoires in a process of discussion, understanding, interpreting and refining to produce their work. Different elements of their repertoires can be used at different times. When explaining concepts, one student states that their groups would tend to 'explain a point in English' but when 'someone says "I'm not getting it" you go to Chichewa, explain some few words in Chichewa then you do it again in English' [Student #19 POLY]. This method of layering the explanation repeatedly in different forms is used to ensure the students understand the content and are able to, at the end, explain it in English. A similar approach is used to explain content to others which has been taken from sources such as the internet, which is largely found in English. Similarly, some students report that, at times, 'people have a point but then they can't explain it in English so they explain it in Chichewa and then we get it and write it down in English' [Student #92 BIU]. What emerges here is that, in student-only academic contexts there is a flexibility to use the language in which one is most comfortable but that there will be a collaborative process of interpreting and translating to ensure that the final output is in English.

One student effectively illustrates the collaborative nature of this multilingual process. In their group, after students discuss their assignments in Chichewa, and translate their ideas into English to be written in their reports, one person is given the task of writing the final report. Sometimes the group will disagree with the final translation and so 'after writing the final report, the report is circulated so that everyone can see and edit, so it's sometimes edited' [Student #68 LUANAR]. This shows that students work together, multilingually, to ensure that individuals have an understanding of their subject and to produce their final

piece of work in English and, finally, to check that this piece of work is both an acceptable representation of their discussions and in a form of Standard English which is acceptable for a piece of assessed coursework.

As in other contexts however, it should be stated that, again, language use is dependent on the individuals taking part in any interaction and on their preferences. So, while numerous students report language practices as above, some do state that they find this process of interpreting too time consuming and prefer to 'just go straight into English' [Student #59 MZUNI] so that they can quickly write the final piece of work.

5.2.1.e Work-placements

Students' work placements provide a potentially unique context for investigating language use within their time at university. Work placements provide both training for and insight into students' professional lives post-graduation. Linguistic issues which arise in these contexts can then illustrate the ways in which the university system is appropriately preparing, or not, students with the linguistic skills they will need for the linguistic realities of their lives post-graduation. This section will focus mainly on medical based degrees such as Medicine, Nursing and Pharmacy, as these are the courses which have the most prolonged work placements.

While English is widely accepted as an official language in Malawi, research and census statistics suggest that a minority of the population speak the language. This results in a situation in which, if students are posted in work placements where they will be interacting with the general public in Malawi, it is highly likely they will be interacting with individuals who do not speak English. One staff member illustrates the common experience of medical students as follows: 'when they are talking with their um supervisors they use English but when they're talking to the patient, it depends on the patient, if the patient is not able to speak English, which most of the times is the case, erm they have to speak in Chichewa, local language' [Staff #64 COM]. This highlights the multilingual nature of these hospital placements in which different languages will serve different purposes. English is used for official communication with a senior member of hospital staff while Chichewa will be used with patients. This is reiterated by students,

with one explaining that 'we might do the whole round, most of the times we do the whole ward round, we do it in English but then when we are discussing together with the patient we use Chichewa' [Student #4 COM]. This highlights that official business takes place in English but actual interactions with patients largely take place in Chichewa.

This is a situation most likely to be found in the regions of Malawi in which Chichewa is the most common language. In the Northern region however Tumbuka is the most widely spoken language. One nursing student states that difficulties can arise when students are on placement in regions where they are not familiar with the language/s commonly used by patients, as 'it's really difficult cause there [in the North] mostly people speak Tumbuka' so students 'try very hard to learn Tumbuka' [Student #75 KCN].

There are two main linguistic issues which arise in medical based work placements. They both concern students having adequate linguistic resources to effectively communicate with patients. The first issues occur when students are placed in hospitals or clinics where they do not share a common language with patients. The second issue is a result of students being educated mainly in English and either not having, or not being confident in their ability to use, linguistic resources from another language to interact with patients.

Taking the first issue, there are a number of contexts in which this could arise. It could, as in the above example, occur when students do not have access to linguistic resources in a particular Malawian language. It can also occur when students themselves come from backgrounds in which Chichewa is not one of their commonly used languages. A lecturer [Staff #50] from the College of Medicine gives this example, and highlights the difficulties which this can cause stating that:

> We have students from the Northern Region. Alright, we teach them in English, they go to the hospital for a clinical placement. They meet these patients who speak Chichewa and the instructions they have to give are in Chichewa and you find a lot of the students struggling to give those instructions because their background, the local language they have is maybe Tumbuka and the patient they see is Chewa maybe who would not even understand Tumbuka but they have to give instructions,

they have to ask questions and they would have to do that in the language of the patient. So it's a challenge.

Students have to navigate between the language of input – English – and the language of output – Chichewa. This also causes difficulties for students who have largely English-speaking backgrounds either from Malawi or international students. In these situations, for example when working in a local pharmacy, where 'there is some patients who would not know English' it would be standard practice to ensure that 'foreign students' are 'never alone' so that any information can be translated [Staff #51 COM].

Individuals interviewed disagreed on the efficacy of the process of translation. Some believed that it is an effective method, either finding another student or a staff member who can translate between students and patients, or patients and staff. One student suggests that it is effective, and part of the learning process which allows students to acquire the appropriate vocabulary for the context they're in; however, 'it can be hectic and time taking cause you really need to pass through and say "okay what is he saying?" So someone get it it's more like a three way yeah' [Student #75 KCN]. Others do view it as less effective as information may get omitted or mistranslated with one student stating that 'you don't say everything the patient says, you just say those things that you'll manage to translate to the doctor' [Student #83 KCN].

These issues surrounding translation are compounded by 'how difficult it is to um to shift from English and then to use our own local languages' [Staff #50 KCN]. Students highlight that it is useful to be taught content in the language/s which they will need to use when they are on placement, it is helpful for 'the lecturers…to teach us in Chichewa the actual things that we have to say to the patients' [Speaker #3 KCN Focus Group]. At times, issues can arise for students when attempting to translate medical terminology into Chichewa as patients' understanding of different terms may differ and 'it becomes a challenge' [Student #21 COM]. Others suggest that while it would be difficult to explain 'jargon' in Chichewa, the simplified explanations of medical conditions which students give to patients 'is easy in Chichewa' [Student #4 COM]. Terminology can also be an issue when using Chichewa in hospitals as there are terms in Chichewa which could be considered taboo as 'in most cultures you wouldn't communicate uh messages of sexual

nature uh to an elderly person using those concepts in Chichewa so that poses some problems' [Staff #87 KCN].

Finally, students must sit practical examinations and have to navigate the linguistic situations in these contexts while doing so. It is common for students to have be assessed 'using a form…in English' while they would have to 'assess [the] patient in Chichewa, they have to write a report to use in English' [Staff #50 COM]. They would also be observed 'treating a patient but the instructions that the student is giving to this patient are in Chichewa and you have an external examiner who will not understand Chichewa but is examining' [Staff #50 COM]. Students highlight that this causes them added stress during their examinations as they have to go between languages to communicate with different people. This portrays the reality of work placements in a multilingual society like Malawi. Language plays a key part in navigating work placements and can lead to a number of issues if not appropriately taken into account.

5.2.1.f Staff-staff interactions

Before moving on to discuss university signage and language use amongst students in social interactions, this section will focus on the ways in which staff use language when they are interacting with each other. This will cover contexts involving only staff such as staff meetings and informal interactions between staff members.

As English is widely considered to be the official business language of Malawi, staff meetings are reportedly undertaken mainly through the medium of English. In staff meetings 'you barely see anyone reverting back to Chichewa, it's a bit strictly English' [Staff #35 CHANCO]. In part the reason for this is that these are official, formal situations, the proceedings of which have to be reported in meeting minutes. One staff member states that English is essential here as 'they have to take minutes and um it's too difficult to take minutes in Chichewa [Staff #64 COM]. The idea that Chichewa is unsuitable to use in written communication means that 'any written communication and in meetings, official email communication, it has to be English' [Staff #47 MUST]. However, while English may be the main language used in staff meetings, and the main language for official communications, it is not the case that it is the only language used.

Some staff state that, while English is the sole language used for official business in meetings, individuals will at times use Chichewa. Similarly, to classroom contexts, Chichewa is reported to be used in staff meetings for joke telling. While one staff member states that Chichewa is used 'maybe in jokes just to spice the meetings' he then goes on to say 'but we don't speak uh Chichewa or any other language in meetings' [Staff #81 LUANAR]. However, Chichewa is also reported to be used in meetings for purposes other than humour. There can be an 'interspersing of Chichewa' which is used 'for emphasis purposes' when someone wants to stress a particular point in the meetings [Staff #91 CHANCO]. This is reiterated by other members of staff, such as one who states that Chichewa is used to emphasise points and 'to stamp or maybe to underline something' [Staff #48 CHANCO]. Chichewa is used if staff want to 'allude to a certain proverb' or a culturally specific and relevant reference to the topic being discussed [Staff #48 CHANCO]. Chichewa can be used in this way to 'bring a proverb…to bring the people home' as 'they are not home by speaking English' and Chichewa can be used to allow people 'to understand something better' [Staff #81 LUANAR].

While Chichewa may then be used in formal staff meetings to emphasise or underscore a particular point, or indeed purely for the purposes of humour, it is not something which can be used freely in all staff meetings. There may be times when there are non-Malawians in meetings, and it would appear rude and unfair to use Chichewa in these instances as not all present would understand. One non-Malawian staff member reports that in meetings 'if I'm in the room it'll be in English cause everybody knows my Chichewa's rubbish' [Staff #7 POLY]. There is also an accepted level of Chichewa use in meetings and one staff member stresses that it is important that you don't 'start overdoing it' as it 'would be awkward if you engaged too much into it [speaking Chichewa]' and therefore 'everybody's just cautious' to ensure that they are not seen to be speaking too much Chichewa [Staff #81 LUANAR]. The use of Chichewa in meetings does not get noted in official channels as 'they have to translate it' [Staff #64 COM] and any Chichewa speech would be translated into English for the formal minutes of the meeting.

Outside of meetings, the language use in staff interactions will depend on the individual preferences of individuals but also on the professional relationship between the individuals.

As for students, English is a language of prestige for staff members and it is advantageous to be seen to be speaking English as 'when you speak in English as an academic…people admire to say you know what you mean, what you are about' [Staff #10 POLY]. English is perceived as the appropriate language for universities and so people who are employed in an academic position in universities should speak English. Speaking English makes you look more professional than someone who speaks Chichewa. This is summarised clearly by one staff member when discussing their language use:

Staff #35 CHANCO: I would use Chichewa yeah mostly um although actually surprisingly I don't know whether I do this consciously or you know um but it would depend on the level of the staff like if it's say maybe the secretaries then I would speak Chichewa but if it's the dean then I'll use English yeah.

Researcher: why why is that?

Staff #35 CHANCO: um I don't know I guess trying to keep a professional type you know in front of the dean.

Another staff member states that English would be used 'especially when you are speaking to your boss…but colleagues at the same level then it's Chichewa' [Staff #91 CHANCO]. Similarly, another notes that they 'can't speak to the principal in Chichewa' [Staff #84 KCN]. This is done to show a more senior member of staff respect and reflects Myers-Scotton's (1982) findings amongst communities in Kenya in which English, the language of education, is used by individuals when talking to their bosses. These conversations would not necessarily always be in English as if the senior member of staff begins to speak Chichewa 'then you feel free to speak in Chichewa' [Staff #91 CHANCO]. However, for more junior levels of staff, or when interacting with colleagues in similar positions, Chichewa is more common. As mentioned in the quotation above, it would be common to talk to administrators in Chichewa as, for example, one staff member notes 'if I go try and find out if the secretary has some papers, it will be Chichewa' [Staff #47 MUST]. This would also be the case for janitorial staff where Chichewa would generally be used as, due to differing levels of English competence, 'even if you greet the security guard in English,

I don't think, there's only a certain amount of conversation he can keep up with you' [Staff #35 CHANCO]. As one staff member notes, this is due to the fact that 'there are different categories of people' for example 'the cleaners' and 'the people who also take care of the grounds, you can't speak to them in English' as 'most of them don't understand' [Staff #86 KCN].

From staff interviews it can be seen that English remains a dominant language for staff to staff interactions. Chichewa is used between staff, in both formal meetings and more informal contexts, but its use is limited due to the desire to appear and act professionally in the university context.

5.2.2 University signs

This section will highlight aspects of the linguistic landscape of the universities in Malawi, using pictures of signs collected during periods of observation. As discussed in Section 4.2.1, investigating the linguistic landscape of an area can give an insight into the multilingual nature of the space. The linguistic landscape will also be discussed in Section 5.2.4. The following section will focus on official, university-produced signage. In showcasing how language is used on official signage, the multilingual nature of universities in Malawi will be shown.

English is clearly visible in official signage on university campuses in Malawi as can be seen in Figure 3. This sign is written entirely in English with a simple message presumably directed towards students, staff, and visitors to the campus. Figure 4 shows a sign which is similarly written entirely in English, directed towards students using the university's library.

Figure 3. English sign 1
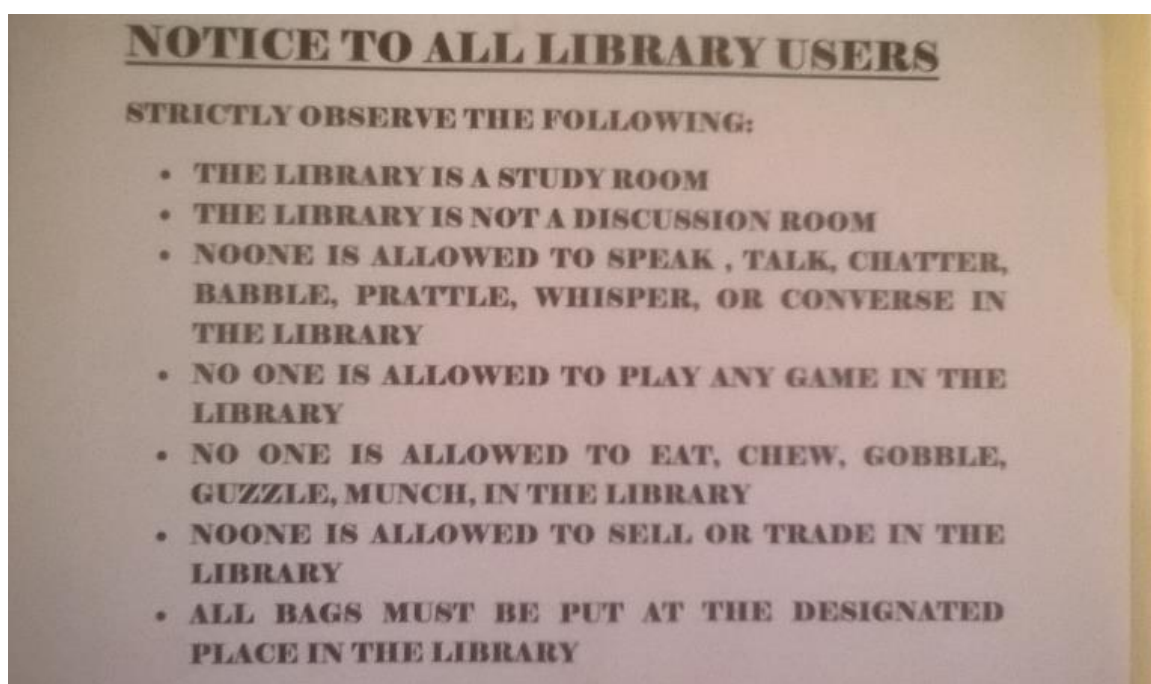
Figure 4. English sign 2

These two figures represent signs which are relatively straightforward in terms of being purely monolingual and written in Standard English. Figures 5 and 6 however highlight a more interesting aspect of the linguistic landscape of one university. Figure 5 shows an

official sign from a university head of department. Again, this sign is written in English; however, there are a number of features which could be considered errors or examples of non-Standard English or of Malawian English. This is something which does not go unnoticed by students on the campus who, as can be seen in Figure 6, write on the sign to 'correct' the mistakes. This provides insight into the variety of English language skills which are present within the university. Ultimately, what these signs indicate is that while English is present within the university environment, there are different forms of English on the campuses.
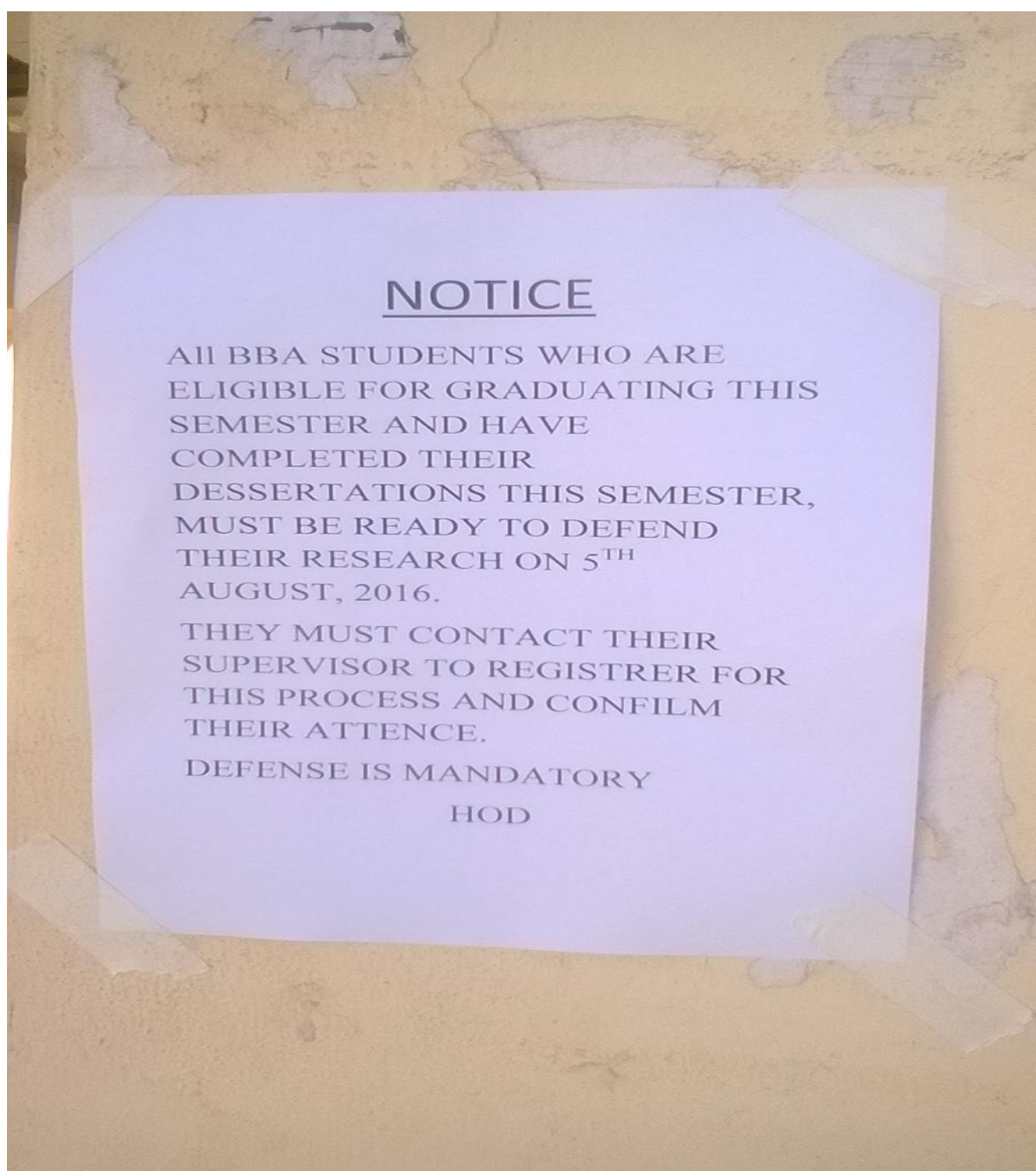
Figure 5. English sign 3
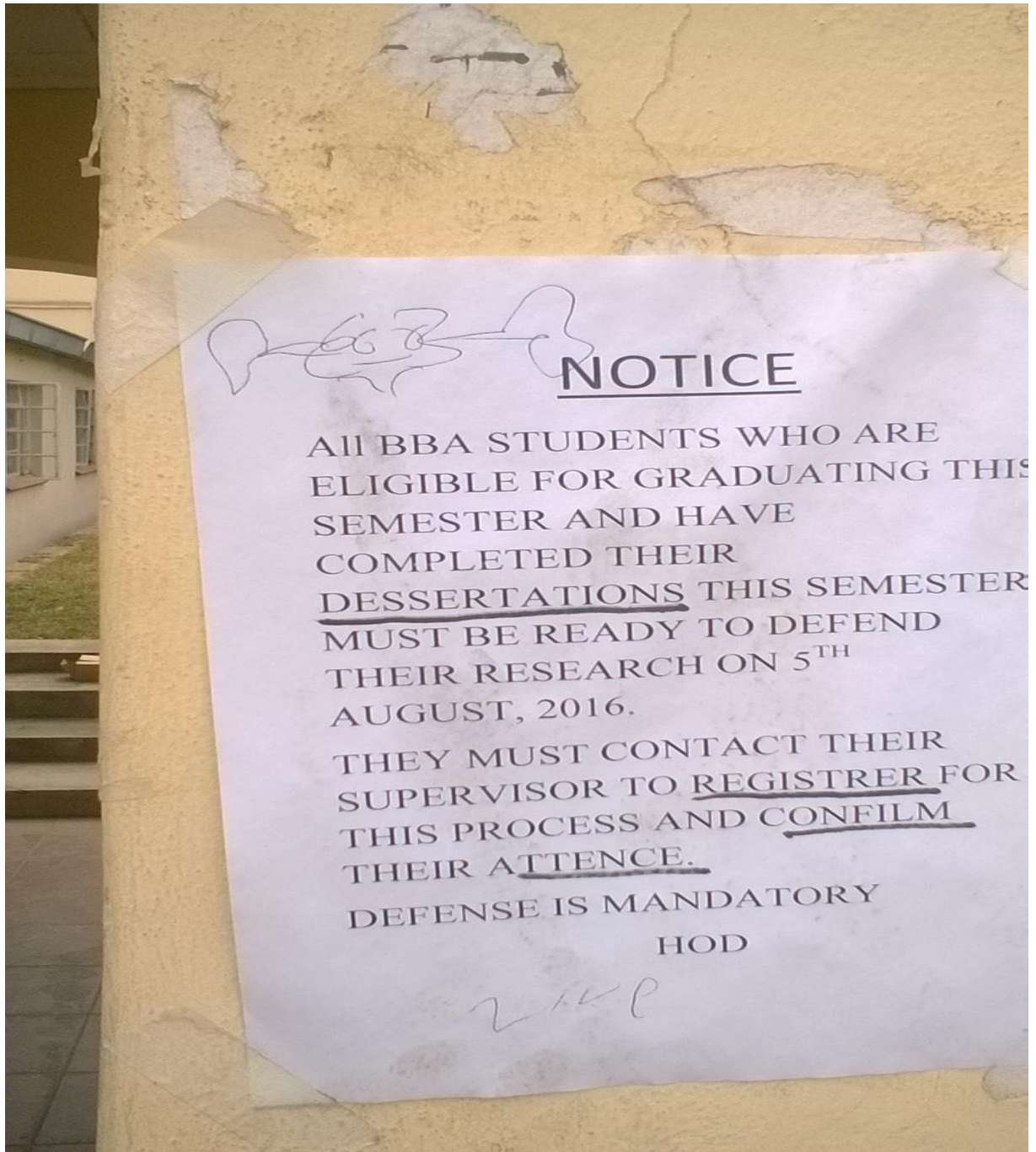
Figure 6. English sign 3 edited

Figures 7, 8 and 9 are examples of official university signage which are bilingual. Figures 7 and 8 are no smoking signs written first in English with a Chichewa translation – osasuta fodya – written underneath. As in the examples above, these are likely signs directed at a wide range of people on the campus, students, staff, and visitors. This could provide a reason for the use of Chichewa on the signs, in that they are also directed at individuals visiting and working in the university who may not be expected to know English.

Figure 9 however is different in that it is an English and Chitumbuka bilingual sign regarding traders operating on the campus. Two aspects of this sign make it stand out from those previously discussed. The first is that it is more likely that this sign is directed to local salespeople and not to those within the university which is likely to be a reason for the use of Chitumbuka. A student in another university notes that salespeople, hawkers and venders, are individuals that have 'never been at school before, so they don't know how to speak English' [Student #71 LUANAR]. Secondly the Chitumbuka section of the sign has not technically been fully translated into Chitumbuka. A Chitumbuka translation of Mzuzu University would be Yunivesite ya Mzuzu. However, the university retains its English name. This is likely both due to the prestige associated with English which the university wants to maintain, and also to the fact that the English term would be commonly used and recognised even by those unable to read the English version of the message. What these signs do clearly indicate is that, even in official signage, the linguistic landscape of the university is not one which is monolingual and that languages other than English are present and visible on campus.

Figure 7. English/Chichewa sign 1

Figure 8. English/Chichewa sign 2

Figure 9. English/Chitumbuka sign 1

This section has discussed language use patterns in the academic domain. It has been shown that English is viewed as dominant language within academic domains. From the previous research summarised in Section 3.3.2, this is to be expected and this finding mirrors other studies into African contexts such as Morocco (Chakrani and Huang 2014), Nigeria (Adriosh and Razi 2016), South Africa (Dominic 2011, South African Department of Higher Education and Training 2015), and Tanzania (Kalmanlehto 2014) in which a former colonial language is dominant within formal academic environments. However, English is not the only language which is found in academic domains and Chichewa is also used. When Chichewa is used in classroom environments it is often still stigmatised as it is largely not viewed as a suitable language for use in that environment. The negative attitudes towards Chichewa, which will be discussed further in Section 6.2 and 7.3.2, reflect a widespread tendency in African countries for citizens to display negative attitudes towards African languages (Adegbija 1994) and view them as inappropriate for education. In terms of students' language use when working together on academic assignments, the data have illustrated that they make use of their multilingual resources to assist them when completing assignments, reflecting findings from Marie (2013) in Rwanda, Dominic (2011) in South Africa, Halvorsen (2010) and Kalmanlehto (2014) in Tanzania, and Njurai (2015) in Kenya.

5.2.3 Social

Outside of the educational domains of university, students' social interactions provide another, less formal, domain for exploring language practices within the university campus. As discussed above, for many English is viewed as the sole and most contextually appropriate language for academic environments with Chichewa being out of place in the academic context. This section will discuss the perception that this is reversed within the

social domains, with Chichewa being the norm and English being the inappropriate language. It will then problematise this simple viewpoint and highlight the complexity of language use within the social domain. Finally, this section will illustrate that despite the assertion from some participants that socially there are no rules regarding what languages should be used, there are strong tendencies dictating language use in social interactions amongst students.

For some staff and students there is a clear-cut split between the language of the educational domain and the language of the social domain. The social is associated with informality, with relaxing and having fun with friends. This is then associated with the 'vernacular' or language of the home. As one staff member states 'if it comes to social life everything is done in Chichewa [it is] rare for people to speak English while they are chatting or doing other social activities' [Staff #80 LUANAR]. This is echoed by a number of students who state that 'when it comes to university when you are chatting with friends eti (not so) you speak Chichewa' [Speaker #2 POLY Focus Group] and 'when you're chatting to friends then you speak in Chichewa' [Student #90 BIU]. The reason given for the use of Chichewa in social interactions is because largely students are more comfortable in this language 'cause…it's our language' [Student #93 BIU].

In addition to Chichewa, the language use reports from some participants suggest that it is the language which they are most comfortable with that they will speak in social interactions. For some this will be a Malawian language other than Chichewa. The reason that these languages will be used in social communication is that students will revert to their 'normal' language use in social contexts. As one student reports that 'for communications outside the class then it's like the normal language like you talk of Tumbuka, the Chewa yeah sure' [Student #60 LUANAR]. The normal language here then is the everyday language of students, the language they will use to interact with their family and in their lives outside of university. The sense of comfort and wellbeing which is associated with speaking these languages comes from the fact that individuals are more used to using them in their interactions than, say, English. When discussing their use of Chitumbuka socially, one student expresses the opinion that 'I think it's just mentality that we have because we are used to our vernacular so when we are chatting we feel good I think when I speak, I enjoy when I speak Tumbuka that's when I feel it [laughs]' [Student #60 LUANAR]. There is a perception that the social domain of the university has more in

common with the home domain as opposed to the education domains of university lectures. In this way students' language use more closely reflects their language use habits in non-educational settings. This is encapsulated by one student who suggests that 'in Malawi as Chichewa is the mother language, English is a foreign language so the home is best, they normally use what home is' in social situations [Student #62 MZUNI].

Combined with the idea that social settings are more informal, relaxed environments is a belief that there are not strict policies dictating what languages can be used. In social contexts students are perceived to be free to use whatever language they choose to speak. In social settings there is no one to police your language use and no one to reprimand you for the use of inappropriate language and so 'when it's students to students you are free, you are free to communicate in whatever language' [Student #59 MZUNI]. Staff also recognise the freedom associated with the social space with one commenting that 'they are free to use whatever language they want' [Staff #51 COM]. Students illustrate that the social settings are ones in which multiple languages can be used, as one student reports that 'sometimes it's English, sometimes it's Chewa, sometimes it's Yao, sometimes I do a little Tumbuka' [Student #78 KCN]. The social setting then is a more clearly multilingual environment than the classroom, one in which students readily draw on their multilingual repertoires for communication with their friends.

While this freedom may be the case in principle, in reality there remain restrictions on the ways in which language can be used in the social domain. Individuals' language skills will be discussed in more detail in Section 5.3.1; however, from interviews it is evident that not all students will speak all languages which are present in the university. Students who come from minority language backgrounds may choose to speak Yao when they are amongst other Yao speakers, but non-Yao speaking students clearly will not. Students report that at times groups from similar tribal backgrounds will speak in a common language, to the discomfort of other students who are not able to participate in the interaction. One student notes that 'there are some they like speaking in Chichewa, so I speak to them in Chichewa, some like speaking in Tumbuka, I speak a little bit of Tumbuka though they just laugh at me' [Student #29 MUST]. This illustrates a key factor in social interactions, students will adapt their language choice and language use to attempt to accommodate those with whom they are interacting. This is not always entirely

successful as the above quotation highlights that a perceived lack of proficiency in a language may lead to ridicule.

Of particular interest within the social domain is the place of English. As has been discussed above English is perceived as the language of education and Chichewa widely regarded as the main language which is used outside of the classroom. This is true for some students to the extent that one reports that 'if you prefer to speak English…it will be harder for you on the social scene because some people only speak in Chichewa' [Speaker #2 BIU Focus Group]. The impression here is again that the language of the social domain is Chichewa, however there are some students who, due to their background, are more comfortable using English. Largely as a result of the different socioeconomic and linguistic backgrounds of students, a portion of the student cohort will have English as their main home language, as opposed to a Malawian language. Students who have attended fee-paying private schools are perceived to be more likely to speak in English. These students are positioned as different to people 'from these like normal schools like local schools' [Student #29 MUST] who may be more likely to use Chichewa. These different school backgrounds and the effect they have on language use and students' identity is summarised well by one student:

> Yeah, especially yeah you know at college you meet people from different backgrounds some of us we grew up in the ghettos where we speak Chichewa throughout, some of them went to high schools were they are forced to speak English, they come from families where they were speaking English so those mostly, those people from high schools where there, yeah, they are at home where they are speaking English they express sometimes in English [inc] maybe they can start with English maybe end up in Chichewa or speak English throughout if they have someone who can understand English easily like yeah or from a same background but for us some of us where we grew up in the ghettos we can speak English sometimes but not that often because it can be some kind, people start wondering 'hey man we grew up together in the ghetto why are you speaking English because you are at college or what just speak in this same language we grew up speaking'. [Student #33 LUANAR]

This quotation also begins to discuss the translanguaging practices of students, which will be discussed in further detail in Section 5.4. However, what it crucially summarises is that while there is an expectation that students from 'high schools' will use English frequently, for those who are not from high schools there is a social stigma attached to speaking too much English which will cause others to criticise them as if they are in some way betraying their roots and their identity. There is a distinct social separation in the universities dependent on students' socioeconomic background, and this distinction can materialise through language use. One student states that those who 'come from well-to-do families they have been raised in a whole different culture, yeah most of them tend to still speak English but the majority uh they speak Chichewa' [Student #57 MZUNI]. There is a key distinction set up here between these two separate groups of students, and language is a key part of that distinction. It is a common belief that students who attend prestigious high schools tend to 'have clusters' [Staff #48 CHANCO] and remain apart from other social groups. A staff member details the separation of social groups in stating that these students are thought to be 'softies...they are taken as maybe people who are- who have been treated softly by their parents yeah with kid gloves yes so and they they take them as uh hrm maybe they they are used to eating like spaghetti noodles and eh they wouldn't want to eat like what we call nsima…they have laptops and all those kind of gadgets' [Staff #48 CHANCO]. These groups of students, more likely to speak English are stated to be more likely to be wealthier and not to eat traditional Malawian food. From informal conversations and observation notes taken at one university, this is a common belief. In one university there is a cafeteria which serves meals such as spaghetti and is more expensive than the cafes outside of the campus which serve nsima (the staple food in Malawi). Students report that those coming from high school will go to the on-campus cafeteria and speak English in this space, while those from non-private schools will go to the cheaper cafes outside of campus and speak Chichewa in that space. This relationship between socioeconomic position and language use is reiterated by another staff member who states the following:

> you can easily see these are rich students even you can look at their phone…it will be very different form the cell phone of these guys who are speaking vernacular…it's the rich students that is why if you walk in the corridors you'll find English, English, English. They are rich student so they have watched a lot of cartoons when they are young. Cartoons in English, they have watched movies in

English you know and they use this this language to buy these expensive gadgets, phones so you find a student has a very big i-pad, has a good smart phone, cell phone. Their sole characteristics, mostly the rich students associate with each other they will use English to communicate with each other. [Staff #82 LUANAR]

Speaking English pairs with other attributes, such as having more expensive and up-to-date mobile phones, to mark individuals out as being from a wealthy background. Students' background and upbringing is viewed as a crucial factor in how they use language at the university. This can also lead to segregation in social environments as it is believed that wealthy, English-speaking students will associate mainly with other wealthy, English-speaking students. Here, the language use of groups is another layer and a very obvious factor which illustrates the social stratification of groups of students.

While some report that the social space is one which is free from rules regarding what languages one must speak, this is not the case. It becomes clear that there are sociolinguistic rules which dictate the suitability for using different languages in different contexts. Students indicate that there is a desire to be seen as someone who can speak English because to not speak English, or to be perceived to be making mistakes in your English, is embarrassing. One student states that 'you wouldn't want to look like someone who doesn't know English around the campus. They'd say "how did you get yourself here?"' which would lead to 'humiliation' (Speaker #3 BIU Focus Group). However, it is also the case that speaking English is not appropriate in all circumstances and can lead to stigmatisation and accusations of being pompous. One student illustrates this, discussing their early days at the university before they were aware of the sociolinguistic rules in place:

we wondered why people are just staring at us, just staring, just staring. So they used to speak a lot of Chichewa outside, we would speak a lot of English outside…they'd just look at you like 'oh these pompous little kids'. [Speaker #5 MZUNI Focus Group].

It is not simply the case that there are only positive connotations towards the use of English and there are unspoken rules which exist around the suitability of languages in different contexts. Initially it may seem that social environment is one in which Chichewa is the sole language but the social is also a domain which is multilingual and in which people have fluid language practices. There are frameworks in place for what is the most acceptable language in different contexts but there is a fluidity inherent within this. The rules are flexible. These rules and the effect they have on students will be discussed in more detail in Section 5.3.2 while the fluid language practices, the translanguaging, which occurs will be discussed in Section 5.4.

5.2.4 Students' signs

Following on from the official signage discussed in Section 5.2.2 this section will focus on non-official, student-made signage on the university campus. In addition to the ways in which the linguistic landscape is created officially by the university, students also play a part in actively constructing the landscape. This highlights the ways in which students use language, and what languages students seek to make visible on the campuses.

Figures 10 and 11 are both adverts for different student societies, mostly written in English except for the meeting venue stated in each. For this the Chichewa term pa kachere tree/pakachele – meaning by the kachere tree, which is a prominent feature on campus – is used.
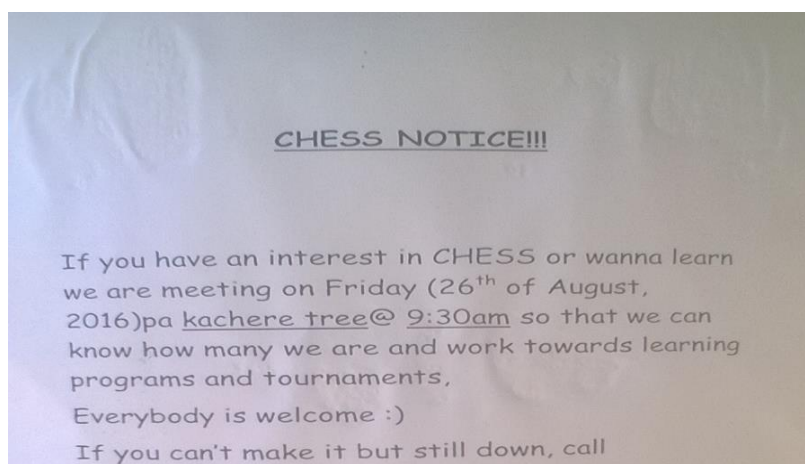
Figure 10. Student sign 1
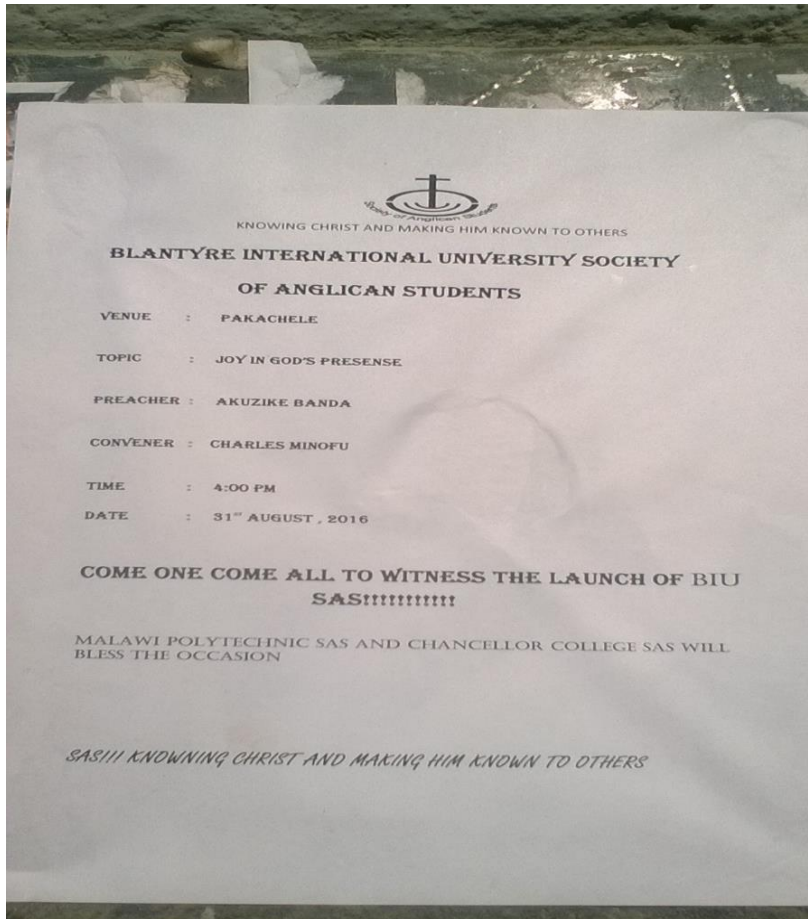
Figure 11. Student sign 2
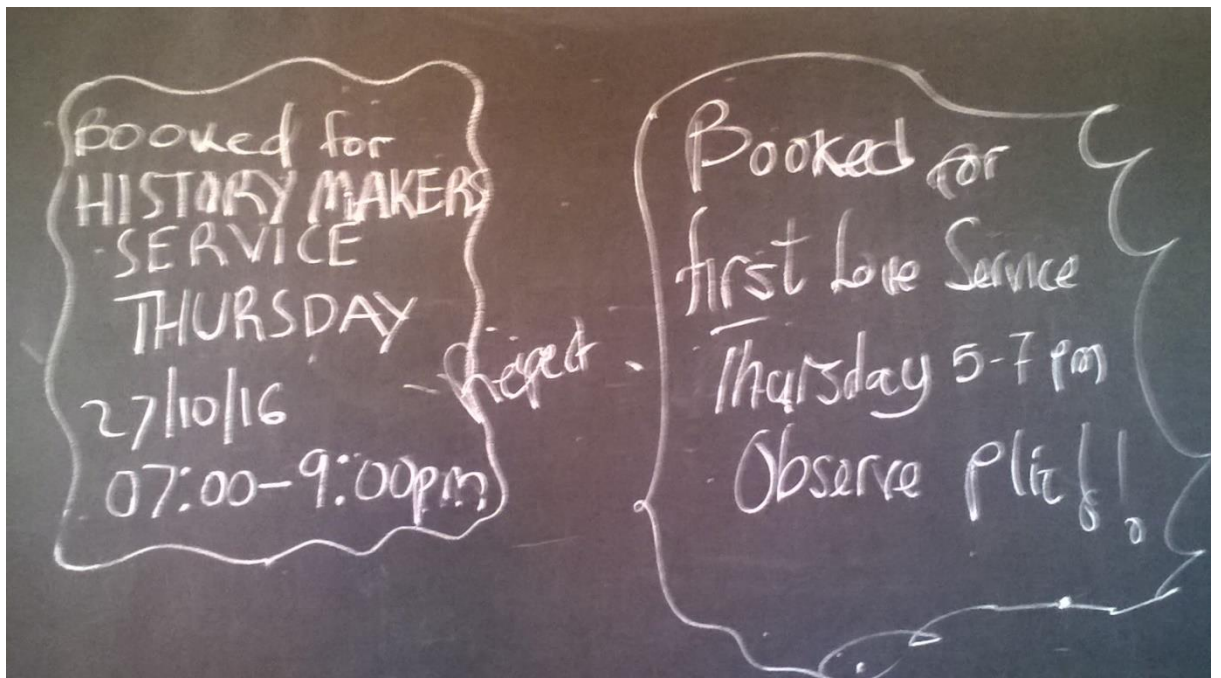
Figure 12. Student sign 3

Figure 12 again shows student signage in English. It is a reminder on the chalk board of a lecture hall that a student group have booked the space. It is written mostly in Standard English aside from the use of the non-standard 'pliz!!'. These signs indicate that students are comfortable and able to use their English language skills. However, it also highlights that students' linguistic repertoires consist of more than just Standard English and they are able to fluidly incorporate resources from other varieties of English, and from other languages, into what are effectively official signs written in Standard English. These signs begin to make visible the multilingual repertoires that students possess. Figure 13 below clearly makes visible the multilingual aspect of individuals' repertoires.

Figure 13. Student sign 4

'Notice. 2 acre piece of land along the road at Mitundu for sale, price is negotiable and anyone interested can call these numbers.'

Figure 13 shows a sign on a campus which is in Chichewa advertising the sale of a piece of land. This sign is potentially aimed at both students and all staff and could have been placed by someone who is not affiliated with the university. The reasons for it being in Chichewa could be that it is not related to anything concerning the university. At this particular university this type of sign, or signs advertising rooms for rent, are common which suggests that it is acceptable to have signs which are predominately in Chichewa on campus. What this suggests is that there is no need to enforce an English-only environment within the university and the visibility of Chichewa is something with which the university and those within it are perfectly content.

Figures 14 and 15 contain more use of Chichewa, where students have graffitied other student posters. The content of the graffiti ranges from humour, seeking further information, or expressing annoyance. These highlight a process through which students interact with the linguistic landscape and make Chichewa visible through a process of co-creation.
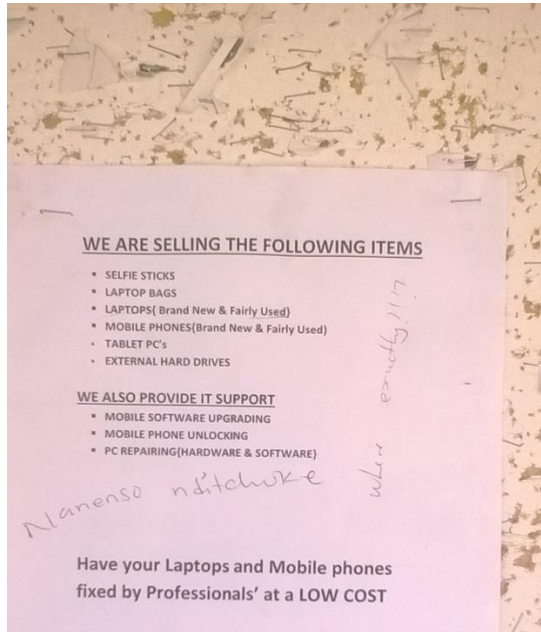
Figure 14. Student sign 5

'Nanenso nditchuke - I too should be famous

Where exactly!!!?'

Figure 14 is a sign advertising the sale of various items as well as IT services. Students have written on the sign, in English and in Chichewa, asking questions and potentially making jokes. This highlights that while signs may be produced in English, students can and will add their own comments onto the signs in Chichewa. In doing so they participate in the process of creating the linguistic landscape of the university and ensure that Chichewa is visible on the campuses.
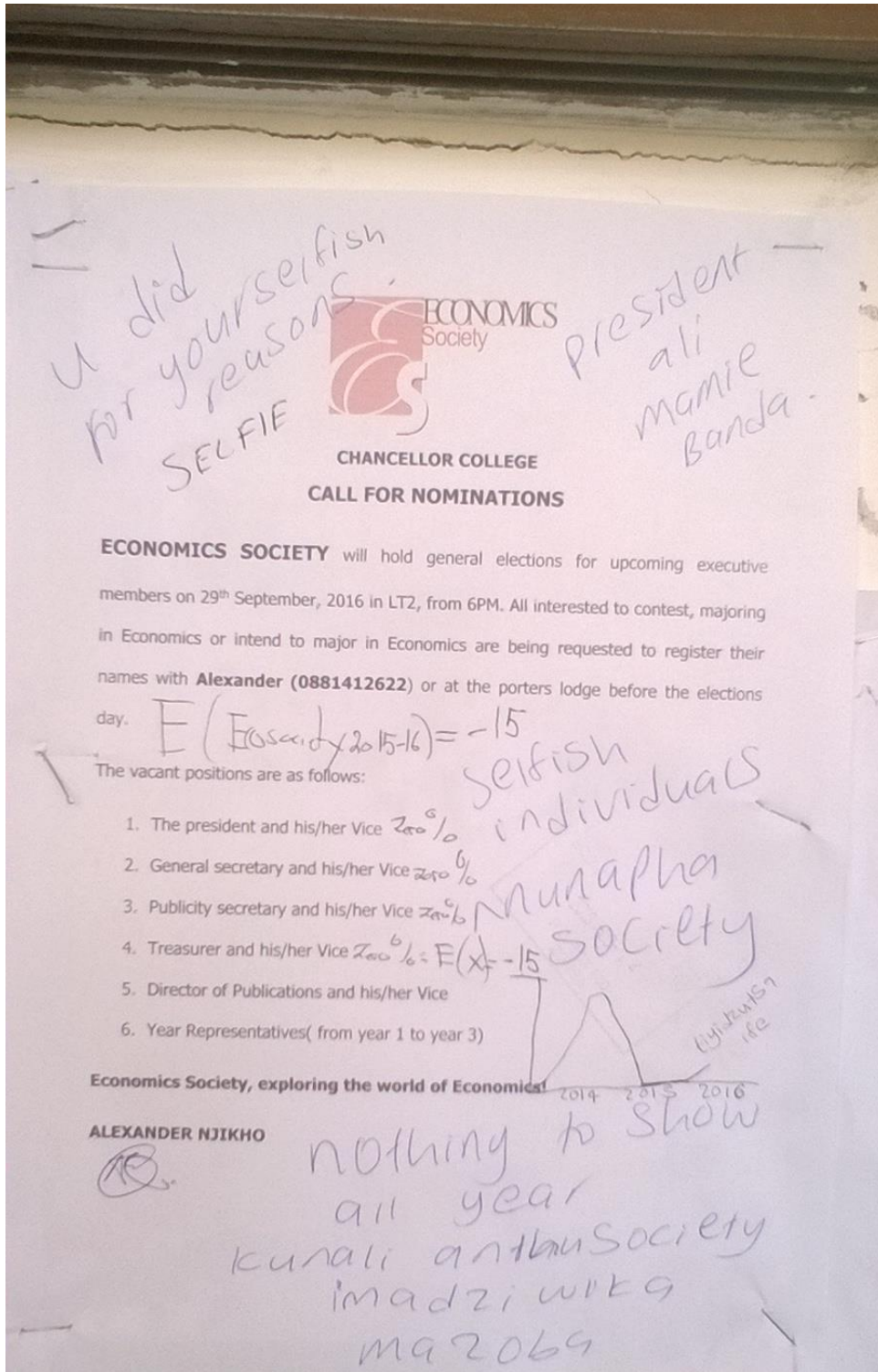
Figure 15. Student sign 6

Clockwise from top left:

'u did for your selfish reasons'

'selfie' 'President ali Mamie Banda (President is Mamie Banda)'

'Selfish individuals munapha society (Selfish individuals you killed the society)'

'tiyidzutsa ife (We will resurrect it)'

'Nothing to show all year, kunali anthu, society imadziwika, mazoba (Nothing to show all year, there were people [before you], the society was known, bastards)'

Figure 15 is a sign advertising upcoming elections for a student society. Another student has written extensively on the sign to signal their anger at the way the current society is being run. In doing this they employ translanguaging and flexibly use their linguistic resources to express their anger. Through the collaborative process and interaction on signs, students foreground the use of translanguaging in the university environment and showcase their range of linguistic resources and their ability to use these resources to make meaning. Multilingualism is thus made visible and positioned as a normal and natural mode of communication on the campus. The final sign which will be discussed, Figure 16, effectively highlights the norm of translanguaging and multilingualism within the universities.

Figure 16. Student sign 7

'Osaphwekesa ndizathuzomwe (don't simplify, this is our own)'

'MASSIVE SOCIOZ (Massive social)'
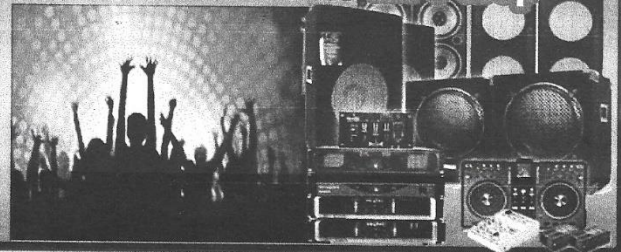
'Mzuni Marquee (ku univerrsity) (Mzuni Marquee (at university))'

'Mzuni Osaphwekesaaa, izi ndi zathu zomwe!!! (Mzuni don't simplify it, this is our own!!!)'

Figure 16 is an advertisement for a large social event at Mzuzu University. The sign highlights the multiple linguistic resources that students are able to use containing Standard English, non-standard English, and the form of Chichewa which has been described as the youth language or Chibrazi (see Section 1.3.3). Discussion with the designer of the poster revealed that the event is not just targeted towards university students as they also wish to attract young people from Mzuzu who are not at the university. The use of translanguaging allows the organisers to signal that it is a formal event at the university, run by university students but also highlights that it is not solely for university students and others are welcome to attend.

What these various pieces of signage have indicated is that the linguistic landscape of the university is something which is very clearly not monolingual. Multiple languages are present on university campuses and students actively engage in making Chichewa visible within the university. Translanguaging can also be observed in the signage, either as part of the original sign or as additional graffiti. This illustrates that students will flexibly draw on their range of linguistic resources for different functions and to ensure that they communicate their meaning effectively. Multilingualism is then clearly present in the signs which are visible in the university and the use of multilingual resources to communicate is shown to be normal. Translanguaging allows for students to draw on resources from named languages such as English or Chichewa but also between varieties of those languages.

This section has illustrated patterns of language use in social contexts. The main finding is that, unlike academic contexts, Chichewa is the dominant language within the social domain. This is due largely to the covert prestige which Chichewa has and the important integrative functions it has as marker of identity. This is in line with expectations and findings in similar African university contexts (Dyers and Abongdia 2014 in Cameroon, Kamwangamulu and Tovares 2016 in Kenya, Aziakpono and Bekker 2010, Parmegiani

2014, Ditsele 2016 in South Africa). Additionally, the use of English in social contexts can be met with stigma (as discussed by Giles and Edwards 2010, Giles and Marlow 2011). Reflecting on the linguistic landscapes within the universities has also revealed that they could be considered to be translanguaging spaces (Wei 2011, 2017) as students make their translanguaging practices visible within the visual landscape of the university environments. This is an example of how the university campuses can be what Straszer (2017, p140) terms a 'translingual landscape' in which the process of translanguaging is used to create and transform the visual landscape of the campuses. Unlike Straszer's study, in which both teachers and students co-create the translingual landscape, the signs above suggest that in Malawian university's this is very much student led. The visual translanguaging of students, particularly in the use of graffiti, show that they are actively engaged in transforming the linguistic landscape of their campuses. The use of translanguaging will be discussed in more detail in Section 5.4. The constraints on language use within the university environments will now be discussed.

5.3 Constraints on language use

This section will discuss key factors which influence, and restrict, the individuals' choices with regards to their language use within the university. These factors will be discussed under two broad categories: language skills and language rules. Discussing the role of language skills in influencing language use will highlight the varying linguistic repertoires and competences of individuals within the university, particularly noting how both a perceived lack of fluency in English and the desire to improve one's English skills impacts language use. Language rules refer to: the official institutional language policies which dictate what languages should be used in different contexts, and the perception of what these policies are; the rules which are imposed by individual members of staff which control the ways in which language is used in academic contexts; the rules which are imposed by students which influence the ways in which language is used in social contexts. It will become evident that the language rules which are found within the university are intrinsically related to perceptions around language skills.

5.3.1 Language skills

Students and staff come to the universities with a variety of language backgrounds and linguistic repertoires. This section will highlight the influence which this has on language

use within the universities. As discussed in Section 3.3.2, previous research in Malawi (Kamwendo 2003) and elsewhere in Africa (Ntereke and Ramoroka 2017 in Botswana, Tshotsho, Mumbembe and Cekiso 2015 in South Africa, Barnett, Deng and Yoasa 2008 in South Sudan, and Komba 2015 in Tanzania) has highlighted that students struggle in university due to their English language skills. Additionally, Kayambazinthu (2000) has noted that linguistic proficiency is a key determiner of language choice in Malawi and the role that students' educational and socioeconomic backgrounds have on their language skills and language use will be discussed.

There is a perception among some that if a student is at the university then they will have adequate English language skills. This is due to the requirements for getting into university, as one student illustrates:

> The moment you- one is here uh it's obvious that he or she is well versed in English because English is taken as ah a priority uh for somebody to come here, so during MSCE one has to score a credit so that that one should be admitted to a university now because of that uh we are blessed assured that ah anybody at least coming here for learning is able to understand English. [Speaker #3 CHANCO Focus Group]

As the only key subject for entering university is English, it is sometimes assumed that all students are fully competent in the language. However, the reality is that passing an English exam in secondary school does not necessarily ensure that students' English skills are at a level where they can comfortably participate in tertiary level education in English. Staff members note the difficulties which students have due to their English skills. One staff member reported that they are 'just kind of shocked' when they read assignments that 'someone in university is struggling to get a hold of their grammar' [Staff #35 CHANCO]. This emerged as a key issue for staff in a number of institutions, as one stated that 'the quality of English language that's presented in thesis and assignments is not great' [Staff #6 POLY] with another noting that the quality of English they see is 'terrible' [Staff #47 MUST]. Staff members also express their frustration as in a number of institutions they are directed not to penalise or correct students' language mistakes in assignments. A staff member reported that one of their colleagues would plead with university management so that they 'could correct the English…in their assignments because it's…terrible' [Staff #6

148

POLY]. Clearly evident here is, as noted by Kamwendo (2003), English language skills present a problem for students at universities in Malawi.

A major factor in students' language skills is perceived to be the type of secondary school which they attended. These can broadly be put into three main categories: community day secondary schools which are government funded, often poorly resourced, public schools; private schools, which can take on a variety of forms, but will be fee-paying schools which teach either the Malawian curriculum or the English curriculum; finally, high schools, which are viewed as prestigious international schools and which will be among the most expensive schools in Malawi and will teach only the English curriculum. As one student states, an individual's language skills 'really depends on the schools' [Speaker #5 BIU Focus Group] which they attended. The ways in which each school impacts the language skills of students coming from them will now be discussed.

Students who attended the prestigious high fee-paying schools will be used to receiving instruction in English and having to communicate in English, as one student says 'I prefer English…I've been studying in English since I was in kindergarten so I prefer to stay in that lane' [Student #2 BIU Focus Group]. This is viewed as beneficial by some students as they are then able to competently and confidently use English for academic purposes within the universities. These students are most accustomed to using English regularly, in part because of the language rules which were in place within their secondary schools. The following report illustrates the strict language policies which were enforced in one particular secondary school:

> Can I give the example of myself? Um for me I went to Kalibu Academy right um the school…we're not allowed to speak Chichewa, you speak Chichewa you will either get detention you have to pay a fine or it was just an immediate punishment right there and then you were not allowed to speak Chichewa nothing, at all nothing. [Speaker #5 MZUNI Focus Group]

For students who experienced this sort of punishment at secondary schools, some view it as beneficial as they are now able to use English fluently such as one student who states

'like myself I was privileged to be at a secondary school where English was encouraged it's like we are forced to speak English from Monday up till Sunday afternoon and if you speak Chichewa or any other language in these days you were given a punishment, see in my case I was privileged to do that but in some secondary schools you're not forced no just do whatever you want speak any language you want' [Student #60 LUANAR]. Punishments which potentially seem extreme and harmful to students' development, such as not allowing them to speak their home languages, become viewed as beneficial by the students themselves. They view themselves as more fortunate than students who did not attend such schools as they are now more comfortable at university.

However, there is a perception that students from these schools, with highly developed English skills will not have much competence in Chichewa. It then becomes difficult for these students to have conversations using Chichewa as they can't 'actually grasp that Chichewa because they never focused much on it' [Speaker #3 MZUNI Focus Group] in their secondary school. These are individuals who 'can grow up even without speaking Chichewa' [Speaker #5 LUANAR Focus Group]. Their ability to have conversations, socially, in Chichewa is therefore limited by the language skills which they possess.

This is viewed as something which can negatively affect these students and there is a perception that 'high school students' are regularly withdrawn, in part because they speak mostly English. This is due to a 'theory, that's why we say accommodate with society because if you talk more, like English on campus people might hide some information' [Speaker #2 MZUNI Focus Group]. This idea of having to accommodate towards the norms of university language use is true for most students as students reported that patterns of language use would change as they continued in their university career. While some students would come to university and 'they are excited that they are at university and they think, university life you can, it's about speaking English' as they continue their degrees and as 'they are going in second year they stop that' [Student #68 LUANAR]. The reason given for this is that as university gets more difficult students must rely on help from their classmates. To socially integrate and get help from other students you have to be seen to 'accommodate' and to speak Chichewa to ensure you are not viewed as pompous. One student recalls a lecturer's comments in their first year of university: 'I remember…like the first days, like the girls were speaking English, like are these guys from Malawi or are they

coming from somewhere else? The way they spoke and then the lecturers would be like "ah don't worry don't worry just wait for a moment like when school gets tough they'll speak Chichewa"" [Student #16 COM]. That English-speaking high school students would not integrate fully into university life was a recurring topic which emerged in informal conversations during participant observation, as illustrated in the observation extract below:

> The idea of high school students being the ones who drop out. It's because of the fact that they can't integrate properly because people think they're pompous and they can't make friends. [Observation Notes 22nd August 2018]

Students' language use may therefore change over time as they develop and integrate into the university environment and the linguistic rules which govern it.

For students who did not attend these prestigious schools but attended government run schools, their language skills may influence their language use in the universities. There is a 'challenge of community day school students' as their schools 'don't focus much on English so the students who are there it's very difficult for them to speak in English' [Speaker #6 BIU Focus Group]. There are also socioeconomic elements within this as the perception is that poorer students will attend these schools, as one student says 'we have some poor poor poor districts here in Malawi where they can't even afford to speak English' [Speaker 2 MUST Focus Group]. This then affects students' language use in universities as for some students, as will be discussed further in Section 6.2 and Section 7.3.1 university provides an opportunity to practise and acquire more confidence and competence in their language skills.

This section has discussed the ways in which students' backgrounds, particularly their educational backgrounds, can impact the language skills they possess which in turn can influence their language use. In line with Kayambazinthu's (2000) findings, these results suggest that linguistic proficiency does act as a restriction on individuals' language choice within the universities. The choices which students are able to make regarding their language use is necessarily limited by their linguistic repertoire. Additionally, the desire to improve one's language skills also affects language choice amongst students. The next

section will provide more detail on external factors which may constrain students' language use.

5.3.2 Language rules

This section will discuss the language rules which are imposed on students. These will be grouped into three different categories: official institutional language policy; language rules imposed by staff members; language rules imposed by students. This section will begin by highlighting student and staff perceptions of what the official language policy for universities is.

5.3.2.a Official language policy

Tables 1 and 2 highlight staff and student responses to the question 'Is there an official language policy in universities in Malawi?' respectively.[9] Immediately evident from these responses is that there is not a general consensus on whether or not there is a language policy for Malawi's universities. For staff, 44% state that there is no official language policy, with 16% clarifying this to state that the Malawian national language policy of English as official language applies in Malawi's universities. 48% of staff state that there is an official language policy for university and that the official language which should be used at the universities is English. This compares with 51.6% of students who state that the official language is English while 32.3% state that there is not an official language policy and 14.5% state that they do not know. The differing perceptions of whether there is a language policy for universities in Malawi could impact how language use is regulated in different contexts, as will be shown through the following reports of the analysis of interview and focus group data. Knowledge of, and attitudes towards, language policy will be further discussed in Chapter 7.

---

[9] Due to time constraints, not all interviewees were asked this question. The analysis below consists of 25 staff members and 62 students.

Selected Response	No. of responses (percentage of total)
No	7 (28%)
No – not a specific policy but national language policy applies (English as official language)	4 (16%)
Don't know	2 (8%)
Yes – English	12 (48%)

Table 1. Staff responses to 'Is there an official language policy in universities in Malawi?'

Selected Response	No. of responses (percentage of total)
No	20 (32.3%)
No – not a specific policy but national language policy applies (English as official language)	1 (1.6%)
Don't know	9 (14.5%)
Yes – English	32 (51.6%)

Table 2. Student responses to 'Is there an official language policy in universities in Malawi?'

Student and staff comments regarding language policy illustrate the extent to which official policies are thought to affect their own language choices and language use. There is a de facto assumption that English is the language which will be used within the university as one recent first year student states that, despite not being explicitly told a language policy or any rules for what languages they are to use in the university that 'from common sense…you had to communicate in English' [Student #60 LUANAR]. The beliefs and experiences of language policies differ between students and between universities. While the above student reports that there is not a strict language policy which explicitly states that English is the language of university, another student suggests that there are strict rules in place for students who do not speak English within the classroom. They report that when Chichewa is spoken in class a student is 'supposed to be given a punishment, maybe suspension for a week…you'll be suspended for a week to miss classes for 3 credit hours' [Student #42 CHANCO]. While this was not widely reported in the data, it is interesting to note that this student suggested it. This could be from the student's own experience in a

153

classroom or from myths surrounding language policies which perpetuate among specific student groups and which, whether factually true, will influence and regulate these students' language choices. While other students do not suggest that they are heavily punished for speaking Chichewa in class they do note that 'we are not able to ask a question in Chichewa…in class communicating in Chichewa it's not allowed' [Student #38 CHANCO] and that it is due to 'the formality of everything that we have to use English' [Student #16 COM]. The use of Chichewa within the classroom context is thus stigmatised as unwelcome for a number of students within the universities.

Other students do suggest that their language use is heavily regulated within policy in the university, not just in the classroom context, but that it is a rule 'that you're supposed to speaking English when you are on campus' [Student #95 BIU], a rule which is believed to be for the benefit of students so that they can 'enhance also your English' [Student #95 BIU]. In this way a connection is made between language use and language skills as students are encouraged to use English, and reprimanded for using Chichewa, due to the belief that they need to improve their English and that speaking English more frequently in the university environment will enable them to do so. This student does also however reveal the limited extent to which language policy fully regulates language use as while 'it's a must when you are on campus you should speak English' when students are not in classes 'they actually speak Chichewa' [Student #95 BIU].

This discrepancy between language rules at a policy level and actual language use is also seen amongst staff members. Members of staff state that, while the official policy states that they should teach only in English, and that English should be the only language used within the classroom, they at times bend these rules. While 'it's supposed to be English', one lecturer reports that they 'hear people explaining things in Chichewa sometimes maybe because a student hasn't understood' [Staff #46 MUST]. Other lecturers acknowledge deviations from the English norm as an exception to the rule that 'when a lecture is having problems maybe explaining an example to students should be at the very extreme that you have no choice and you have to use Chichewa' [Staff #47 MUST]. The aim for lecturers is then to use English as sole medium of instruction where possible but it is acknowledged that at times this is not the best option. It is also suggested that the use of Chichewa happens unconsciously at times as 'you can be carried away to drop in a little Chichewa

thing' but that 'you have to be alert to remind them [the students] to say they have to try to speak English' [Staff #10 POLY]. While staff may themselves deviate from the English-norm, it is also their responsibility to police the language use of the class and enforce the English-only norm on the students. This however is also not always done in practice as although 'we say "no you have to speak English because that's the official language"…they are allowed to speak in Chichewa once in a while' [Staff #84 KCN].

It is important to note the discrepancy between policy and practice. While one staff member notes that 'students understand that the lecturer is teaching in English, and that's why you must ask in English' [Staff #45 MUST] this is not true for all. While students may be aware of an English-only policy, though as the figures above show not all are, they will at times not follow this policy and 'of course sometimes they do try to ask in Chichewa' [Student #30 MUST] although they are aware this is against the rules. One student draws attention to this situation in reporting that 'it's not allowed to mix in in class, it's English and only policy they implemented for us to speak in the university so you see it's English-only but people do mix, they go to Chichewa' [Speaker #5 POLY Focus Group]. This highlights the limitations of a language policy and the next section will discuss the ways in which staff members attempt to enforce language rules on students who may not be following this English-only policy.

5.3.2.b Language rules imposed by staff

It becomes clear that staff can bend the rules for students' language use as well as their own and this section will focus in more detail on the variety of positions adopted by different staff members and their role as arbitrators of language use. As mentioned in the previous section, there are discrepancies between both staff and students as to whether the universities have a specific language policy, and what this language policy is. One consequence of this is that, to a certain degree, individual staff members, as authority figures in positions of power, are able to dictate the language policies within their own classrooms. What this causes is a situation in which different members of staff produce different language rules for students to follow in their interactions with them both inside and outside of the classroom. This is one reason for the complexity involved in describing the language use situation within Malawian universities as the experiences of how language is used is specific to each individual based on who else they interact with.

The difficulty this poses for students is summarised in the focus group conducted at KCN. During the focus group one student discussed the idea that there 'are some hidden, I think, policies' as 'what other lecturers actually knows is that we only speak English not Chichewa here, but some of them don't know that, they'll mix it and mix Chichewa and English but it's really confusing' [Speaker #2 KCN Focus Group]. This point was reiterated by another student who describe is as 'a challenge cause…some lecturers will say "okay you can speak Chichewa throughout" …but then it's others who say English' [Speaker #4 KCN Focus Group]. Students are then forced to adapt to different language rules placed upon them by different members of staff.

It is commonly reported that staff members will not allow students to use Chichewa to ask questions in class. Some students view this as an unnecessary restriction and as unfair because 'we can have a question but we fail to ask them because it's in Eng- you don't know that word in English' [Student #90 BIU]. This leads to students being unable to ask the questions they want to ask in class as if they speak Chichewa the lecturers 'don't actually answer…one of the things' and if 'you don't even know the English word' for an aspect of your question then 'you just have to sit down, don't ask' [Student #78 KCN]. Students are then not able to fully participate in their learning as they are unable to ask questions regarding aspects that they do not understand. This imposition of this rule on students does differ between lecturers and sometimes the same lecturer will impose different rules on their classes depending on 'what type of mood they're in, sometimes they're okay with Chewa and then they'll be like "no don't ask me in Chewa"' [Student #16 COM]. Lecturers then will react to students who use Chichewa in class in different ways, enforcing language rules on their students differently. Some will directly tell the students to speak in English as one student reports that a lecturer would respond by saying 'we are in class speak English' [Student #43 CHANCO]. Others will not directly tell a student to change the language they are using but would repeatedly respond by saying 'I didn't hear that' or 'I didn't get that' until other students tell the student to speak in English while others are said to ignore students speaking in Chichewa [Student #24 MUST]. As mentioned, some staff 'would answer anyway' to a question asked in Chichewa 'but most of the response will still be in English' [Student #57 #MZUNI]. How students cope with lecturers who will not accept questions in Chichewa also differs. As already mentioned, some will sit down without having asked their question, others will 'paraphrase it into

English' or 'tell a colleague that "maybe you can explain to him what I'm saying"' [Student #58 MZUNI].

Emerging from students' reports on the language use of classrooms are different language rules applying to staff members and students. There is what some students perceive to be a hypocrisy on the part of some staff who will speak Chichewa themselves but not allow students to use the language in their classrooms. For example, one student states that 'it's bad…cause they're speaking to us in Chichewa and they don't allow us to speak to them in Chichewa' [Student #92 BIU]. This situation arises because of the position of power which staff members have. For students, 'the lecturer is the boss yeah so sometimes he can express in whatever language he wants' but they are not able to do so 'because we don't have [as] much freedom as lecturers' [Student #33 LUANAR] and while students 'have to speak English…when she [the lecturer] speaks Chichewa we don't question her' [Student #83 KCN]. Within the classroom there exists a hierarchy in terms of who has the power to regulate language use, with the lecturers being on top.

Discrepancies in the ways in which lecturers choose to enforce language rules also exist outside of the classroom when students seek help from lecturers either in their offices or between classes. One student recalls going to ask a lecturer a question, in Chichewa, in the lecturer's office and being met with the following response: 'I'm teaching you how to communicate in English so just coming to me again and asking Chichewa uh just get out of my office' [Student #1 MUST]. Other staff members report acting in a similar way to students and outline their reasoning for enforcing a strict English-only monolingual language rule onto students both inside and outside of the classroom, as exemplified by the extract below:

> Yes yes they have attempted to speak in Chichewa. I have stopped them 'sorry it is for your own good to speak to me in English so that you improve you English you you you you you skills in English because the books you will be reading are in English, the essays you will be writing will be in English, so the more you speak this the better, the higher chances of you improving your language otherwise you could fail because you are not able to express yourself'. [Staff #60 MZUNI]

There is a recurring justification which arises from interviews and focus groups of promoting the use of English as a means to increase students' English language skills. As in classroom contexts however this strict rule is not enforced by all lecturers as one notes that they 'don't disadvantage them, I want to hear what they are coming there [to their office] for' so will accommodate whatever language the students wish to use [Staff #64 COM]. It is clear that for many interactions the ways in which language can be used would 'depend on the lecturer' [Student #28 MUST]. The fact that the language rules in the university are so context-dependent can cause confusion for students as one illustrates when discussing the different language rules enforced by a lecturer inside and outside of the class: 'it also confuses me to say they say English in classes but you go to the lecturer the same lecturer to find out information and he says he's free to use uh Chichewa I think I find it a bit hard' [Student #94 BIU].

As mentioned, a major reason behind the motivation for staff to encourage the use of English for students is that students are believed to need to improve their English skills. One staff member notes that 'the idea is still to encourage the student to learn how to express himself, present things in English and not to get used to bringing in Chichewa when the situation is tough' [Staff #47 MUST]. Students are also aware that the promotion of English is done in part to enable them to improve their English skills. English use is promoted on campus as it will help students in 'improving on your grammar, on your communication skills' [Student #29 MUST]. Some students suggest that this is a good thing, and are in favour of lecturers who do not allow Chichewa to be used as this is 'not good because it cannot encourage us to know English' [Student #15 POLY]. These students want to use English so that they are able 'to learn in English fast' as one states that 'most of the times as we are coming to college we still have problems in speaking English so practicing doesn't have to stop it should continue' [Student #19 POLY]. Universities are viewed as spaces in which students have the chance to continue to develop and improve their language skills in English. It can be seen that the language rules which are enforced by some in the university campuses are directly linked to the belief that students need to improve their language skills, in English, and that the way to do this is to speak English more frequently.

This section has illustrated the ways in which staff members impose language rules on students in different spaces in the universities in Malawi. What emerges is a clear picture of the complexity of these rules. Students are subjected to a variety of regulations on their language use based on the practices of different lecturers. While some lecturers seem to legitimise the use of Chichewa in their own language practices, they still censor and stigmatise the language when used by students. The next section will go on to discuss the ways in which students regulate language use amongst themselves both inside the classroom and outside.

5.3.2.c Language rules imposed by students

Thus far this section has highlighted the ways in which official policy and rules imposed by staff influence the ways in which language is used in Malawi's universities. This section will focus on the self-regulation amongst groups of students which influences the ways in which people interact.

To begin, within the classroom there are normative rules of behaviour which students prescribe to and, generally, breaking these norms will be marked by students in some way. A prime example of this is, as discussed at length above, when a student asks a question in Chichewa. There is a suggestion from some students that to use a language other than English in class is not appropriate 'because we all know that at college we can't express our self in Chichewa especially in classes so if you try to express yourself in Chichewa it's like you are just like you are morally not right' [Student #33 LUANAR]. There is a suggestion here that someone who does not act linguistically appropriate is acting in an uncivilised way as one student states when reporting the behaviour of their class representative who is 'supposed to be decent okay, she's supposed to be much more official than us but she speaks Chichewa' [Student #24 MUST]. For these students the act of speaking in Chichewa in classrooms is an inappropriate one. Norms have been constructed both for students and by students regarding acceptable linguistic behaviour and it is notable when these norms are broken. As one student illustrates:

> We have set the mood we have the atmosphere of English now when something, when something comes in it makes it it destroys the atmosphere we have created of

it becomes something strange that we have never heard we have never seen it before cause we- the boundaries we have constructed. [Student #30 MUST]

As a result of this, when students do speak Chichewa in the classroom, other students react. They report regularly acting in a way that will discourage other students from using Chichewa in the classroom. If a student uses Chichewa to ask or answer a question they will be ridiculed. Students laugh, as one student reports 'people do laugh because it's like abnormal to be to be speaking Chichewa' [Student #41 CHANCO]. Students are ridiculed because their language use is inappropriate for the context as they 'are failing to speak what is a must at that time' [Student #23 MUST]. This perception that the student asking a question in Chichewa is unable to do so in English also makes others question their validity as a university student and whether or not they should be made welcome in university. This is because 'it's a funny thing that you are at the university and English is still a problem so people laugh "what were you doing at [secondary school] were you not learning English?"' [Student #25 MUST] and students might question their place within the university - 'if you don't know English that means uh why did you come here?' [Student #31 MUST]. Students will also be ridiculed if they attempt to speak English but make errors as 'if you speak broken English that's when they laugh' [Student #92 BIU]. Through ridiculing those who break the normative language rules and use Chichewa (or 'broken English'), students regulate one another's language use by stigmatising the use of Chichewa and privileging fluent English within the classroom and creating covert language policies for each other. It should be noted that, like many of the language rules which are imposed on the universities, there are exceptions to this and some students report the use of Chichewa by students in classrooms will not cause a reaction from other students at all.

Outside of the classroom, as has been discussed briefly in Section 5.2.3, there are also rules perpetuated by students regarding what languages are appropriate for use. While you have to be seen to be a (fluent) English speaker in the universities, speaking too much English in social settings can lead to stigmatisation and accusations of being 'pompous', boastful and that you want to 'outshine some people' [Speaker #3 MZUNI Focus Group]. There are shared sociolinguistic rules around using English outside of the class, encapsulated by one student:

> Well um you're trying to show off, yeah cause here when you're here everybody somehow they put a belief you just have to speak Chichewa and if you speak English then you're trying to be someone else trying to show off so in order just to fit in, just act like we're all one we just use one language. [Student #56 MZUNI]

To blend in with the general student body, to not stand out as different then one must speak Chichewa socially. Students who are more used to speaking in English discuss having to cope with this when they arrive at university, and to cope with the realisation that 'we're different so I had to start getting used to speaking Chichewa outside' [Speaker #5 MZUNI Focus Group] to integrate socially with other students. This student reports on the strategies they would use when talking to other students. They would 'actually…wait for someone to do the greeting first like whether it would be in English or Chichewa, they start speaking Chichewa I respond in Chichewa like in English I respond in English' [Speaker #5 MZUNI Focus Group]. For this student these mechanisms are essential to navigate the complex linguistic rules as if students do not 'adapt to the society' and the implicit linguistics rules which students have then 'you will look as a stranger' [Speaker #3 MZUNI Focus Group].

However, to suggest that it is only use of English which is stigmatised against by students outside of class does not portray the true complexity of the sociolinguistic rules by which students must abide. There is a line between the extent to which English should be used and to which Chichewa should be used. For example, to use certain elements of Chichewa 'for example to say class in Chichewa' would not be acceptable in the universities as 'someone might say you are deep from the village like…that can be like you are not at school…there is no difference between you and someone from the village who who did not read or write' [Student #43 CHANCO]. In this instance it is more acceptable to use the English term 'class' rather than the Chichewa - malo ndi maphunziro. In this instance then rather than use of distinct named languages, it is translanguaging which becomes the social norm and the non-stigmatised way to use language. Students learn the language which is acceptable through observing the language use around them 'like way back you came here we found three or four saying the same [thing] so we just took it' [Student #42 CHANCO]. Here, this student is suggesting that by hearing 'three or four' people using the same term they began to realise that this is the appropriate word to use when talking in the university.

There are a range of rules which influence how individuals use language within the various domains of the university. Prestige becomes an important factor in how language use is regulated within the university. As noted in Section 3.1.1 language, in this case English, with overt prestige is associated a higher status (Chambers 2003). The prestige of the university and the prestige of English go hand in hand and so use of languages other than English within academic domains becomes stigmatised. However, the individual preferences of interlocutors are also important as some lecturers allow the creation of translanguaging spaces in their classrooms, recognising the pedagogical and social benefits of it. Conversely, as summarised in Section 5.2.3 use of English in social contexts is generally stigmatised as it is not a language with covert prestige. Additionally, of interest in this study the sociolinguistic rules enforced in the social domains can position translanguaging as the norm, as students actively disrupt the boundaries between named languages.

The concept of domains is useful and there is a clear general tendency to perceive English as the language of the academic domain and Chichewa as the language of the social domain. However, from the reports on language use and discussion of language rules and skills it can be seen that there is not a clear-cut distinction in the ways in which language is used in specific domains. While there is a general sense that English is more appropriate in academic contexts and Chichewa in social contexts, it is not the case that these domains are monolingual. In reality, students and staff make use of their multilingual repertoires in all aspects of their university life, which will now be discussed.

5.4 Translanguaging

This section will discuss the use of translanguaging by students and staff in a variety of contexts within Malawian universities. Examples of translanguaging taken from participant recordings will be analysed alongside participants' commentary on their own translanguaging practices. This will highlight the various functions which translanguaging has within the universities while also providing insight into individuals' understanding of their own language practices.

Translanguaging can serve a pedagogical function within lectures in Malawian universities. Both students and staff note that the use of translanguaging by lecturers occurs to varying degrees depending on particular lecturers. However, for staff members who do engage in translanguaging this can allow them to clarify subject content to ensure their students fully understand the lecture. One staff member notes that 'yeah it's happening unofficially…certain lecturers use both in class' and 'even outside the classroom…both languages, English and Chichewa, we mix them' [Staff #86 KCN]. This is noted to be a prevalent practice for certain members of staff, as one notes, that 'there will be a lot of codeswitching going, to one moment they're speaking English the next they're explaining in the concept further in Chichewa and so on' [Staff #66 POLY]. The reason for this, as one student states, is that lecturers can 'mix up to make things easier' [Speaker #7 POLY Focus Group] with another reiterating this point as 'the whole mixing up thing…it's easier that way it has always been easier that way' [Student #49 KCN]. The example below, taken from an economics class (Appendix 4 provides an extended thirty-minute transcription of this class), illustrates this pedagogical use of translanguaging:

I wanted to talk about the difference between a sole trader and a limited company. A limited company imadzipangira run chilinchonse payokha (does run everything on its own). Iweyo (you) sole trader you can put your own eti (not so)?

When you talk of a limited company a limited company ineyo ndikuyambitsa kempane yanga (I am starting my company) called kaya (such as) 'Zanimuone', 'Ekwendeni', 'Embangweni', 'Emzuzu' company limited imene (that) 'Emzuzu' company limited eti (not so)?

That company ndi ineyo (and me) we are two different entities. Although I am the owner there are two different entities. Kampane izipanga run chilichonse payokha inenso ndizipanga run chilichonse pandekha. (The company will be running everything on its own I too will be running everything on my own).

The fluid language practices in which the lecturer is engaged allows them to provide further explanation on the subject specific terms 'sole trader' and 'limited company'.

Translanguaging here is used to provide examples which illustrate the meaning of the terms. In this way translanguaging is used to give 'a certain scenario, trying to bring…the issue related to what was being spoken of' so that students can 'get it' [Speaker #3 CHANCO Focus Group]. Using languages 'interchangeably' [Speaker #2 MZUNI Focus Group] and to 'mix up of the languages' in this way can be used 'for clarifications' [Speaker #5 LUANAR Focus Group]. Translanguaging can 'make the content much easier for the student to understand' [Speaker #3 LUANAR Focus group]. One staff member notes that translanguaging can be useful 'when you are bringing in some new concepts' [Staff #39 CHANCO]. This is particularly the case when a staff member wants to make examples contextually relevant to the local contexts which students will be familiar with as the concepts 'become very closer to them when you draw from the m- the local' [Staff #39 CHANCO]. Many textbooks used in universities in Malawi are 'Western texts' and 'so it is up to the lecturer concerned to contextualise' the content 'so that it becomes meaningful' [Staff #39 CHANCO] to the students. This point is reiterated by one student who notes that 'when you are talking of the local…the typical local examples…it's better to be using both languages' [Student #6 LUANAR Focus Group]. Translanguaging is used to enable concrete understanding of concepts and, after gaining understanding students can then 'put it into [their] own English format' [Student #21 CHANCO]. Through translanguaging students are able to 'benefit from Chichewa and…benefit from English' [Speaker #2 COM Focus Group].

The other main purpose of translanguaging is for classroom management and to develop an interpersonal relationship between students and staff. Translanguaging can be used by lecturers in attempts to be humorous and make the classroom a more relaxed environment 'so that we [students and staff] should be interacting now and then' [Speaker #2 LUANAR Focus Group]. One student reports a lecturer who uses translanguaging in this way as 'he mixes English and Chichewa, it keeps the class lively' [Speaker #3 LUANAR Focus Group]. Translanguaging can be used 'as an icebreaker' [Staff #44 CHANCO]. Translanguaging used in this way can be seen in the excerpt below. Taking from a hospitality lecture, the staff member here is beginning to recap a lesson then goes on to discuss types of food not commonly available in Malawi and makes a light-hearted joke about the fact that his Malawian students probably would not like that type of food.

We are on eggs, ok. Sindinapange include eggs koma (I have not included eggs
but), we talked about meat, game, fish, some of these are not available in Malawi.
Some of the fish are not available in Malawi…Malawian lake has pure water eti
(not so)? Koma (but) when you are working in the hospitality industry, you may be
asked by a guest that 'I want mackerel', maybe because kwawo amadya chiyani
(where they come from they eat what)? Mackerel. 'I want squid', squid iwo
amaitenga ngati ndi (they, the guests take is as) fish koma ndi chinthu choti
kuchiika apo (but it is something that to put it over there) you will not like it,
maybe you can, I should not, maybe you can [laughs]. There is a fish eel imene
imatha kutulutsa (which is able to produce) it's imapanga (it does) shock, electric
shock, imakhalabe yaitali (it is rather long) may be from here to there.

Here translanguaging can be used to keep students engaged. It can be used to retain
concentration as rather than using only English, when students hear translanguaging 'they
will be aroused' and it will be 'kind of motivating' [Speaker #2 CHANCO Focus Group].
As noted in one focus group, when a lecturer uses English throughout 'most people doze
off, it's like you'll find somebody sleeping, it's like everyone is sleeping' [Speaker #4
LUANAR Focus Group]. This use of translanguaging is also noted by lecturers with one
stating that you can use it to 'sort of bring them back to life so to speak' when you see that
'maybe the concentration levels are sort of like dying down' [Staff #35 CHANCO].

The use of translanguaging in academic contexts was frequently observed during the
period of participant observation. A recurring theme which emerged from analysis of my
observation notes was that the use of translanguaging was seldom marked as being
unusual. Instead, the use of translanguaging by staff to clarify content seemed to be
something which was natural, noted in my observation notes as: 'It is so casual when the
lecturer goes into Chichewa no one blinks an eye' [Observation Notes 9th August 2016].
The use of translanguaging by students in classrooms was observed similarly as something
which was a natural occurrence, as noted in the following observation extract:

The main thing to reflect on today is the complete lack of care that people have
towards other's speaking in Chichewa. It seems perfectly acceptable for people to
speak Chichewa and to move into English from Chichewa and into Chichewa from

English. They're still not being reprimanded at all for speaking in Chichewa. [Observation Notes 4th August 2016]

The above examples have illustrated the pedagogical and social functions which translanguaging can have within the classroom when used by staff members. Students also engage in translanguaging both inside and outside of the classroom. For students, translanguaging is something which is commonplace and which they are accustomed to, as summarised by one student who notes that 'we use as a mode of communication we mix Chichewa and English so we don't see it as something something new to use yeah…it's a thing that started from way back like in primary schools that's what happens in some of the secondary schools that's what happens too and then when you come here and see that it's all good' [Student #83 KCN]. Translanguaging is an everyday way of communicating and students have been translanguaging throughout their academic careers and social lives. It is a natural and enjoyable method of communication between students as 'it just comes when when when you usually mix it's it's just for you just try to speak, mixing and all that but it's fun one and because it's fun most people are used to that' [Student #10 COM]. As a result of this, often it is not something which students give much thought to because it does come naturally to them. Communication is the overarching goal and students do not necessarily need to consciously think about what languages they are using as 'it's maybe not really cause you think about what you're saying, you just want to communicate to that person and get what you are trying to say' [Student #74 LUANAR]. For some students, they state that it is a natural process with no particular rationale behind their translanguaging practices but that 'it depends like what word comes to you first, it doesn't come quick in your mind. You just mix' [Student #90 BIU].

Other students give multiple reasons for their translanguaging. For some it is a matter of being economical with their time, through using all of their repertoire they are able to say things quickly, which they would not be able to do if they were speaking solely in Chichewa for example as 'Chichewa has longer words and English is short…you just mix it' [Student #93 BIU]. There is a theme which emerges when students talk of their translanguaging which focuses on the desire not to run out of words. One student notes that when they only speak in English they 'just find myself out of words' [Student #20 COM]. Translanguaging enables students not to run out of words, as another student puts it: 'I feel like I don't run out of words so like I can switch if I run out of a word in Chewa then I go to English if I run from English then I go back to Chewa' [Student #38 CHANCO].

Translanguaging is something which allows students to be 'flexible to interact in whatever language they find um easier to relay whatever they're trying to say at the moment' [Speaker #3 COM Focus Group]. Examples of students translanguaging within the classroom illustrates this. The examples below, students' questions in an economics lecture, highlight how students can use the entirety of their linguistic repertoire to fully communicate their message:

1) Student: Not the paper kungoti zina zake anena ujeni aggregate demand chani.

   (Student: Not the paper just certain things, they are talking about, what is it again? aggregate demand etc etc.)

2) Student: Sir those things zoyenekera kusova kuziika kuti, a, b, kuti because [crosstalk] this exam?
   (Student: Sir those things appropriate to solve putting them as, a, b, so that because [crosstalk] this exam?)

3) Student: Zambirimbiri pali ma graph pali zichani
   (Student: There are so many things, there are graphs etc etc)

They can 'mix' technical terminology with aspects of Chichewa to easily and quickly ask questions to the lecturer. They will use elements from particular languages which they deem more appropriate for the context and translanguaging enables them to discuss topics to do with their academic lives such as exams, as above, effectively. It becomes easier for students to use the terminology in English associated with aspects of their university life rather than search for terms in Chichewa which they are not as accustomed to using regularly. As one student notes 'there are words you cannot say them in Chichewa like Chichewa...so we start the sentence the sentence in Chichewa and then where the English word, the English language dominates we use English' [Student #25 MUST]. This can also happen in non-academic contexts with one student giving the example of telling jokes socially, stating 'like if I'm mostly speaking English and then there is something that I know in Chichewa that is more like more funny or something…then I will use Chichewa'

[Student #90 BIU]. Translanguaging enables students to creatively and freely use language in a way which most effectively allows them to communicate. It is viewed as something which 'just happens' as 'it is fun...mixing languages fun' [Student #13 POLY].

Students give additional reasons for the prevalence of translanguaging in their communication. Due to the aforementioned multiplicity of linguistic repositories students bring to the universities, translanguaging emerges as an effective method of communication. Students adapt to this situation as illustrated by one student:

> We we meet at university, we all have different backgrounds not everyone was speaking English in the old schools, some students are coming from schools where we have students coming from villages, local places, from Blantyre I'm used to English you go to school- it's you just learn to mix up everything. [Student #49 KCN]

Translanguaging allows students to communicate with each other in an environment of high linguistic diversity and multiple language competences. The following example illustrates a student translanguaging socially. These excerpts are taken from a participant recording of a female student talking to friends outside of the classroom.

> Good he will that's it kodi wapanga onse (what, did he make all of it)? Nda chonde (Who? Please). Ankangowerenga, anayankha mesa (He was just reading, he replied) after kumutukwana (cussing him). Ndinapita kumu texta kuti (I went to text him that) 'now watch me whip' 'now watch nae nae'. Nangotipatsa kuti imeneyo mpaka (and just gave us that one until) `now watch me whip' chibakera chija (that blow) 'now watch me nae nae' the hand, koma pamene paja analakwitsa ndi ndani (but who messed up here)? Be honest eti (not so) texting me eti (not so)?

The students are telling a story which involves one of them texting a male student, which subsequently resulted in them being confronted by that student's partner. The excerpt above involves the female student discussing aspects of the text exchange and seeking

feedback on her actions. Translanguaging here allows this student to recall and tell a story to her friends which involves a minor local drama developing in her personal life, and to make references to popular global culture.[10] This highlights another function of translanguaging, it allows students to create and perform their identities. By translanguaging students can show that they 'speak English' to 'show people that they they are educated' and 'as they mix they just want to maybe to clarify a certain point to their friends, they see that we are all Malawians here' [Student #19 POLY]. As one student puts it 'there is a sense of identity there, sure you identify ah this is a Malawian but at the same time you're showing that you know also English' [Student #9 POLY]. As educated young Malawians, students can therefore use different aspects of their linguistic repertoire to highlight different aspects of their identities. Such is the reported prevalence of translanguaging, one student states that 'mixing up, like some are taking it as now their language' [Student #29 MUST]. They go on to say:

> it's a language I mean we can't call it Chichewa we can't call it English maybe Anglo-Chichewa something like that, yeah we can call it that name but it's it's it's a language that you are able to express yourself…but also your feelings you can best express yourself and also it's better understand like people can understand what you're trying to communicate and in doing that not only people are subjected to Chichewa or English they they are able to learn some of the vocabulary of both languages so it's like we are connecting this and this to make one thing.

This student highlights an awareness that they are able to freely use language in a flexible way which transcends traditional boundaries of named language such as 'Chichewa' and 'English'. They use their multilingual repertoire to 'make one thing' and to communicate in a new way, a way in which they are most effectively able to make their intended meanings known to those they want to communicate with.

The translanguaging strategies which individuals use to communicate is summarised by a staff member who states that 'people are very creative with words' and that they will 'always find a way to…use the words to make life easier for them' and to enable them to

---

[10] 'now watch me whip' 'now watch me nae nae' are lyrics from a popular 2015 song - *Watch Me (Whip/Nae Nae)* - by the American hip hop artist Silentó.

'easily communicate' [Staff #79 LUANAR]. The ability of individuals to flexibly and creatively use their linguistic resources is widely recognised. One student states that young people have 'to bring in other words' as there are 'some other words even in Chichewa that…don't really exist but then we had to make them up' [Student #54 MZUNI]. This involves individuals drawing on a range of linguistic resources as they 'borrow a lot from other languages' and engage in 'mixing' [Staff #64 COM]. By creating and inventing new ways to use language, individuals showcase their ability to transcend the boundaries of named languages as they use terms which 'are not real words in Chichewa' but instead 'a mixture of English and Chichewa' [Staff #64 COM]. Part of this process can involve 'taking a Chichewa word' and trying to 'turn it into an English word' [Staff #35 CHANCO] or to 'Chichewalise the English word' [Speaker #3 KCN Focus Group]. This way of using language has been 'embraced', particularly by young people as 'to mix, it seems to be the fashion' [Staff #39 CHANCO]. The fluid nature of individuals' languaging practices is clearly recognised as is their ability to transcend named languages to create new ways of making meaning which enables them to effectively communicate.

This section has highlighted the ways in which translanguaging can be used by students and staff within university contexts for academic purposes and social purposes. This has shown that translanguaging can be a potentially valuable process for students in both facilitating their learning and giving them freedom and flexibility in their communication. That translanguaging occurs in Malawian universities is to be expected as it has been shown to a common occurrence in universities worldwide (see Mazak and Carroll 2016), is viewed as the common method of communication amongst multilinguals (Lopez, Turkan and Guzman-Orth 2017, Mazak 2016) and has been shown to be pedagogically beneficial in African universities (Madiba 2010, Makalela 2014, Ndebele and Zulu 2017). Additionally, the 'youth language' Chibrazi discussed in Section 1.3.3 which is found in Malawi's universities is arguably not a new language as such but instead an example of students exhibiting their translanguaging capabilities and challenging the boundaries between languages. Student and staff attitudes towards the possibility of universities adopting a translanguaging approach to language policy in higher education will be discussed in more detailed in Chapter 7.

This chapter has discussed language use in Malawian universities through analysis of findings from interviews, focus groups and participant recordings. It has shown that while each individual's specific experience may differ there are general perceptions around what languages are appropriate to use in specific domains. English is perceived as suitable for the academic domain while Chichewa is suitable for the social domain. The language use of students is regulated by perceptions around official language policy, by rules imposed on them by staff, and by their fellow students. However, in reality there are no purely, strictly monolingual environments within the university and translanguaging is found to occur in both academic and social domains in the language use of both students and staff. This suggests that the spaces within the university are not strictly diglossic (Fishman 1968) environments in which languages are strictly separated into different functions in separate domains. Instead they are transglossic (García 2009) environments in which the multilingual integrated repertoires of individuals are able to be used across the boundaries of both academic and social domains (see Section 3.3.2 for an overview of diglossia and transglossia). Various academic and social spaces in the university then have the potential to become translanguaging spaces (Wei 2011) as individuals use translanguaging to transcend the boundaries of named languages and separate domains. The attitudes of students and staff towards the languages which are present within the universities and towards the suitability of those languages for use in universities will now be analysed in more detail in Chapters 6 and 7.

Chapter 6:   Results - General language attitudes

This chapter will present an analysis of key findings from the data relating to the language attitudes of students and staff. These attitudes will be discussed under two broad themes: Opportunity and Identity. Section 6.1 will summarise the expected findings based on previous research into language attitudes in Africa and in African universities. Section 6.2 will discuss the opportunities that participants believe particular languages enable them to access and the associated values that are placed on these languages. Section 6.3 will then the role which languages have on how participants believe they are perceived by society in Malawi and how they perceive themselves. The findings presented in this chapter, and in the following chapter, provide material that will answer Research Question 3:

> 3) *What are the attitudes of students and staff towards the suitability of various languages as MOI in tertiary education in Malawi?*

While this chapter focuses on participants' general attitudes towards languages this is key to then understanding the reasons why certain languages are viewed as being suitable, or not, for use as MOI in tertiary education. Chapter 7 will build on this chapter's general discussion by focussing in more detail on attitudes towards languages in the university context specifically.

6.1 Expectations

As discussed in Section 3.1.3, previous research has shown that students and staff in African universities generally have positive attitudes towards English, and other European languages, and negative attitudes towards African languages. This is due to the perceived instrumental benefits which knowledge of English has such as social mobility and employment opportunities (Irakoze 2015 in Burundi, Ajepe 2014 in Nigeria, Dalvit and de Klerk 2005 in South Africa, Mohr and Ochieng 2017 in Tanzania, and Melliti 2008 in Tunisia). Local languages are perceived to be under-developed and unsuitable for discussing technical subjects (Ditsele 2016). Positive attitudes towards local languages generally are due to perceived integrative benefits which these languages have as they

form important aspects of individual and national identity (Noboda 2010, Dyers and Abongdia 2014, Kamwangamalu and Tovares 2016). However, research in South Africa has also found that there are positive attitudes towards the introduction of African languages in higher education and towards the use of a multilingual MOI (Aziakpono and Bekker 2010, Nkosi 2014, Wildsmith-Cromarty and Conduah 2014, Ditsele 2016, Lombard 2017). Research has indicated that students in Tanzania (Halvorsen 2010) and in Cameroon and South Africa (Dyers and Abongdia 2014) recognise that use of local languages would enable them to learn more easily. It has also been shown that attitudes towards all local languages in a given country are not identical. In Kenya, Kamwangamalu and Tovares (2016) indicate that while English is viewed with the highest level of prestige, Kiswahili holds more prestige than other local languages. Similarly, Letsholo and Matlhaku (2017) in Botswana have found that Setswana, while viewed less favourably than English, is still viewed more favourably than other local languages.

Based on previous research, the expectations for this study were that students and staff in Malawian universities would show generally favourable attitudes towards English and towards the use of English as a MOI and negative attitudes towards Malawian languages. Individuals' attitudes are likely to be influenced by instrumental and integrative factors. Given the position of Chichewa as a major language in Malawi it was also likely that this language is viewed more favourably than other Malawian languages. Given the struggles which have been identified with using English as a MOI at university in Malawi, it is expected that students could also exhibit positive attitudes towards the inclusion of Chichewa to aid in clarification of course material.

The key findings regarding participants' overall language attitudes will now be discussed. Two important themes emerging from analysis of the interview and focus group data were Opportunity and Identity, which will be discussed in turn. Opportunity reflects largely instrumental attitudes while Identity reflects integrative attitudes.

6.2 Opportunity

A key theme emerging from participants' interviews and focus groups is that the perceived inherent value of different languages can affect an individual's attitudes towards that language. For participants, knowledge of, and access to, specific languages can provide different opportunities for their own personal development and progression and for the development of Malawi as a nation. This section will focus on the theme of opportunity and will present an analysis of data that highlights the differences between local and global opportunities and perceptions of the value of local and global languages. It will also discuss the perceived opportunities which various languages afford to individuals both during their time at university and post-university as they continue into graduate education and employment.

6.2.1 Global opportunities

6.2.1.a Employment opportunities

A major factor in individuals' positive attitudes towards English is its position as a global language, a lingua franca which allows communication with people from other countries across the globe. There is a perception amongst some individuals that the majority of people in the world can speak English and that it will then allow them to be able to communicate with a wide variety of people. English is seen to have value as it is 'an international language' and 'it just has to be with you wherever you go' [Speaker #2 LUANAR Focus Group]. This sentiment is reiterated numerous times in focus groups and interviews by individuals who fully subscribe to the concept of English as an international language, such as one student who states that 'English is worldwide' [Speaker #2 POLY Focus Group]. Individuals refer to 'globalisation' and the 'global world' [Student #92 BIU] or the idea that the world is now a 'global village' [Staff #84 KCN]. The necessity of having access to English and having English skills for participation in the global village is summarised by one staff member who states that 'it's a global language that you can't run away from and for fitting in with a global village, I believe we need English' [Staff #10 POLY]. The need and desire for English is directly tied to beliefs around the status of the language globally, as one student states 'we have to use English because it is a lan- it is an international language' [Student #36 CHANCO]. Another student emphasises the ubiquity of English as 'it is an international language' which you will find 'overseas wherever you go' [Student #72 LUANAR]. The value of English lies in the fact that it will enable

communication with a wide range of people as 'treating the world as a global village we can see that English is widely spoken at least in many countries' [Staff #45 MUST]. English is therefore seen as a key language for both students and staff if they want to succeed and fit into the global world. English gives students the 'skills, knowledge to communicate globally' which is seen to be beneficial as 'you stand better chances of communicating with those who are able to understand English which is at least quite good because English is 'a worldwide spoken [sic]' and if a student is able to speak and communicate in English then they 'will be among those people' who can communicate globally [Speaker #3 CHANCO Focus Group]. There is the belief, expressed by one student, that English opens up access to the majority of the world as 'with English I think you can go anywhere with something you have learnt in English you can go anywhere with it' [Student #49 KCN]. English gives students access to, and allows them to become members of, the international community.

In the 21st century, more than ever, the world is viewed as fundamentally interconnected and if students in Malawi want to succeed and seek out opportunities in an interconnected world they need to be able to compete on an equal footing with those from other nations. A key part of this is viewed as the ability to speak English, as this allows students to enter the global marketplace. It gives them access to the global community and could give them opportunities to work, study and live internationally. English is a viewed as a resource which can improve an individual's employability value and it is seen as a key graduate attribute. As one student states, the ability to speak English increases your employment value as 'when we are able to speak English…you are like a product you can be- attract more customers' [Student #63 MZUNI]. The desire for English is linked to an individual's marketability, as illustrated by one staff member:

> We want our student to have- be international, we want our student to be more marketable, our student to be able to maybe sa- write proposal in English, uh present in uh in meetings where there are foreign people in English, and all those kind of thing. [Staff #45 MUST]

English, and English language skills, therefore are believed to open up the job market for students whereas Malawian language skills 'limit the market of our students' [Staff #45

MUST]. Even if a student were to remain in Malawi for their post-university employment, the type of professional-level graduate jobs which are sought after would be in companies which operate internationally and would require English language skills. The pervading belief is that access to this job market is only available through English and this is what makes it a desirable language for students to have. The necessity of having English skills for gaining employment is evident in an anecdote shared by one staff member:

> they go out into industry into the business world and they have to interact with the international community, how do they do it. Will they be competent enough to be able to do that? Cause uh I say to some of my students some of some of them may be employed by international organisations companies and they may not necessarily be able to communicate in Chichewa they have to be able to communicate properly in English so if they are not competent won't they struggle? Actually, it's interesting because my daughter who is a graduate of the Polytechnic works for Unilever and she said to me, I having a chat with her one day and she said to me 'you know what mum I can't believe the Polytechnic is the same college that I went to'. I asked her 'why are you saying that?' she says 'I have been interviewing graduates who did the same course that I did at the Polytechnic and they can't express themselves and they can't communicate what's happening to you people, what are you doing?' So I found that interesting and I even told my colleagues at a departmental meeting to see here you are an ex graduate of this college says the graduates we are producing these days cannot perform at interviews and they have said they even prefer to take someone who has done A levels and has not been to the University of Malawi so they can train the person themselves. [Staff #66 POLY]

What this excerpt illustrates is how key English language skills are for an individual's prospects and for graduate employability. To an extent they are viewed as even more crucial than a degree qualification itself. To be able to gain access to graduate employment, students have to demonstrate adequate communication skills in English at their interview. Without English language skills this cuts them off from being able to access employment. The staff member above further reports her daughter stating that if she had displayed the level of English language skills of the graduates she is currently interviewing then 'there's

no way I would have gotten this job'. There is an idea which emerges from the interviews and focus groups that English should be a marker of a university graduate, as one student states 'you should know English, it's because we'll be a graduate and you can't be a graduate without a language' [Student #89 BIU]. Having English language skills is a marker of having been a university student as 'you should be a graduate with English' [Student #89 BIU]. Another student states that 'after tertiary education you have to go out and find a job and start working' and that 'if you look at most of the vacancies they usually indicate that the candidate who's applying he or she should be able to speak English' and that 'if you don't know how to speak English then you won't be able to present anything' as might be expected of you in your career so, fundamentally English language skills 'will help like…after college' [Speaker 2 LUANAR Focus Group]. Without English there is the possibility of 'confinement of one staying in this country for his whole life' [Speaker #6 LUANAR Focus Group] and it is believed that not being able to communicate in English radically restricts a student's employment prospects after graduation. Students are acutely aware of the language expectations which employers will have, as one says 'cause you go for a job interview they won't ask you in Chichewa they ask you in English yeah so it's really important for you to like learn English yeah' [Student #93 BIU].

University provides a place and an opportunity where students can safely and comfortably develop their English language skills before they get to the job market as 'when you start working it's embarrassing yeah to be to be working whilst you can't speak like proper English so here is the best place' to learn to speak English [Student #90 BIU]. This is seen to be especially true if students wish to seek employment outside of Malawi. It is stated that for a vast number this is what they would ideally like to do, given the perceived opportunity for better employment and socioeconomic opportunities outside of Malawi. One student illustrates this, saying 'most Malawians don't wanna work in Malawi, so how will they go somewhere else if they don't speak English' [Student #90 BIU]. For some being at university is simply 'working towards a goal' of employment 'but that goal mostly needs you to use another language' as the jobs that students want to go into is 'a field of jobs that need you to speak English' [Speaker #2 BIU Focus Group]. For some students the purpose of being at university is so that they can increase their employability levels and gain access to higher paid jobs as stated by one student who notes that 'the reason why we are at the university is yeah uh we are we are throwing ourselves to the to the chances where we want to get good jobs maybe in other countries, you know, not just in Malawi'

and because of this 'we should be able to communicate with people from other countries' [Student #96 BIU]. English is seen to broaden one's opportunities as it 'at this point gives us more gives us more options like country wise places we could go, places to work' [Speaker #2 COM Focus Group]. It is the expectation of students that they will be working in contexts which require them to interact with people who are not Malawian, as one student states that they will be 'communicating with people after college…other workmates maybe from from foreign countries in English so English is is needed' [Speaker #3 POLY Focus Group].

While English is seen to afford students opportunities after they graduate, Chichewa is seen to restrict their prospects. While English is a global language which allows them to connect to many other people across the world, Chichewa insulates them and is viewed as of any value only within Malawi. If students only know Chichewa 'that means we cannot go work outside so we'll just be working here' [Speaker #4 POLY Focus Group]. Additionally, English can provide students with the opportunity to connect to and engage with the global community online. Chichewa is seen to not allow this as if students 'go on the internet there is no Chichewa there' [Speaker #4 POLY Focus Group]. One student highlights the lack of global value which Chichewa has when discussing whether foreigners in Malawi should learn Chichewa stating, 'I mean where's Chichewa gonna take them?' and highlighting that outside of Malawi Chichewa does not have a great deal of value as if 'we go out there we have nothing to show for it' [Speaker #2 BIU Focus Group]. Chichewa is not viewed as an inherently useful language to learn as it doesn't provide individuals with many opportunities outside of Malawi. As students are 'not restricted to working in Malawi' after university, English is seen to enable them to 'interact with the world' [Student #20 COM].

From the data there emerges a conception of the university as a place in which students are being trained to take up important and official roles within Malawi and English holds a crucial position in that training. One student illustrates this by saying 'when you go after you finish your university life, you go into the business aspect, the business environment and you don't use Chichewa so therefore we're being trained of the official language which is like accepted in the business environment we'll be working cause in those environments we'll be working we'll meet different people from different countries so the easiest way

that we can understand each other is speaking English' [Student #95 BIU]. This idea that students are being trained for the world of work is reiterated by a staff member who states that 'we are preparing people who are going to take key positions in government or private sector and the only way they can engage with others likely would be English' [Staff #39 CHANCO]. This position is echoed by a student who believes that after a student graduates he has to be 'able to present himself when he has finished his college education' as 'you will be a public figure' [Student #15 POLY]. There is a perception here that, given the prestige and elite nature of universities in Malawi, graduates will go on to fill prestigious positions within public life in the country. If you do not speak English 'it's like you wouldn't be fully trained' as in the universities 'they train you to be…a certain professional' and for 'most of the things you need to do after you graduate require you to speak good English' [Student #21 CHANCO]. The belief that one of the prime functions of the university in Malawi is to produce graduates who are able to communicate competently in English is summarised by one student:

> From university I mean you go out to the world, can work in different countries, say English is very useful there it will shape you it shape it can shape your language and be able to interact with people all over the world, yeah you end up finding a job in America and people in America don't know Chichewa so you have to use English, they'll know English too so I think it's very important in university to instil that English aspect to students. [Student #55 MZUNI]

As students will not be able to use Chichewa if they seek professional employment or employment overseas, university must equip them with the appropriate language skills they need for their lives after graduation, so that they can take full advantage of the opportunities a university degree can bring them. English is seen a key part of the university experience and a crucial skill for competent qualified graduates coming from the universities to have.

6.2.1.b Study opportunities

As well as employment prospects, university graduates are considering postgraduate study when they evaluate what languages will allow them to access valuable opportunities. There

is a view that 'you don't have to look at it, learning, ending at here in Malawi, right?' [Speaker #2 CHANCO Focus Group]. Due to the desire to 'advance…to do masters…to do PhD' and to do so outside the country, the use of Malawian languages is not seen as inherently useful for education amongst some students. If they used Malawian languages, when they go abroad to continue their education it would 'be challenging because to adapt' to using English and 'it will also take you time' [Speaker #2 CHANCO Focus Group]. This point is expressed in one interview as the student states:

> When you graduate at university first degree there's always a chance you can do Masters, PhD abroad and you cannot take Chichewa or any other local language in Malawi and use it wherever you are going, now if you were using Chichewa it means you won't be able to express yourself in English well so it means you will have troubles wherever you are going…but because you were used to speaking English at the university you are fluent in that language you also have you also have it easy then. [Student #62 MZUNI]

Students want to be exposed to English during their time at university so that they can develop their English skills and use them to access the widest range of possible opportunities, for work and study, after they graduate. By having access to English at university they are able to 'get used to the environment out there' [Student #55 MZUNI] in other countries where they hope to go after they graduate. There is a perception that English allows students to develop beneficially while they are at university to allow them to move on to other more advanced stages of learning, as one student notes that 'we are looking at growth, you know progression…when you have graduated with your first degree, chances are, or the expectation is you will go for your masters and then your PhD' [Speaker #6 LUANAR Focus Group] which will generally need to be done outside of Malawi. English ultimately, is viewed as a language which will make students' lives easier and which will allow them the chance to be more successful in their careers. This is summarised by one student who states that 'everyone knows to learn English to be in that, to have an opportunity to to have a life at some point you need a language' [Speaker #2 BIU Focus Group].

As local languages are not used in postgraduate degree courses abroad they do not allow students access to those courses, whereas English does. When discussing the possibility of using Chichewa in university education the above student does state that 'it would be worth it…if we just want to be doing our school here…that you want to do masters, we would do it here…you want PhD you'll do it here'. In this way Chichewa is intrinsically linked to the local context, the use of Chichewa could provide opportunities, however these opportunities would be restricted to Malawi. Chichewa is 'sufficient for this nation' [Speaker #2 CHANCO Focus Group] but does not allow students to travel abroad. In this way Chichewa is viewed as unable to 'prepare you to further studies if you want to go study in other countries' [Student #37 CHANCO] whereas with English 'there are more opportunities out there for you' [Speaker #5 MZUNI Focus Group]. To have the chance of being successful and having a fulfilling life some students view English as essential.

6.2.1.c Institutional opportunities

At an institutional level English is also viewed as being beneficial. Yet again it is evident that there is a strong belief amongst individuals that English can provide students with the opportunity to access postgraduate education. This is illustrated in an example given by one lecturer:

> that's why even our department is the one that uh, say someone wants to study abroad, they are required to to to to prove that programme called teaching of English as a second language if they want to go to to to to UK. In Malawi they know that…so we write here University of Malawi its mode of instruction is English the student is exempted from test of English as a foreign language and they have been taking them for master's degree in the UK because of that policy. [Staff #48 CHANCO]

Crucially this highlights an advantage which having an English medium instruction at a policy level can have for Malawian students, as it enables them to pursue post-graduate education in the UK potentially more easily. Additionally, English is seen to be beneficial for universities as institutions. The number of international students enrolled in a university can be seen as both a sign of how prestigious a university is and inform judgements on the

quality of the education in that institution. As one student notes, a sign that 'an institution [is] growing' is to 'look at the enrolment of international students' [Speaker #3 MZUNI Focus Group]. Chichewa in this respect would 'serve as a barrier or a hindrance on institutional part' [Speaker #3 MZUNI Focus Group] and is thought to inhibit a university from growing and having the opportunity to develop into an internationally recognised institution. Adopting English as an institution allows universities in Malawi to market themselves to a wider audience. It is believed that this is one of the 'drawbacks of this Chichewa thing, the vernacular thing' as it is 'a problem to international lecturers, international students' [Speaker #3 CHANCO Focus Group] and only Malawian students and Malawian staff would be able to access the universities. Using English allows universities in Malawi to attract a broader range of students and staff, with one student noting that if Chichewa were to be used 'lecturers from abroad will not come, you know, some international students will not come' [Speaker #3 LUANAR Focus Group]. Not having the capacity to employ international lecturers is viewed by some to be an issue, given the expertise that they could bring, with one staff member reporting that the majority of staff in certain departments of their university are not from Malawi, saying, 'we've more international- international maybe than local yeah, some department have got mostly, most of them are international' [Staff #64 COM]. There is a desire amongst some to employ international lecturers at universities in Malawi, for the prestige that this brings but also because of their expertise which is felt by some to be greater than Malawian academics. One student notes that it would be beneficial 'to take lecturers from outside, take them from UK, USA and those countries that are developed to bring them here and they will teach us to develop the country' as they believe that the Malawian lecturers who teach them are 'the very same people who have failed to change the country, are the very same people who are teaching so we are not moving anywhere' [Student #25 MUST]. There is a sense amongst some participants that individuals and ideas which come from outside Malawi are fundamentally better than those from Malawi. English is viewed positively because it provides access to these individuals and these ideas. The prestige associated with the English language and the important place which English has in the university also emerged during the observation period. When discussing the new, UK-educated registrar's role in the university, a senior staff member noted that 'you are very very good in English, that's good that you should be the first point of contact. They come, they see you speak English they come. If you speak Chichewa they'll leave' [Observation Notes 16th August 2018]. This highlights the importance which English has with regard to the university's image. This interaction indicates the perception that if prospective students, and staff

members, are interacting with an individual who speaks in English rather than in Chichewa they will view the university more positively.

Additionally, at an institutional level, English is viewed favourably by students and staff as it is viewed as a language of knowledge. It is believed that English gives students and staff the opportunity to access knowledge. In part this is due to the fact that resources are readily available in English. As one nursing student states 'most of our tutorials and most of the manual books for the medication, how to do things and the like how to do some of the equipment it come [sic] always in English' [Student #75 KCN] with a member of staff echoing this in saying that 'many books are in English' [Staff #45 MUST] that are used within the universities. As well as resources being in English there is also an idea which emerges from the data which suggests that European languages are considered to be languages which are resources of knowledge, in comparison to African languages which are not. This is at times led by a perception that scientific inventions, methodologies and theories come largely from the West and have not been developed in Africa generally nor Malawi specifically. As one staff member states:

> For purposes of higher education, I will insist that we need to use an international language or international languages in which knowledge is stored. Knowledge is stored in English. Knowledge is stored in French. Knowledge is stored in German. Knowledge is stored in Russian. [Staff #12 MZUNI]

English is able to provide access to knowledge and it is also able to allow universities the opportunities to share their knowledge, the knowledge which is developed by researchers working in Malawi. It is an expectation that an international university should be able to share its research on a global scale and it is an expectation that this sharing takes place in English. This is illustrated by one student who notes:

> in almost any education institution cause as he said English is an international language it just has to be with you wherever you go considering the fact that a tertiary institution is a centre for a lot of research. [Speaker #2 LUANAR Focus Group]

The perceived purpose of a university as a place in which students and staff are able to acquire and then share knowledge factors into individuals' judgements on the value of specific languages as tools for disseminating knowledge. For some, university is a place where they can acquire skills which will enable them to have a positive impact on the world, as illustrated in the following MZUNI Focus Group excerpt:

> **Speaker #4**: the kind of knowledge whereby you can go elsewhere and be able to provide
>
> **Speaker #5**: and make a difference

Local languages are viewed by some as of little value in this regard as 'if most of the researches are done in the local language they wouldn't be able to help say another country outside that would require the same innovation that is happening in this country' [Speaker #2 LUANAR]. For some students they view the education they are receiving as 'not just meant for the development of Malawi but the development of the whole country I mean the whole world' [Student #96 BIU] and so value the role of English in enabling them to have this impact.

This section has illustrated the ways in which English is viewed as a key language for enabling students to pursue educational and employment opportunities globally. English is seen to be a resource which provides access to, and membership of, the global community. Additionally, English is viewed as a beneficial language institutionally for universities as it, again, allows participation in a global academic community and is viewed as a key language in which knowledge can be disseminated.

6.2.2 Local opportunities

6.2.2.a Employment opportunities

English is not the sole language which is viewed as useful for students when they are considering employment opportunities after university. There is an acknowledgement that for some students they will require Chichewa as well in their working lives. For example, when discussing a friend on a journalism course one student states 'she needs to do both

English and Chichewa' [Speaker #2 BIU Focus Group]. The language resources which students need in post-university employment are dependent on what type of groups students will need to interact with in their employment. For students who will be in Malawi, it is likely that Chichewa, and possibly other Malawian languages, will be necessary in their jobs. For jobs which require interaction with Malawians or products which will be used by Malawians, students identify the value which Chichewa can have. One IT student provides an example indicating that, in the future, there may be a market place for phone applications in local languages. As technology advances and more people in Malawi have access to it, there is the potential for a demand for local language technological services. This student notes that 'if you are doing app development, I'm making an app everyone even in the rural areas are using iph[ones]- android phones mostly uh you're dev- developing an app for everyone in Malawi there are some people who are not going to be able to read English so if you develop, if you develop one in Chichewa now it might not be too much but at some point it's gonna be something' [Speaker #2 BIU Focus Group]. As there is a lack of readily available content in Chichewa currently this provides an opportunity for qualified graduates to develop services in local languages which can simultaneously allow graduates to make use of their qualifications and develop and promote Malawian languages:

> technology should consider yeah like uh in most of like in most countries it's only in Malawi you touch everyone's phone and it's English in every other country people use their own language so at some point people should consider that one day maybe we should develop our technology that should be in Chichewa. [Speaker #2 BIU]

Students acknowledge that different employment opportunities will require different language resources. As one nursing student reports that as nurses 'we're going to serve people…who knows [sic] Chichewa as their means of communication but in other colleges you find that after qualifying the people who they associate with, they're going to be educated people who understands English' [Student #76 KCN]. Other nursing students reiterate this idea as 'most of our work we deliver…to like the Malawian who some cannot get the English and and they you have no option you still have just to use the other language they can be able to understand' [Student #75 KCN]. The idea that students will

require Chichewa in their careers after university is particularly common for students who will be working in Malawi with the general public. One student illustrates the need for Chichewa in interacting with the Malawian public stating:

In Malawi most of the people are not educated and the most of like, those people actually understand English they're like educated and most of them don't actually go in the public hospitals maybe they have like, so in the public hospitals a lot of people are going to find there, people from rural areas who haven't maybe gone to class they don't know how to write [inc] speak English so you have to use Chichewa and then Chichewa helps like use the Chichewa that they understand yeah. [Student #78 KCN]

However, it is not simply the case that all nursing students who work in Malawi will be using Chichewa as their main language in the workplace. As already discussed in Section 5.2.1.e it is common to use English as a language when talking to supervisors in hospitals. Further, there are different types of medical centre in Malawi. There are private medical clinics in Malawi that 'mostly deals with people, some classes of people' [Student #78 KCN], who are able to afford to pay for private medical care and are perceived to be more likely to speak English. The above quotations from Student #78 again positions non-English speakers as uneducated and less wealthy but also highlights the varied and multilingual nature of students' employment prospects post-university, even within Malawi and within the same career.

The multilingual nature of the job market in Malawi, and the value inherent in having a multilingual skillset, is evident to some students. One recalls the usefulness of a particular lecturer who introduced multiple Malawian languages to the class, stating:

people who knew Tumbuka would go in front and present the thing in Tumbuka yeah, the Yaos, the Lomwes they could go in front and say it okay this one's this thing is called this and that in Tumbuka yeah, the Yaos could also so like people who were going to that side they could take notes okay this thing is called. [Student #78 KCN]

Here the lecturer draws on the linguistic resources which are present within the classroom. Rather than stigmatising the use of Malawian languages in intellectual contexts, this action imbues them with a sense of value. In drawing on the varied repertoires of students, the student reports that the class was able to learn how to effectively communicate the concepts they were learning with a broad spectrum of communities in Malawi. Local languages can be viewed as valuable resources for assisting in employment opportunities locally.

6.2.2.b Development opportunities

In terms of development, for some, English is seen as the crucial language which will enable Malawi to develop, guided by the opinion that the knowledge which Malawians need to develop socially and economically is produced and disseminated in English. The current economic situation in Malawi is viewed by some to indicate that Malawians need assistance from the global community. One student illustrates this by saying that 'the way we are, with the way our country is we need to adopt a lot more from outside to help us develop' and that most innovations that are happening which could help the country are 'happening in English' [Speaker #3 LUANAR Focus Group]. This opinion is not universal however and others believe that it is the adoption of English which has slowed development in the country as 'it's hindering us' [Speaker #2 LUANAR Focus Group]. Drawing comparisons to China in which 'they use their own native language for learning', one student suggests that if Chichewa had been promoted and used more widely in education 'it will mean that this country has developed to some extent that we can now rely on ourselves even if our people we don't need maybe some policies from abroad or something else to help us develop because we are already developed' [Speaker #2 LUANAR]. Other students make this same connection suggesting that there is a link between development and a country using local languages as another student notes that 'we should see that China is progressing well because everything is done in their language, everyone understands that well, everyone handles without any problems so we could end up developing Malawi, we could end up developing our society our our universities and our societies' [Speaker #2 MZUNI Focus Group]. This suggests that, for some, Chichewa and other Malawian languages are viewed as having the potential to open up opportunities for the social and economic development of the nation.

Local Malawian languages are fundamentally viewed as having little value outside of Malawi and are instead useful to individuals within the local context. For some students, local languages, particularly Chichewa, are in fact viewed as essential precisely for this reason. Students must have Chichewa language skills if they are to use their university education to beneficially engage with Malawian communities. This is evidenced in a number of degree courses, for example in agriculture as 'they are dealing with the farmers so Chichewa…you know dealing with farmers, rural Malawians' [Speaker #4 KCN Focus Group] and in medicine as 'we do have to think about the the fact that we have to be dealing with patients and the community a lot' [Speaker #3 COM Focus Group]. There is a perception that to have the opportunity to have the most impact locally, then local languages must be used, as one student states: 'we are going to affect the indigenous people in the uh in the local communities and we really need to know how to communicate…we need to speak with them in our own language' [Speaker #4 COM Focus Group]. English is viewed, in some local instances, to be of little value depending on who students need to interact with as 'if you go outside there the people we meet the stakeholders the people you try to speak English maybe they didn't go to school, they don't understand English so it won't- it's not good if we speak English language for everyone who doesn't know how to speak English so you might have to find yourself using your mother language there' [Student #27 MUST]. While a lack of knowledge of English here is associated with being uneducated, this student does highlight that Malawian languages are, at times, the linguistic resource which enables students to have an impact and use the knowledge they have acquired in university to work with local communities.

For some students the purpose of a university education is to equip them with the skills that they will need to help develop Malawi. One student indicates that 'when we graduate…cause we are here to get knowledge and at the end of the day when we graduate we are there to help to build Malawi, to help Malawians' [Speaker #7 LUANAR Focus Group]. The sense of responsibility which some students have to develop the country factors into their belief that English is not the only language which will be of use to them after they graduate. This point is reiterated by a student who discusses the difficulties of informing communities about the benefits of solar energy saying that 'we go to people and we would like to introduce to them issues of bioenergy or solar energy in that society they won't understand us well if we talk in English because of the technicalities, if you try to simplify that into Chichewa we will make an impact' [Speaker #6 MZUNI Focus Group].

Chichewa is the language which allows students to have an impact on their communities after they finish university. They need to have language resources which enable them to communicate with Malawians as 'we get out there, we work with people that don't know English' and using English only 'will be a problem' [Speaker #7 LUANAR Focus Group]. English is felt to be ineffective and potentially detrimental to local development projects as one student notes:

I'm going into a village somewhere where they don't even understand English, I want to present something maybe a development project. I want to present to the people of that village, it will be difficult for them to understand what the project is and communication will be different and then the people maybe they will start saying 'ah that's not important these people speak English only they are not us' and maybe somehow they will turn down the development or doing something that's not in accordance with the development because they have used a language, there is a language barrier between the people. [Speaker #2 LUANAR Focus Group]

As English may not be a shared language amongst students and communities they work in, tensions could arise if English was the only language that they used when communicating with others. There is then a perception that local language resources therefore provide students with the opportunity to effectively make use of their university qualifications in developing the nation.

The value of local languages is also realised by individuals in various universities in different subject areas. To have research impact locally, local languages provide opportunities for communicating research which English does not have. A lecturer at LUANAR notes that when doing practical lessons with students Chichewa is beneficial, saying that if they are 'somewhere in the field and for example if you are taking them to a practical lesson involving farmers then it means the English is out it would be strictly Chichewa' [Staff #79 LUANAR]. Local languages are useful when 'you are just targeting the local population' [Staff #45 MUST] with one lecturer suggesting that they could be used for 'short trainings of people who work in maybe, for research or or, for let's, for example disaster management locally, so trainings of such nature which are just local' [Staff #45 MUST]. When dealing with communities in Malawi, local languages are felt to

be more suitable. This is illustrated by a law lecturer at CHANCO who discusses the value which local languages have at community law clinics, stating 'here at the faculty of law we have erm different types of clinic, so you have the community law clinic, you have the disability rights clinic…you have the environmental law clinic that type of thing so I think these local languages could be incorporated in the work that happens at the clinic level' [Staff #35 CHANCO]. While it is within the local context, what this does crucially indicate is that Malawian languages do have value with regards to communicating research and sharing knowledge which is acquired in the university. English is viewed as valuable for knowledge exchange on the global scale, while Chichewa (and other Malawian languages) are more suitable for knowledge exchange in the local context.

6.2.2.c Social opportunities

Chichewa is also viewed as a valuable language within Malawi for promoting a unified cultural identity and creating a nation-wide sense of community. The value of Chichewa, for some students, comes directly from the fact that it is a local language and that it beneficial to recognise the value of Chichewa as this indicates that 'we value our uh local things' [Speaker #4 COM Focus Group]. Chichewa is viewed as a linguistic resource which connects Malawians to one another as stated by one student:

> I can say Chichewa is like the national language so everybody is supposed to to speak Chichewa whether you are from the North Central or South so everybody would understand Chichewa. [Speaker #4, LUANAR Focus Group]

Chichewa is useful in Malawi because it allows individuals to communicate with other Malawians, something which English does not allow. Drawing on the belief that a nation requires one unifying language, encouraging the use of Chichewa as a national language for all Malawians results in a situation in which individuals believe that 'everyone, always everyone understands [Chichewa] and it actually unites us' [Speaker #4 KCN Focus Group]. While this is perceived as a benefit of Chichewa, in fostering a sense of national identity and community within Malawi, students also note that there is a high level of linguistic and cultural diversity in the nation. In the interviews and focus groups some individuals note that Malawi is 'a multicultural country' [Speaker #4 LUANAR Focus

Group] with specific cultures being closely associated with different tribal groups with 'groups of people in those cultures that are very proud of their culture' [Speaker #3 LUANAR Focus Group]. The promotion of Chichewa as a national unifying language in Malawi is therefore not without controversy and students note that, particularly in official contexts, the promotion of Chichewa 'would cause a lot of conflict' [Speaker #5 MZUNI] with one staff member indicating that there 'has been an ongoing battle' [Staff #91 CHANCO] between different language groups to ensure that their languages are promoted in official language policies.

As a result of this, English is, for some, viewed as a more appropriate language of unification in Malawi than Chichewa. This is due to the fact that 'we all come from different tribes and we have different languages but when you come at one place and use English it's going to be equal and it will be balanced' [Student #94 BIU]. English is viewed as a politically and culturally neutral language and is therefore able to be used without promoting or degrading any Malawian languages or ethnic groups. This neutrality is viewed as important as tribalism is reported as being a serious issue in contemporary Malawian society. This is illustrated by one lecturer who emphasises the need to use English as a neutral language in universities:

> The students when they are in a lecture they are supposed to communicate with the lecturer in English no other language no other language. In our case it is extremely important that that happens because of linguistic multiplicity and these languages are aligned to tribes now you don't want a student to constantly be reminding you of what tribe it is supposing you are disgusted by that tribe as a lecturer are you not going to penalise the student? [Staff #60 MZUNI]

While Chichewa then is viewed by some as a positive resource in unifying Malawians and helping to strengthen a sense of Malawian cultural identity, this is viewed as problematic by others who indicate that it simplifies the diversity in Malawi and promotes Chichewa and the Chewa tribe over other tribes. English is instead felt to be a more suitable language for unifying Malawians as it is perceived by some to be devoid of any political, cultural or social bias. However not all view English as a neutral language due to the associations of

English with colonialism and the perception that it is 'the language that colonised us' [Student #21 COM] will be discussed further in Section 6.3.2 below.

There is also social capital which is believed to be associated with speaking English, particularly with regard to relationships. Some students report the importance of having particular language resources when pursuing romantic relationships, as one student reports that 'if I want to date that girl I must be good in English' [Speaker #1 MUST]. Being seen to speak English can have positive implications for one's image socially whereas Chichewa would be detrimental. One male student reports on 'the mentality' the people have, saying that if he were to speak to a female student in Chichewa 'they'll be like "really, can't you see the sun?"'[11] [Student #21 COM], indicating that they do not wish to be speaking in Chichewa. A female student also provided commentary on this stating that most female students would view male students who spoke English regularly and fluently more positively than those who did not:

> it's quite true like girls most girls think guys who li- who speak English maybe they're uh they are those guys who I would say they are the guys who are, I don't know, I don't know how to put this in English but they're just there if you get what I mean? They think if if a guy speaks English then you know he's more of Western he follows things he knows yeah what's going on he's modern yeah. [Student #20 COM]

This was also observed in informal conversations during the observation period. In one group conversation, students were discussing attributes which they looked for in a partner with one student stating to a friend that 'you needed him to have an accent' to which they reply 'I'm attracted to guys who actually speak [good English], I judge people'. Further in the conversation a student then addressed a male in the group, stating 'you have an accent, that's why we call you White Boy' [Observation Notes 16th August 2016]. This highlights that the use of English, and the type of accent individuals have, can be racialised. One student refers to English as 'white language' [Student #75 KCN]. Another notes that people want their English to 'have a Western type of thing' as this is viewed as 'the fancy

---

[11] This is an expression used to indicate that someone is tired/exasperated. The sun is out, it is hot and they are being made to do an activity that they do not wish to do.

English' [Student #90 BIU]. English, for many, is associated with prestige due to its association with whiteness, the West, and modernity. If someone is seen to be speaking English and is viewed as a competent English speaker, various positive attributes which English has are bestowed on that person. Having linguistic resources in English thus affords people certain social opportunities which Chichewa does not. These attributes will be more fully discussed in Section 6.3.1.a on Language and Social Mobility.

This section has illustrated the way in which local opportunities can influence participants' language attitudes. Local languages, particularly Chichewa, are viewed as essential for those who are seeking to live and work in Malawi post-graduation. Chichewa is viewed as a useful and valuable language for job opportunities which involve interacting with the public in Malawi. It is also viewed as a key language for pursuing development activities in the country.

The opportunities discussed in this section are representative of the way in which instrumental attitudes affect language attitudes. Generally, English is viewed as a valuable language for achieving instrumental goals, while Chichewa is viewed as less instrumentally valuable. This finding is in line with expectations and with the previous research summarised in Sections 3.1.2 and 3.1.3. The perceived instrumental benefits of English in Africa have been documented (Schmied 1991, Adegbija 1994, Webb 1996) and influence positive attitudes towards the language in universities in Africa (Irakoze 2015 in Burindi, Ajepe 2014 in Nigeria, Dalvit and de Klerk 2005 in South Africa, Mohr and Ochieng 2017 in Tanzania, and Melliti 2008 in Tunisia). Of additional interest in this study is the finding that Chichewa is perceived to be instrumentally valuable for employment opportunities in the local context as, due to the linguistic ecology of Malawi, for some employment Chichewa is a practical necessity for engaging with members of the public. The role which language plays in development, discussed in Section 2.3, is also recognised as important for participants. They display clear support for the use of English as a means for achieving socioeconomic development but there is also a recognition of the benefits of Malawian languages and of multilingualism. This in line with Ferguson (2013a, p34), discussed in Section 2.2.3, who states that, in terms of development, both international and local languages 'can have useful functions in different contexts'.

6.3 Identity

Another key theme which emerges from the data in relation to individuals' language attitudes is that of identity. The relationship which people have with various languages and language varieties can influence their attitudes toward that language. This section will discuss how individuals view languages in relation to their own identities and analyse the ways in which different languages can affect how individuals view themselves and how they perceive that they are viewed by others.

6.3.1 Language and social status

6.3.1.a Language and social mobility

A key initial point which arises when considering the effect of identity on language attitudes is that, for participants, language and social status are inherently connected. There is a perception of English as a language of the wealthier classes in Malawi. As already discussed in Section 5.3.1, there is an association between elite high schools, and the wealthy students who attend these schools, and speaking English. This association is widespread across universities and across Malawi generally, to the extent that 'in Malawi, it's when you're speaking English, people…they assume they've gone to better schools' [Student #90 BIU]. There is a perception amongst participants that there will be distinct differences in an individual's language use and language skills which are highly dependent on their secondary level education. As one student states 'we went to different schools…someone went to a day secondary school and Our Lady [a private school] their English, like their understanding would be different' [Student #92 BIU]. The importance of 'social background' on an individual's linguistic repertoire is acknowledged by participants, with one student noting the perception that 'those English users are the ones who people say they went to high school' while 'those who speak Chichewa, they they went to government schools' [Student #32 COM] and another noting that students who are accustomed to the 'high school type of life those they like to express in English but those who went to ur- to rural schools when they meet ah we like to chat in Chichewa' [Student #34 CHANCO]. There is then an association between English and more elite, fee-paying schools and Chichewa and less prestigious schools which the majority of Malawians would attend. Language use is taken as a key indicator of class background at the universities with one staff member reporting that individuals will automatically assume that someone

'speaking in English' has 'well to do parents' and has attended 'good schools, private schools' [Staff #91 CHANCO].

For a student who is considered to have more fluency in English, this then is indicative of them having attended a higher quality of secondary school and of coming from a family which is higher on the socioeconomic ladder in Malawi. Families who are considered 'well to do' are able to send their children to English-only education from the kindergarten level, to 'a school where can- children can speak English from…two to three' years old [Student #11 POLY]. These children are then considered to be in a particularly English-focused environment, they are 'born, raised in English language' and they will be 'growing in English language' while the children of parents who are not as wealthy, 'who are not manage to do those stuff' [Student #11 POLY] and cannot afford to send their children to fee-paying English-only education will not. The social and cultural differences between socioeconomic groups, often marked by language, are considered to be very stark. For some those who are raised in wealthier households, who attend prestigious high schools and who 'tend to still speak English' are considered to 'have been raised in a whole different culture' [Student #57 MZUNI]. Those who 'speak in Chichewa' are considered to be 'from the village' in comparison to those 'who would speak English' who are considered to be the 'more educated middle upper class' [Staff #6 POLY].

Part of the reason for this strong link between English and private schools is that it is increasingly common for private schools, of all types, to not offer Chichewa as a subject. One lecturer notes that 'most private primary schools, they have opted to drop Chichewa' and now the 'responsibility' is focused on 'parents to make sure the we teach the kids Chichewa' [Staff #79 LUANAR]. A number of student participants also indicate that they did not take Chichewa in school as they 'didn't have that option at all' [Speaker #3 COM Focus Group]. Unlike English, which is considered a key subject and the only essential subject for university acceptance, even in schools which do offer Chichewa, it is generally offered as an optional subject. There is then a situation in some universities in which 'there are a lot of people who were not taking Chichewa in their secondary schools' [Speaker #4 COM Focus Group]. Chichewa is not viewed as essential for educational progression in the same way that English is.

Additionally, some schools in Malawi will have strict punitive measures in place for students who speak Chichewa on school grounds. Participants' opinions towards this differ, with one staff member saying that people 'would be punished if you speak Chichewa [laughs] it was cruel but at least you communicated in English' [Staff #91 CHANCO]. Much like the student discussed in Section 5.3.1, this staff member viewed the stigmatisation of Chichewa in secondary education as beneficial as it allows one to develop their English skills, saying that 'it made sense at the time' [Staff #91 CHANCO]. Another member of staff recalls feeling similarly, viewing being forced to speak English as positive as 'at the time personally I enjoyed it because it defined my educatedness' [Staff #60 MZUNI]. For some, the positive attributes which English bestows on an individual's identity outweigh any negative impact which banning the use of Chichewa, or other Malawian languages, has. This attitude is not universal however, as some view this treatment of Chichewa as a negative with one student discussing the fines of '200 kwacha' they were forced to pay in secondary school if they spoke Chichewa which they view as 'bad cause Chichewa is our language' [Student #92 BIU]. Some recognise an injustice in the treatment of languages in Malawi; socially English use is rewarded and Chichewa use is punished. This in turn influences people's attitudes towards the languages.

While there is a specific relationship between English and elite high schools there is also a more general association between English and education generally. There is a general perception that, in Malawi, speaking English is a sign of being educated as 'an educated person in Malawi is is a one who can speak English well' [Student #37 CHANCO]. Participants suggest that there is a desire amongst Malawians to send their children to more prestigious high schools largely due to the desire for their children to acquire English and the prestige value that this brings. Going to private high schools and speaking English is indicative of a 'prestige type of life' which is 'associated with the whites and someone belonging to this category, if he is to express in that Queen's language people think that he's an advanced person' [Student #34 CHANCO]. This quotation draws attention to raciolinguistic (see Flores and Rosa 2015) aspects of the position of English in Malawi which will be more fully discussed in Section 6.3.2. It also indicates the desirability of English as it makes one appear more developed than those who speak Chichewa which is considered to indicate a 'very primitive, a kind of life' [Student #34 CHANCO]. Participants acknowledge that groups of students want to be seen to be speaking English in university stating that 'it's like everyone wants to speak English' and it's like 'they are

addicted' to speaking English [Student #89 BIU]. This situation is not only true in the university context, as one staff member notes that generally in Malawi 'everybody wants to speak English' which they find even 'when going to the village' [Staff #39 CHANCO] in communities which are traditionally not perceived to be English speaking. This is due to the fact that 'we have raised the profile of English' as a language and people 'have seen what English does' for their identities as 'it raises your profile all of a sudden' [Staff #39 CHANCO]. This positive view of English and the positive attributes bestowed on those who use it is perceived as endemic in Malawi. There is 'that mindset that English is superior to the local languages' and this has a major influence on parents 'from the elite classes' as they will 'as much as possible put their children into English schools' while they 'don't mind if they don't speak any of the local languages' [Staff #87 KCN]. One staff member, who is also a parent, summarises this link between the prestige of English and schooling in Malawi:

> I will tell you one thing without beating about the bush that most Malawians associate English with prestige so I would want, let's say I am taking my daughter to the shopping mall I would be happy if the daughter is speaking to me 100% in Chi- yeah in English because people associate English with prestige here so most of these private primary or secondary schools are not for an ordinary Malawian they are for those well to do class of Malawians now to maintain their prestigeness they that's why they would want to have the Chichewa uh the Chichewa dropped in favour of the English. [Staff #79 LUANAR]

If someone's child is speaking English this reflects positively both on the child and the parent. This staff member illustrates that the type of schools which people send their children to for the purposes of ensuring they learn to speak English are 'not for an ordinary Malawian'. This illustrates the way in which English can be seen as an elite language and that it can be used as a marker of individual progress and social mobility. To speak English, and to send your children to good schools, indicates to others that you are not an ordinary Malawian. Speaking English allows someone to present themselves as a member of the elite class. This desire for speaking English can also be seen as a desire not to speak Chichewa as one student suggests:

They say people don't want their children to speak Chichewa some parents would literally slap a child for speaking Chichewa in public. [Student #20 COM]

While speaking English is a positive sign indicating high social status, speaking Chichewa is here being viewed negatively and as something to be discouraged. The strong link between English and high-quality education can at times be blurred, however. On one hand, schools can advertise themselves as English-only as a means of attracting parents who will then send their children there due to many of the reasons discussed above. However, the range of private schools available in Malawi can be of varying quality and some may put a large focus on English language skills at the expense of other elements of the curriculum. One lecturer states that 'because of that issue of prestige our kids are speaking good very good English but they struggle with science subjects' [Staff #79 LUANAR]. As English is perceived to indicate that someone is educated, developing English language skills may be deemed to be more important than developing critical or analytical skills, or knowledge in other subjects. While acquiring English skills is a major reason for choosing what school to send children to, another staff member highlights the tensions which can exist for them as a parent faced with this decision. They indicate that while they would prefer 'children learn the local languages, learn their mother tongue in addition to the English language' they send their children to an English-only school as the 'education quality is going down' in the government schools and they want 'to get them a good opportunity in life' [Staff #87 KCN]. This is a cause of tension for some, such as one staff member who states the following, discussing the fact that one of their children cannot speak Chichewa:

Me as a Malawian at least your child must be able to speak if he has grown up here. What reason do I have for saying you cannot speak Chichewa? It reflects badly on me as a parent, you say perhaps you have inculcated in him that Chichewa is not good enough. [Staff #66 POLY]

While parents want to set their children up so that they are able to be successful in life, which involves ensuring they speak English and sending them to a good quality of school, they also recognise the important position that Chichewa has as a part of Malawian cultural

identity. For some though, perceived instrumental benefits of acquiring English however potentially outweigh the perceived integrative benefits of knowing Chichewa.

One example which is given numerous times in the data from students and staff at different institutions indicates the social prestige surrounding English. English is a language which individuals would speak 'for you to be seen you're educated' [Speaker #3 MZUNI Focus Group]. As a result of this, a number of participants state that often in bars as individuals get increasingly drunk they will begin to speak English. One student notes that 'in the deep deep village there's some guys that when they are drunk they'll just speak in English, even though it's broken that they'll just speak English' [Student #90 BIU]. Another states that 'it happens a lot, you'll find in these drinking places and stuff you'll find people [laughs] some some someone doesn't usually speak English but when he's drunk [laughs]' [Speaker #3 MZUNI Focus Group]. This occurs in 'local uh rural areas' in the 'beer drinking joints' when people want to 'show that they went to school' [Staff #91 CHANCO] and they 'want to outshine anybody there' [Speaker #3 MZUNI Focus Group]. This again suggests the social capital which English has and the benefits it has to one's self-image. Individuals speak English due to its association with education and with prestige in the attempt to indicate that they themselves are educated and have prestige.

6.3.1.b Language and social stigma

While the above discussion has concentrated on the positive aspects of individuals' attitudes towards English and the negative attitudes towards Chichewa, this is not always clear cut. Use of English by individuals in Malawi, both in university and elsewhere, can at times lead to stigmatisation. This still relates to the associations of elitism and prestige which English brings; however, this is not always viewed positively. Students can be viewed as pompous if they speak English too much. For some students, it is viewed as something outside of the norm. While acknowledging that 'if you speak in English people may say that you are wise' one student notes that if 'you speak Chichewa or you mix up they say you're a normal guy' [Student #63 MZUNI]. Students are aware that if they 'use English [people] assume they've gone to better schools' but that this can be construed as 'boasting' so some students will 'try to avoid that' [Student #90 BIU] to ensure that they are considered normal. Outwith the university this is also true, using English deviates from the norm and can have negative repercussions for a speaker. A staff member notes that

when speaking to 'local people' that they 'will be offended if you mix English and Chichewa because they will not understand the the English part…you look like you're boasting' [Staff #46 MUST]. One student gives a further example of the damaging effects that use of English can have on their social relationships, particularly when moving from the university environment back to the home environment. They report that they will grow 'used to speak in English' while at university and when they return home 'you're having a conversation you find your friend you know this friend of mine hardly even made it to into un- into secondary school he dropped out maybe in standard five then you are talking you are used to speaking [laughs] English in school then you are talking to your friend you go into English…tomorrow you find your friend isn't isn't even paying you a visit' [Speaker #3 MZUNI Focus Group]. As a result of the implications of prestige associated with English, those who are not used to speaking the language can take offence at others who use it when speaking with them. While speaking English can suggest that an individual possesses certain attributes such as a high level of education and wealth, this can also cause tensions with individuals who do not speak English or who prefer to speak Chichewa. As one student notes, they consider it peculiar when a friend speaks in English when it is 'just normal for us to communicate in Chichewa' as the friend can 'speak Chichewa and we too can understand' [Student #33 LUANAR]. For some, communication in Chichewa is the norm and attempts to speak in English are viewed as superficial attempts 'to look some kind advanced' [Student #33 LUANAR]. One student who notes that his 'Chichewa is terrible' states that they have to make an effort to contribute to conversation using Chichewa when they are 'hanging out with another social group' as they 'can't go in there just in English' as it's 'kind of snobby' [Student #17 COM].

It is not only English which can be viewed in this way for participants. As a result of Chichewa's dominant role in Malawi, those from certain areas can view the use of Chichewa as 'pompous'. One student suggests that if he is speaking to his friends who speak other Malawian languages they will consider him attempting 'to outshine [them] as if I speak very good Chichewa…you're being pompous' [Speaker #3 MZUNI Focus Group]. Displaying a high level of language skills then, for English and at times Chichewa, is not always a positive attribute and can instead have a negative impact on how an individual is perceived by others.

In contrast to the positive attributes which are generally associated with speaking English, participants also highlight the negative aspects of their linguistic repertoires. This includes negative attributes associated with individuals who speak Chichewa as well as negative attributes which are associated with people deemed to not speak English to a sufficient level. While English can be associated with education and wealth, Chichewa, by contrast, can at times be associated with a lack of education and rural poverty. Attitudes towards those who speak Chichewa, particularly within universities, can also be negative. For example, one student states that those who speak Chichewa are 'students who are always against civilised things' [Student #89 BIU] associating speaking English with being civilised and speaking Chichewa with being uncivilised. One student notes that the students that 'come from homes with good morals, they speak good English' [Student #25 MUST]. This is reiterated by another student who states that a 'person who speak English is usually more formal, uh prefers formal etiquettes, manners or leaders' which contrasts with those who speak Chichewa who are 'not as formal' and are 'usually the ones who drink' and 'the ones everyone looks down on' [Student #32 COM]. It is stated that generally young people 'are not proud of our language' and that they 'look at the person who speaks the mother tongue, the mother language as someone who is primitive' [Speaker #2 COM Focus Group]. There is a dichotomy which is set up between those from the wealthier urban areas in Malawi and those from more rural village areas. One student commenting on the offence caused by speaking English states 'they find it bit offensive when you're going speaking English English English but you also understand Chichewa you can speak Chichewa it's just a language [laugh] like oh we know you come from town and we come from the village so speak Chichewa so we can understand you' [Student #49 KCN]. This highlights that, for some, Chichewa is not considered to be a language of the more urban cities in Malawi but is instead a language associated with the rural areas. For some there is a stigma attached to being a Chichewa speaker, reflecting a perceived low status socioeconomically. This is also found for other languages in Malawi which is sometimes due to tribal stereotypes within the country. One student notes that people will avoid speaking Malawian languages as 'they don't want to associate themselves with a tribe' giving an example of speaking Yao with another member of the Yao tribe. While they would begin the conversation speaking Yao they would 'quickly switch to English' if there are 'other people around' who are not Yao as there is a perception that 'most of Yaos are unlearned' [Speaker #4 COM Focus Group]. Another student, who is a member of the Lomwe tribe says that they do not want to learn or speak Lomwe as it 'makes one look stupid' and that it 'isn't cool' and 'doesn't sound proper' [Student #92 BIU]. Due to the

history of language planning in Malawi, discussed in Sections 1.3.4 and 1.3.5, Chichewa is a major language in the country and as a result it can be viewed more positively than other Malawian languages. One staff member reports this stating that young people 'were abandoning their languages', their traditional tribal languages, as 'speaking their language it looked as if you are backwards' and so 'it's only Chichewa that became prominent' [Staff #61 MZUNI]. Speaking other Malawian languages 'can make you look primitive' as Chichewa is viewed as a language which is used in the cities and 'it's more like modern' [Staff #61 MZUNI]. Malawian languages then can have a detrimental impact on how speakers are perceived by others due to the negative associations the languages have in Malawian society.

Chichewa is also considered to be a poorly resourced language as 'there are some other words that we don't have in Chichewa, technical words' [Speaker #2 BIU Focus Group] and is considered by some to be 'a very rudimentary language' [Staff #6 POLY] and to be 'poor in vocabulary' [Student #59 MZUNI]. Malawian languages generally are considered by many to be underdeveloped and basic languages, as one staff member illustrates:

> in spite of all the languages we have in Malawi we have no languages which are developed to the level like Swahili that we can teach university with so we don't have knowledge based in any of the languages, as of now English would be because there are books available written we have and so on so forth so we don't have the technology to use at university level for the very basic things we don't even know what a phoneme is in in any of the Malawian languages so how do we teach when we don't have [laughs] um the language to use, the technologies to use. [Staff #46 MUST]

Chichewa is not considered to be a language in which knowledge has been produced or can be discussed. As discussed in Section 6.2.1. English is associated with the global world and with progressing in life. Chichewa, and those who speak it are, on the other hand, associated with the local and underdeveloped.

There is also stigma attached to being seen to have deficient language skills. This is true

for multiple aspects of an individual's linguistic repertoire. Commonly reported in interviews and focus groups is the ridicule that students face if they are thought to make mistakes in their English use. If a student speaks 'English and then it's broken English that's when they laugh' [Student #92 BIU]. One student reports that they would be ridiculed with others asking 'how do you manage to get to university if you don't speak English?' [Student #28 MUST]. This in turn causes students to 'feel ashamed of themselves' and discourages them from speaking English as they do not want to be 'a laughing stock' [Student #28 MUST]. This can have a large impact on an individual's self-esteem as those who ridicule are 'breaking somebody's spirit' and 'they'll be destroyed' [Speaker #2 BIU Focus Group]. Staff members report this happening in their classes with one stating that during class presentations one student did not 'pronounce the word media properly…so they laughed' [Staff #48 CHANCO] recognising the detrimental effect his can have on a student's time at university. During participant observation I observed this happen in a class after a student mispronounced a local brand of beer. The rest of the class laughed at the student and other students consistently ridiculed them for the remainder of the lesson [Observation Notes 17th August 2016]. On another occasion I observed a student 'being mocked for their non-standard, but Malawian, pronunciation' as in this excerpt from my Observation Notes [18th August 2016]:

Student: 'I want to rearn [sic]'

Staff: 'You want to learn'

Then everyone laughs at him. Including lecturer, who directly makes fun of him.

In another classroom one student struggled to understand and spell the word 'reciprocity'. When seeking clarification from the lecturer, 'the lecturer softly laughed, other students laughed and then she wrote it on the board' [Observation Notes 2nd August 2016]. These difficulties arise due to the fact that /r/ and /l/ are not distinct phonemes in Chichewa nor in many Bantu languages (see Kamwangamalu and Moyo 2003). While these students are using non-Standard English, they are using distinctively Malawian English but this leads to ridicule from both staff and students. If students 'feel they should not speak cause maybe…someone will laugh' this could affect 'their performance due to a lack of confidence' [Staff #48 CHANCO]. Ridiculing does not just happen to students with one staff member reporting that if they 'mess up my English and then they'll [the students] you

know start laughing at me like' [Staff #35 CHANCO]. This illustrates that it is not only the language which one speaks which can affect someone's image but also how they speak that language.

There is a link which emerges from the data between perceived values of languages and positive or negative attributes given to those who speak those languages. While students and staff indicate that there is a strong perception in Malawi that English is a more valuable language that Chichewa and 'most of the people look at those people who speak English and think like oh these are better people in society' [Speaker #2, COM Focus Group] some do suggest that this is something which they are taught to believe. Although it is 'people's perspective' that speaking English means that you are educated, there is a recognition from some that this is 'not the case' [Student #37 CHANCO]. This is summarised by one student who notes:

> No, we are brainwashed I'm afraid with English you know we believe that um the foreign languages it's pretty cool and if you go in the market and you are speaking English, people will be like 'wow you are a learned man'. [Student #21 COM]

Similarly, other students show awareness of the socially constructed nature of commonly found negative attitudes towards Chichewa:

> I think it's mostly cause uh they were taught subconsciously taught that Chichewa isn't really that great comparing that in primary school they wouldn't really let you speak Chichewa like in classes and stuff they made they made us sort of look down on the language make it seem like it's associated with not being educated. [Speaker #5 COM Focus Group]

This section has discussed the general beliefs which participants present regarding the benefits and drawbacks which speaking particular languages can have on a Malawian's social status. This gives a general overview of how languages are perceived at a societal level in Malawi. From the above discussion it can be seen that these attitudes are complex

and that English, Chichewa, and other Malawian languages can have positive and negative impacts on an individual's perceived social status. Participants exhibit a sociolinguistic awareness as they are aware of the socially constructed nature of these language attitudes. The next section will move away from the societal level to present a more in-depth discussion of the personal relationship which participants have with language.

6.3.2 Language and cultural identity

Section 6.3.1 has discussed the way in which English and Malawian languages are perceived to influence how people view others' identities in Malawi. This section will discuss in more detail the ways in which participants report the effect of language on their own sense of identity. This will include discussing tribal identity, Malawian identity and its relationship with English and Chichewa, as well as focusing on the university itself and individuals' identities within it.

6.3.2.a Language and tribal identity

There is a fundamental link between language and identity which emerges in the data, particularly through participants' discussion of their tribal identities and the languages which are associated with the tribes in Malawi (and which are found in other areas of Africa). Some participants define linguistic terminology such as 'first language', 'native language' and 'mother language/tongue' in relation to their tribal background. While Chichewa, as will be discussed in the section below, is considered by some to be the mother language of Malawi as a nation, individual tribes also have languages which are considered to be their mother languages. The importance of language nominations was discussed in Section 2.3.1 and the ways in which participants refer to language provides an interesting insight into the sociolinguistic context in which individuals find themselves. For participants, there is a distinction made between what is considered to be one's first language and one's mother tongue, as illustrated by one staff member who notes that 'Chichewa is my first language, I avoid using mother tongue cause it's not my mother tongue, it's my first language' [Staff #46 MUST]. These languages are also referred to as a 'tribal language' [Student #49 KCN] or as an 'original language', 'parent language', or 'real language' [Student #23 MUST]. However, for a number of participants, they report that they do not speak these languages. A 'mother tongue' is the language associated with

205

an individual's tribal group. However, largely dependent on which tribe individuals are from and aspects of their upbringing, many participants do not speak the language which they would identify as their mother tongue. The cause of this is reported as being due to the fact that more Malawians, and particularly those likely to be at university, are 'people who grew up in urban areas' [Staff #91 CHANCO] and have 'never been to the village' [Student #56 MZUNI], rural areas where these languages are more likely to be spoken. This is viewed by a number of participants as a negative thing, 'a major weakness' [Staff #91 CHANCO], and it is 'a shame' [Student #49 KCN] that they do not know these languages. This is due to the link they have with their tribal culture and heritage. One student reports a desire to learn Ngoni as 'it's part of my culture' [Student #93 BIU] with a staff member noting that they hope to learn it as it is an aspect of 'my heritage' which they would 'love to be able to like connect to' [Staff #35 CHANCO]. Another student suggests that not knowing their tribal language, which is a 'source of identity', causes them to lack 'a sense of belonging' [Student #32 COM]. Language then is able to provide participants with a connection to their cultural heritage, which allows them to 'embrace their roots' as there are 'roots in terms of language' and those who 'speak other people's mother language' [Staff #87 KCN] are viewed to be at a disadvantage. Participants note that this feeling of disconnect is most pronounced when interacting with other members of their tribe, as one student reports:

because sometimes I do interact with- with my people from tribe- from my tribe so they they will speak Lomwe and me I don't- I don't even speak so I find it like I'm hiding my identity. I can't explain to someone that I am Lomwe while I can't speak Chilomwe so I do like to learn so that when it comes to interacting with my fellow people I can communicate with them easily as well as I can express my tribe to other people by using the language which I'm supposed to be speaking. [Student #41 CHANCO]

This student illustrates that they feel unable to express a key part of their identity because they do not have the linguistic resources available to do so. Another student reports that 'the people laugh at you "ah you are saying you are from here but you can't speak your own language"' [Student #33 LUANAR]. There is a strong link between language and identity, and identifying with a particular tribe or nation, to the extent that some

participants highlight that speaking a particular language confirms that you are part of a group and can be used as evidence of your tribal or national identity. One student illustrates this by saying that 'you can't say "I'm a Sena" by tribe while you can't speak that language' and 'if you are saying you are from Malawi but you can't speak Chichewa' [Student #33 LUANAR] people will be surprised and wonder if you are actually from Malawi. Tribal languages are linked to other tribal customs which are important markers of unique tribal identities, such as the wearing of animal skin headbands. One student reports that they would participate in these tribal activities but 'embarrassingly' [Student #25 MUST] is not able to speak their tribal language, leading others to question the validity of their tribal identity. These languages are considered by some to be that 'language that will best define me' [Student #29 MUST]. For one participant, not being able to speak to members of their tribe in their tribal language is a situation which 'is sort of an island' [Student #32 COM]. From the data, language emerges as an element which is key in how participants view their own identities.

6.3.2.b Language and Malawian identity

For some, English is seen as something which is foreign, which is not part of their culture. It is not something which is intrinsically Malawian but is something which is learned. One student notes that English is 'a foreign language…a language for you to learn' [Speaker #4 MZUNI Focus Group] while another states that 'as Malawians we are not born speaking English, we are born speaking Chichewa or other languages and we just learn English' [Speaker #6 LUANAR Focus Group]. For some this causes them not to wish to speak English regularly as 'we don't feel good when we are speaking English' [Student #69 LUANAR] as it is not viewed a natural part of their everyday lives or their identities. Chichewa is viewed differently, it is something which is, for participants, distinctly Malawian, with one student going so far as to say that 'Chichewa is the most important part of our country' [Speaker #2 LUANAR Focus Group] and it is an important part of the 'cultural landscape of our nation' [Speaker #4 COM Focus Group]. Chichewa is viewed by some to be a more natural part of their identities as 'it's in us, it's something we're born with' [Speaker #4 MZUNI Focus Group]. Chichewa, and other Malawian languages, are commonly regarded as 'inborn languages' [Student #9 POLY], as languages which are 'actually inborn when you're born' [Student #71 LUANAR]. Chichewa is viewed as something which is fundamentally Malawian as 'being in Malawi…Chichewa is the mother language' [Student #62 MZUNI] and is considered to be 'our mother language'

[Speaker #4 COM Focus Group] for Malawians collectively. The connections between nation, culture and language emerge as important for some participants as they feel they have a responsibility to 'own our language' [Speaker #4 COM Focus Group] so that it does not disappear. Recognising the importance of Chichewa to Malawians, students highlight the importance of 'protecting our language' [Speaker #7 LUANAR Focus Group]. This then becomes particularly important for students due to the perceived connection between language and culture as 'language is culture, so we need to protect our culture' [Speaker #2 MZUNI Focus Group]. Expressing positive attitudes towards Chichewa, or other Malawian languages, is therefore one way in which individuals are able to show that they are 'taking pride in [their] culture' [Staff #39 CHANCO]. Chichewa is viewed more positively in this respect as 'we have grown up with Chichewa normally' and it is a key aspect of their lives, in contrast with English for which 'most of us are not comfortable in it' [Student #23 MUST]. Some students highlight a disconnect between their own identities as Malawians and as English language speakers. This disconnect is summarised by one student who states:

When I go home I can't speak to my mother in English, I mean she wouldn't understand cause she hasn't gone to school. Why should I be proud of the language in which I wouldn't speak to my own mother? [Student #21 COM]

While English can bring about positive change in someone's life and open up new and exciting opportunities, for some their English language skills are not attributes which they feel proud of because they are not viewed as being innately Malawian. The language is not viewed as being Malawian as it 'came on a boat for starters…it's not, it wasn't really our language' [Student #18 COM]. The colonial history behind the introduction of English into Malawi is acknowledged by participants with one saying that the 'coming in of English language was brought because the English were here, the British' [Student #62 MZUNI]. The introduction of English is intrinsically linked to the 'coming of the whites' [Student #62 MZUNI] and the language retains associations with Whiteness. The use of English globally, and in Malawi, is also viewed by some students as a neo-colonial imposition of a foreign language with one student stating that 'it [colonialism] killed off everything so it's also the same with with English now' [Student #7 BIU]. Just as, during the colonial period, the British viewed 'some things that the Malawians do in their culture' as uncivilised and

'wrong' so that 'they tried to remove…those thing' [Student #62 MZUNI] so too now English is viewed as a destructive force, damaging Malawian culture and Malawian languages. One student suggests that there may be 'other attachments' to the global spread of English, positing that 'global communication, the intent has to do with the Western world getting to market or to sell out their culture to different…other countries' [Student #57 MZUNI]. English is viewed then as something which can fundamentally change, and potentially damage, Malawian culture and identity.

For some, English is purely associated with Western society. Speaking English means being like people from the West, as noted by one student who says that if 'people in Malawi will be very good in English' then 'they will be more Western' [Student #20 COM]. This ties into views of English being associated with progress as 'everything is going modern and for most Malawians modern means Western' [Student #20 COM]. While some feel a disconnect towards English due to this, for others it is a major impetus behind their language learning and their university life generally as 'the reason why we are at school is that we want to be like those people in the Western area' and 'English is needed' to do this [Student #94 BIU]. The reason why people want to learn English and why parents want their children to learn English is viewed by some as 'just copying some Western kind of life' because 'people want to be more Western' [Student #20 COM]. The position of English in Malawi causes some to consider Malawi as 'less African' than other nations on the continent, as illustrated by the following interview excerpt discussing Tanzania:

> **Staff #72**: they sound more African yeah because they speak, they speak an African language, use it for business if if you find- look at most of their textbooks they're in Swahili uh even in Malawi you get some medicines from Tanzania the instructions on the boxes are in the in Swahili which is and- admirable.

> **Researcher**: eh so then why would you say that Malawians sounds less African?

> **Staff #72**: because we privilege the the English language yeah, it's it's it's it's like we don't love we don't like our local language. [KCN]

209

This excerpt exemplifies the close connection between language and national identity. To speak a language which is not perceived to be African leads one to sound, and potentially be, less African.

While for some English is viewed as foreign and other to them, there are those who view it as a more natural part of their everyday lives. Some consider English to be a part of Malawian identity and a now natural part of the linguistic repertoires of Malawians as the following excerpt shows:

> **Researcher**: so, the first question is how many languages are there in Malawi?

> **Student #55**: I'd say Chichewa Chitumbuka um English are we allowed to count that as a Malawian language?

> **Researcher**: erm what do you think?

> **Student #55**: [laughs] I'd say so I think yeah, it's okay. [MZUNI]

Instead of there being a disconnect with English, for some students their disconnect is with Malawian languages as 'I feel like we are not part of our languages…we are not proud of our language' [Speaker #2 COM Focus Group]. As a result of the position of English within Malawi for a number of participants English is the language of their homes and the language that they use naturally in their everyday communication. For some students 'it's mostly English…that's what we speak at home' [Student #17 COM]. English is something which they are used to as a result of their upbringing as one student, previously discussed in Section 5.3.1 above, states, 'I've been studying in English since I was in kindergarten so I prefer to stay in that lane' [Speaker #2 BIU Focus Group]. This upbringing leads some students to say that they have been 'getting that English mental thing' [Student #95 BIU]. Rather than viewing English as a foreign language in Malawi with negative historical

origins in the country, some view it positively as something which 'has been given to Malawi as a second language and a language for communicating' [Student #28 MUST]. Even though there is an acceptance of English as not a completely foreign language in Malawi some of these students indicate that they are trying to speak Chichewa more while at university such as one student who reports that 'for recent times I've been speaking Chichewa more trying to you know get the hang of it, I suppose, sound more Malawian' [Speaker #3 COM Focus Group]. There remains a perception of Chichewa being a more Malawian language than English.

6.3.2.c Language and student identity

Language can act as a key marker of identity for university students. Being at university there is a societal expectation of language standards for students. There is a 'mentality' in the 'society that like when you're at college you have to speak English' [Speaker #3 KCN Focus Group]. For some students, their desire to acquire English and be seen as English speakers is influenced by this. Speaking English highlights that there is a 'difference between you and someone who…dropped out of school at standard two' [Speaker #3 KCN Focus Group]. Beginning to speak English more often 'shows that we're changing' [Student #89 BIU]. It marks a sign of students' personal growth and development and signals to others that they are university educated as 'they'll say "look at that one when she was at secondary school she never used to speak English but then when she went to university she speaks English"' [Speaker #3 KCN Focus Group]. Transforming from someone who never used to speak English to an English speaker can be a marker to signal a key change in an individual's identity.

Participants also report on the multilingual nature of their identities. While there are advantages and disadvantages, both English and Chichewa can have a bearing on how individuals are perceived, there are also benefits to being seen as an individual with a multilingual linguistic repertoire. This is due to the fact that Malawi is a multilingual country, or as one student puts it, 'we are a nation of two [languages]' [Student #21 CHANCO] referring to the dominant positions which English and Chichewa have in the country. Participants recognise that different languages can signal different parts of their identities as individuals in university education. As one student states 'we need both English and Chichewa so that we should be known that this person belongs to Malawi but

211

he is also an educated person who can speak English anywhere else wherever he goes' [Speaker #2 LUANAR Focus Group]. Each language can be used by individuals to represent different aspects of their identity and can be of value to them in different contexts. For some, their university offers them a space in which they can fully express their multilingual repertoires and their multilingual identities. A staff member comments on the potential detrimental impact which multilingualism can have on an individual's identity, suggesting that it can lead someone to lose one of their languages if they do not use it as much as others. They state that 'losing a language well when when you lose, you lose your identity and when you have lost you identity that's where the crisis begins because you are neither what you think you are and you are not what you think you should be' [Staff #12, MZUNI]. An alternative view on relationship between language and identity is suggested by one student. The following interview extract offers this student's perspective on the university as a multilingual space, a space which is not strictly English-only or Chichewa-only:

> **Student #89**: yeah because there are some areas like [inc] that don't speak English and then there are some areas you can't even hear Chichewa and then there are areas where there are both. Like this other a few weeks back I visited my aunt, she's coloured she has her friends they're white and all that. I went to their house and I was the only black person there and they were all speaking English, it's not that they don't understand Chichewa they do but then they choose to speak what English. I go to my other aunt's place the only language they speak is what? Chichewa. You see I come here I'm in between, people are speaking English and others are speaking Chichewa so you see it depends where you are.

> **Researcher**: eh where do you prefer being do you prefer being with the people that just speak English or with the people that just speak Chichewa?

> **Student #89**: I prefer in between in between is just fine.

> **Researcher**: why do you prefer in between?

> **Student #89**: cause I feel I feel I learn from both yeah and this other side I get to see what they do I get to see what they say I get them I understand them I go the other side. [BIU]

For this student, having a space in which they are able to express themselves multilingually is beneficial as this offers more potential for learning from and interacting with a variety of other people. Their identity is not fixed or binary but complex, multi-layered and variable. Their growing multilingual repertoire is used as a marker of their identity but also influences it and, instead of causing a crisis, offers a transformative opportunity for their identity to change and adapt as they too develop.

The findings discussed in this chapter indicate strong integrative associations with Malawian languages. In particular, Chichewa plays an important role in participants' sense of Malawian identity. This finding echoes those found by Dyers and Abongdia (2014) for Cameroonian students, Parmegiani (2014) for South African students, and Kamwangamalu and Tovares (2016) for South African and Kenyan students. The role of English in relation to individuals' identities is complex. As Phillipson (1992, 2003, 2008) suggests, for some, English is viewed as a remnant of colonialism, and is something which is distinctly foreign and other to their identities. However, for others, English does have integrative qualities. It is viewed as a key part of their upbringing and their cultural identity as young, modern Malawians. As shown by Kropp-Dakubu (2008) and Sarfo (2012) in Ghana, Ogechi (2009) in Kenya, and Lang (2016) in Liberia, English can be viewed by some young Africans as a crucial aspect of their identity and as something for which they feel a sense of ownership.

A key finding which then emerges from the data analysis is that individuals possess complex, fluid, and multi-layered identities. Similar to Arnett's (2002) conception of 'bicultural identity', individuals are connected to both traditional and modern local culture and to global culture. This aligns with research recent in language acquisition which recognises that identities are flexible and fluid (see Norton and Toohey 2011). This fluidity, and the pulls of the local and global context, results in a situation in which individuals recognise the integrative benefits of multilingualism in allowing them to express their multi-layered identities. This recognition reflects Makalela's (2013) claims

that translanguaging can form an important aspect of identity formation as it enables individuals to draw on their full linguistic resources to perform their identity.

Through exploring the themes of Opportunity and Identity this chapter has highlighted the complex attitudes which students and staff have towards the languages which are present in Malawi. There are positive elements attributed to English, Chichewa, and other Malawian languages. English is viewed as a language of prestige, education, progress, and a language which allows access to the 'global village'. Chichewa, and other Malawian languages, conversely provide an opportunity for connection with the local Malawian context and can allow individuals to develop a sense of their identities as Malawians, providing them with a link to their cultural heritage. However, there are also negative aspects to these languages. The prestige of English can be socially inappropriate in certain contexts and, for some, it is viewed as a language which is distinctly Western. As for Malawian languages, they can carry associations of rural poverty, a lack of education, and are viewed as a barrier to individuals pursuing opportunities outside of Malawi. These findings are in line with the previous research discussed in Section 3.1. English is viewed positively due to the high instrumental value of the language while Malawian languages, particularly Chichewa, have important integrative functions for participants. However, as noted in Section 3.1.1 this is complex, and individuals do not view the languages as strictly instrumental or integrative. It should also be noted that some participants highlight that Chichewa can have instrumental benefits with regards to being a valuable language for employment opportunities in Malawi while, for some, English has important integrative functions as key to their identities. Building on this discussion, the next chapter will present participants' views on which languages are suitable for use as MOI in universities in Malawi.

Chapter 7: Results - Language policy

This chapter will present results which focus on participants' attitudes towards language use and towards appropriate language policies within Malawian universities. These are based on findings from participants' responses to language attitude statements and to questions specifically regarding language policy. The expected findings will be briefly summarised in Section 7.1. The quantitative findings will be reported initially in Section 7.2 and then explored further in Section 7.3 through analysis of the qualitative responses from the interviews and focus groups. Building on the results presented in the previous chapter which highlighted participants' general language attitudes, this chapter focusses in more detail on attitudes towards language and language policy within the university context specifically. The findings presented in this chapter provide material which will answer Research Question 3 and 4:

> 3) *What are the attitudes of students and staff towards the suitability of various languages as MOI in tertiary education in Malawi?*

> 4) *Could changes be made to create a more effective language-in-education policy for Malawian universities?*

7.1 Expectations

As discussed in Section 2.2.4 the increasing internationalisation of higher education has led to a renewed focus on the importance of language planning for universities and English is being adopted widely as an MOI due to its position as an international language (Doiz, Lasagabaster and Sierra 2013, Liddicoat 2016). As discussed in Section 3.3 there are suggestions that reconceptualising language and rejecting monoglossic ideologies which view languages as discrete, bounded, named entities could be beneficial in language planning efforts in Africa (Makoni and Mashiri 2006, Makoe and McKinney 2014, Erling, Adinolfi and Hultgren 2017, McKinney 2017). However, this movement largely comes from professional linguists and so it was expected that attitudes towards language policy amongst participants in this study would not necessarily reflect this. Instead, expectations

mirror those summarised in Section 6.1 above. Namely, participants are likely to have positive attitudes towards an English-only MOI and negative attitudes towards any Malawian language being used as a sole MOI. As discussed in Section 6.1, as some previous research indicates that African students can at times display positive attitudes towards the inclusion of African languages it was expected that there would be some positive attitudes towards the use of Malawian languages, specifically Chichewa, alongside English. Additionally, the language as a problem orientation (discussed in Section 2.3.2) highlights that language planning efforts can, at times, view multilingualism and linguistic diversity as an issue which is not able to be practically accommodated for in language policy. Given the language planning history in Malawi (see Section 1.3.5) in which multilingualism is not effectively and practically supported, this could impact individuals' attitudes towards the practicality of embracing multilingual policies.

7.2 Quantitative results

7.2.1 Language attitude statements

Figure 17 provides an overview of participants' responses to a series of language attitude statements. Each statement was given to participants to allow them to express an opinion regarding each language context. The statements were as follows:

- English is a suitable language to use at university in Malawi
- Using English and Chichewa would be suitable at university in Malawi
- Chichewa is a suitable language to use at university in Malawi
- Malawian languages are suitable to use at university in Malawi
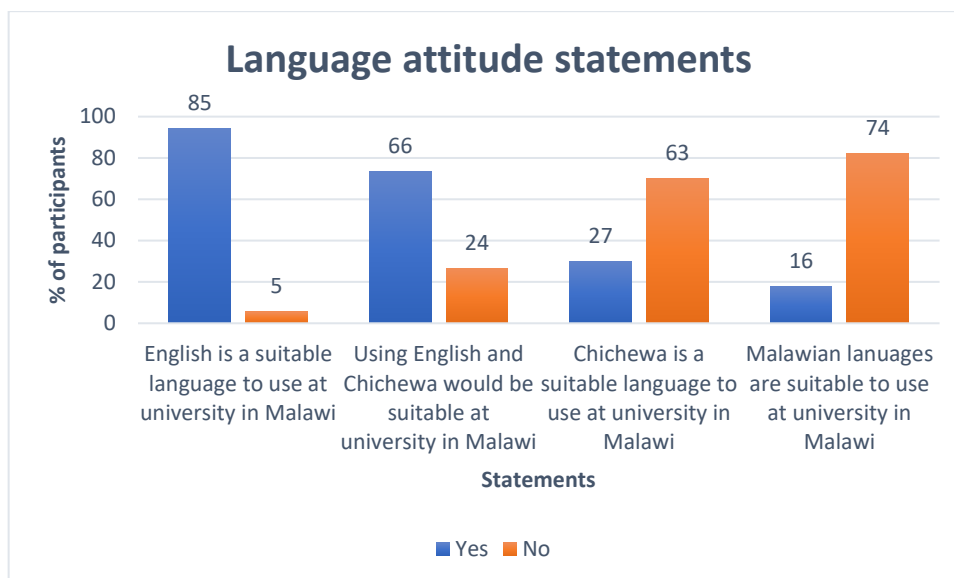
Figure 17. Language attitude statement responses[12]

Taking each statement in turn, a large majority of participants (94.4%) view English as a suitable language to use at university, with a small minority (5.6%) deeming it unsuitable. A majority, albeit a smaller majority (73.3%), view the use of both English and Chichewa in the university as something which is suitable while 26.7% view it as unsuitable. Taking Chichewa taken in isolation, a minority (30%) view this as a suitable language to use in the university, with the majority (70%) deeming it unsuitable. Malawian languages more generally have a similar response to Chichewa; a minority (17.8%) view their use in university as suitable and a majority (82.2%) view it as unsuitable.[13]

These responses to language attitude statements then suggest that, among the participants, English is viewed as the most suitable language to use at universities in Malawi while Malawian languages are viewed as the most unsuitable. While the use of Chichewa is viewed as more suitable than the use of Malawian languages generally, it is still viewed, by a majority, as being unsuitable for use within universities. However, when given an option in which Chichewa and English can both be used, participants respond more positively.

---

[12] While 92 interviews were conducted and used for qualitative analysis, due to time limitations not all interviewees were given the language attitudes statements. The analysis of these statements includes 90 participants.

[13] Preliminary statistical testing suggested that there are no significant interactions between participants' characteristics (such as age, gender, languages spoken, university) and their responses in any of the quantifiable results discussed in Section 7.2. Further research could provide more insight into the effect, if any, of individual characteristics on language attitudes.

While Chichewa in isolation is not viewed as being suitable, it becomes suitable to introduce Chichewa into universities when it is used alongside English.

7.2.2 Language policy

Responses to questions regarding language policy within the university provide further evidence of participants' specific attitudes towards the language policy they feel would be best for implementation in Malawian universities.
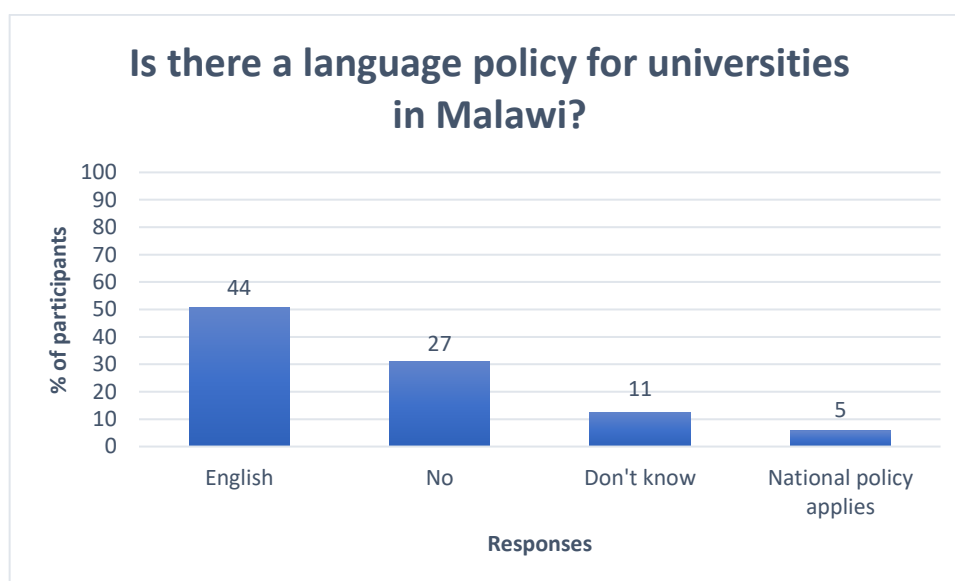
Figure 18. Knowledge of language policy[14]

As previously discussed in Section 5.3.2, the first question participants were asked concerning language policy was: 'Is there a language policy for universities in Malawi?' Responses to this question provide details regarding participants' overall awareness of the language policy context of universities in Malawi. The results, shown in Figure 18, illustrate that it is most common for participants to believe that there is a specific language policy for university which states that English is the language of instruction, with 50.6% providing this answer. Additionally, 5.7% state that, while there is no specific language policy for universities, the national language policies apply, in this case taken to mean that English is the official language of Malawi and so shall be the official language of

---

[14] The analysis of this language policy question involves 87 participants.

universities. 31% of participants stated that there was not a language policy for universities in Malawi and 12.6% stated that they did not know if there was a language policy.

This suggests that, while there is no consensus amongst participants regarding what the language policy is for university, a majority of participants believe that English is the official language which should be used in universities. This is likely due to both the common perception that English is the official language of Malawi and the fact that the official language-in-education policies since independence have always stated that English would be used as the only MOI in secondary education.
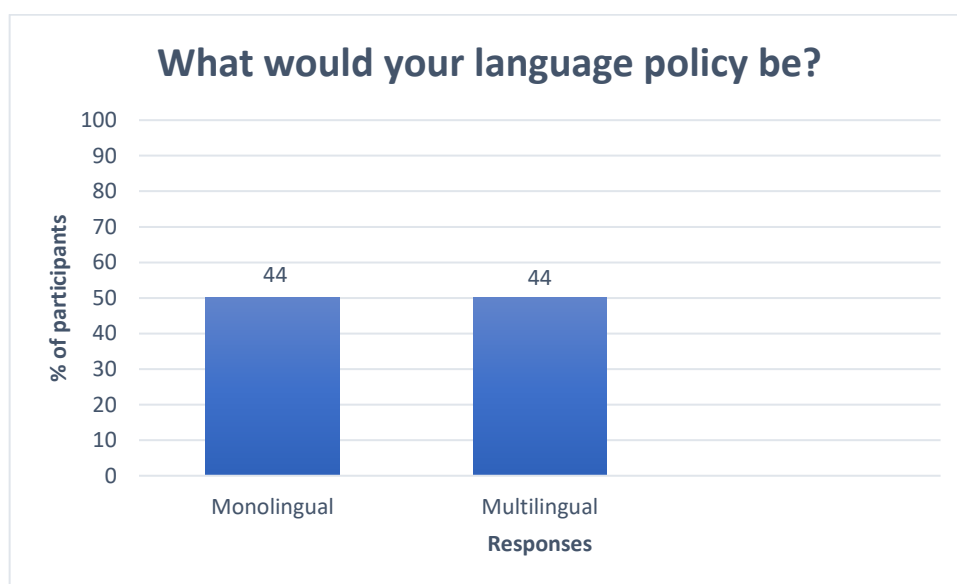
Figure 19. Participants' desired language policy[15]

Figure 19 presents a summary of the results from participants' responses to the question: 'If you were in charge of making the language policy for universities in Malawi, what would your language policy be?' There is again no consensus amongst participants on what the ideal language policy would be for Malawian universities. When considering the type of language policy participants would opt for, there is an even split as 50% of participants in favour of a multilingual policy and 50% in favour of a monolingual policy. To break this down further, as in Figure 20, for the multilingual policy options, 45.5% opted for a policy which included use of Chichewa and English with 4.5% opting for a

---

[15] Analysis of this language policy question involves 88 participants.

policy which included English, Chichewa and other European and Malawian languages. In terms of the monolingual policy, 47.7% of the participants opted for an English-only policy, 1.1% opted for a Chichewa-only policy and 1.1% opted for a French-only policy.[16] An English-only policy is then the most popular monolingual policy, and an English and Chichewa policy is the most popular multilingual policy.
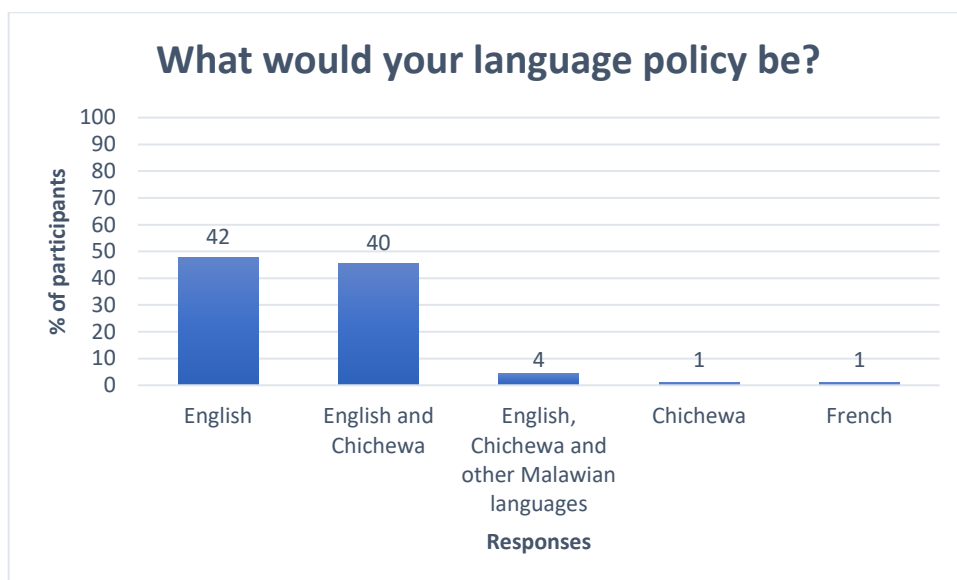
Figure 20. Participants' desired language policy (detailed)

Language policy options were also discussed in each of the focus groups. Participants were asked to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of the following policy options:

- An English-only policy
- A Chichewa-only policy
- An English-Chichewa policy

After discussing these options participants were asked to rate the policies, on a scale going from the one they felt was best for implementation in universities to the one which they felt was the worst. Participants in the focus group were asked to debate amongst themselves

---

[16] French does not hold any formal position in Malawi. The language is offered in secondary schools as, often, the only modern language, and can be studied at university level. In some universities a French module is compulsory for students studying Tourism/Hospitality courses. The student who opted for this option was studying French at university.

and to agree, as a group, on their final decision. This method allowed more detailed insight into participants' attitudes towards each policy. The results for this are shown in Table 3 and indicate that seven of the focus groups opt for the first option and one focus group opts for a second option.

Policy rankings	No. of focus groups
1) Chichewa-English 2) English-only 3) Chichewa-only	7
1) English-only 2) Chichewa-English 3) Chichewa-only	1

Table 3. Focus group responses to language policy

Similar to interview responses, support for a monolingual Chichewa-only language policy is low, with all focus groups deeming this the least desirable language policy. One focus group viewed an English-only policy as the most suitable and the majority viewed a Chichewa-English policy as being the most suitable.

The results presented above highlight that student and staff attitudes towards the languages which are present in universities in Malawi and towards which languages are suitable for use in universities are not homogenous. There is support for English as a language which is suitable for use within university and support for a monolingual English-only policy. Students and staff are less supportive of Malawian languages generally and of the use of Chichewa within a monolingual language policy. While this suggests that Malawian languages are not viewed as suitable to use on their own, when paired with English they, specifically Chichewa, can become suitable. A multilingual policy, incorporating both English and Chichewa, is viewed positively and the use of both English and Chichewa is viewed as being suitable by a majority of participants. The reasons for this will be highlighted further in the remainder of this chapter, through presentation of the qualitative analysis of data from interviews and focus groups.

7.3 Language policy attitudes

The remainder of this chapter will draw on qualitative responses which provide further details on individuals' policy attitudes. This will include a discussion of the reasons for the support for English and lack of support for Chichewa and Malawian languages. Finally, there will be an analysis of the perceived complexity of implementing a multilingual policy and the various configurations participants feel this could take.

7.3.1 Attitudes towards English

7.3.1.a Advantages of English

As discussed in Section 7.2 participants express positive attitudes towards the use of English in university. This is due to it being perceived as a language in which knowledge is stored, it provides employment opportunities, and access to the global community. An English-only policy is viewed positively then as it is believed to be of benefit to students both in their learning while at university and in their careers after university. As a result of this, for a number of participants an English-only policy becomes essential for university as 'English should be like a must' [Speaker #7 BIU Focus Group] as this will create an environment in the university for students to get accustomed to regularly using English. If there is no option to use any other language students 'will be forced' to use English and even 'if they can't speak at least they will be around people who can speak, so they'll be learning' [Speaker #7 BIU Focus Group]. As well as developing their English skills, adopting an English-only policy is viewed as beneficial precisely because of the difficulties that students may have with English. Not allowing the use of Chichewa or other Malawian languages will 'help us to work hard to that spirit of hard working' and 'help us not to develop the laziness spirit' as students will be forced to work 'on our own' to learn new terms and understand their course content [Speaker #7 POLY Focus Group]. The belief is that, due to the fact that use of English-only as a MOI makes learning more difficult, this forces students to develop their research and study skills and ultimately will benefit them in the long-term.

Such is the high degree of the support for English that some participants suggest a language policy in which English should be the sole language used on university campuses, both in formal academic domains and in informal social ones. One student

bemoans the 'freedom' offered to university students which allows them to use the languages of their choice when interacting outside of class and suggests that 'it will have been better if the university restricts the students from speaking certain languages' and that 'only English' should be used 'when they are within the campus' [Student #96 BIU]. This point is echoed by a staff member who states that they 'wouldn't even allow' students to speak Chichewa but instead 'would say at this stage, university, English all the time, everything you're doing, English' [Staff #47 MUST]. Another student goes so far as to suggest punitive measures for those who would break this English-only rule, similar to those imposed in some high schools in the country:

> I would say no Chichewa in university premises. Chichewa should only outside the school premises [sic]. Once you step in the university it should be English throughout and if anybody is found using Chichewa they should be made to maybe wear a tag written 'I was speaking Chichewa' and walk with it the whole campus the whole day and give it back at the end of the day. Maybe they can be fined maybe 500 Kwacha which will help towards the developments of the school. [Student #94 BIU]

The reason for this stance is again founded in the beliefs concerning what English allows an individual to do and the benefits of having an English-only policy in place (see Section 6.2). There are perceived benefits both for students and for the nation as a whole. From the data the belief emerges that it would benefit Malawi to have a more educated population, and that this to some extent means having a higher proportion of the population able to communicate in English. Having more Malawians attend university and having those universities only use English would provide a solution to the perceived lack of an educated population in the country. This point is illustrated by one student who states:

> The problem is, the problem that Malawi, Malawi faces is right now it's not all people who are educated right, who know who knows English better compared to other countries you know…yeah it would have been better if uh universities were only using English okay yeah. [Student #96 BIU]

Through enabling students to gain a high level of English language skills, the implementation of an English-only policy in Malawi's universities then is also viewed as something which can 'help the standards of English in the country' [Student #94 BIU] and will be able to improve Malawian society.

7.3.1.b Disadvantages of English

Despite the high level of support which an English-only language policy receives, not all participants do view English as a suitable language for use within the universities. The reasons given for this vary but largely focus on the role English plays in students' understanding of their course material and of the relationship they have with English. For some, English is clearly not a suitable language to use based on the fact that students 'do find it difficult in speaking as well as in writing English' [Student #41 CHANCO] and that 'there are some difficult words in English [so] that a person cannot understand just English' [Student #68 LUANAR]. For these students, a key point is that due to the difficulties they have with English, using English-only 'cannot bear us good grades' as 'it's like forcing someone a thing he or she doesn't know and ujeni (how do you say?) is not comfortable with' [Student #41 CHANCO]. One student illustrates the difficulties which can be faced in using English-only as students may simply not have come across a number of terms which are used in their subjects. Giving the example of their Food Science course, they state that 'there are some food stuffs in Malawi' that people would 'only know the Chichewa word but when coming when it comes to English most people don't know those English words' [Student #68 LUANAR]. During one focus group discussion, while accepting that an 'English-all language policy would be, say to most administrations, school administrations ideal' [Speaker #3 LUANAR Focus Group] members of the group noted that 'if it's mandatory to be using English only in tertiary education, in tertiary it will be a little bit problematic I think' [Speaker #6 LUANAR Focus Group]. The reasons for this are again based on the skills levels of students with one participant stating that between '70 to 80 percent' [Speaker #4 LUANAR Focus Group] of students would be negatively affected by an English-only policy. For some students ultimately 'the only downside with all strictly English policy would be understanding of the students' [Speaker #3 LUANAR Focus Group]. While this student positions this as the only downside, it is clearly a major one. For these reasons while the use of English-only is potentially desirable, it is thus viewed by a number of participants as impractical in the current context of Malawian tertiary education.

An additional crucial point concerning the unsuitability of English is the position of English within the linguistic ecology of Malawi (as discussed in Section 1.3.3). English is not the most commonly spoken language in the country and for this reason is deemed by one student to be unsuitable as 'our main language, our local language is Chichewa' while 'English is just some other country's language' [Student #77 KCN]. This emerged from the participant observation as certain staff members displayed linguistic insecurity towards their own language skills. During one classroom observation a staff member noted that they could not spell a technical term as English was not their mother tongue [Observation Notes 18th August 2016]. In another instance, a senior staff member requested that a staff member who had been educated in the UK check a report for mistakes in their written English [16th August 2016]. In some contexts, and for some individuals, in Malawian universities there then exists an uncertainty towards the practical viability of using English given the actual, and perceived, standards of English which staff and students possess.

Additionally, at a national level, there is a suggestion that the use of English could have stalled Malawi's development with a comparison made to China, a place in which 'they mostly use their own Chinese' language [Student #77 KCN]. The perceived lack of an educated population in Malawi could be a result of the fact that a language which is not 'our main language' [Student #77 KCN] is used for the majority of education. Another student notes that 'we are people that are used to our own culture and we have our own culture and languages that people understand better' which means that to use English 'is like starting all over again' [Student #57 LUANAR]. English is viewed as unsuitable as it is 'not the mother language in Malawi' [Student #21 COM].

The domains in which a language is used can affect the prestige value of that language. The acceptance and use of a language within university level education can have a positive impact on the prestige associated with a language. One student shows an awareness of this stating that 'if we put an ascension [sic] that English is the only language that can be used in the University of Malawi, it's pretty much that we are disowning other and also its we are putting English as a superior sort of language' [Student #21 COM]. English here is being viewed as unsuitable to use as the only language in university education in Malawi because of the value which this gives it over other languages in the country. Support of an English-only policy for Malawi's universities, for this student, implicitly suggests that no

other languages in the country are suitable for tertiary level education. It thus reinforces the dominant position which English has in high level domains in the country, which is something which some participants want to see challenged.

7.3.1.c Summary of attitudes towards English

In summary, English is widely supported as being a suitable language to use in the universities in Malawi and an English-only policy receives wide support. This section has illustrated that support for English-only in the universities is based on beliefs around the skills and social benefits which an English-only environment would allow. While only a minority of participants view English as an unsuitable language to use in Malawi's universities, the reasons for this are based on a belief that too many students struggle significantly with the English language and that it would be beneficial to raise the status of Malawian languages by affording them acceptance in the university spaces.

7.3.2 Attitudes towards Chichewa and other Malawian languages

This section will discuss participants' views towards the use of Chichewa and other Malawian languages in the universities. Generally, Malawian languages are not viewed positively in terms of their use in university, while Chichewa is viewed more positively than Malawian languages considered collectively.

7.3.2.a Disadvantages of Malawian languages

A major reason for the negative attitudes toward the use of Malawian languages in universities in Malawi is due to the number of languages in the country and the close relationship languages have with specific tribal groups (see Section 6.3.2.a). Introducing a policy which permits the use of a number of Malawian languages is believed to be too complex and something which 'would become chaos' [Speaker #3 KCN Focus Group]. The idea that it would be too difficult to effectively coordinate is common as students note that it 'will cause confusion' [Student #89 BIU] and be 'a big confusion' [Speaker #4 MZUNI Focus Group]. Due to the fact that 'we have so many languages' some view it as inevitable that a proportion of students would 'be left out in that policy' which 'wouldn't feel good' [Speaker #3 MZUNI Focus Group]. Interestingly, data taken from interview

responses to the question 'How many languages are there in Malawi?' highlights that there is no consensus on the exact number of languages which are found in the country. The responses to this question can be seen in Figure 21. There is a large variation in responses to this question, ranging from less than 10 languages to more than 70. The majority of participants state that there are between 1 and 30 languages in the country. That there are believed to be numerous languages in the country, but also that the exact number is unclear, could add to the complexity of implementing a language policy which incorporates a wide range of Malawian languages. As discussed in Section 2.3.2 this reflects an orientation towards language planning which views linguistic diversity as inherently problematic.
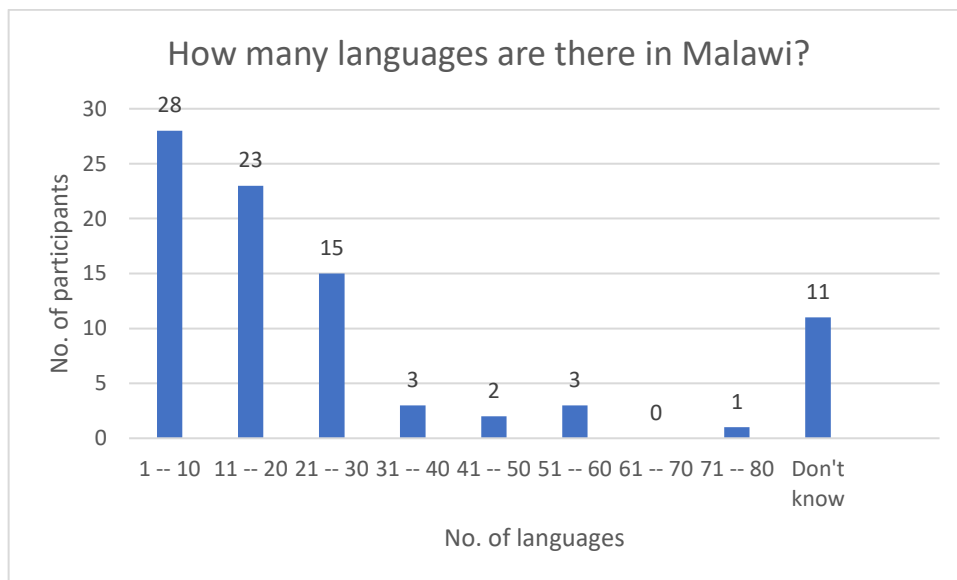
Figure 21. Responses to no. of languages in Malawi[17]

If more than one Malawian language were to be introduced into the universities, it is believed that this would lead to tribalism and segregation, that individuals would only choose to congregate with other members of their own tribes. One student states that 'we wouldn't come together' [Speaker #4 KCN Focus Group] with another noting that 'we won't be as a unit...we'd be separate' [Speaker #2 KCN Focus Group]. The 'linguistic pluralism' [Staff #60 MZUNI] in Malawi also means that not everyone would be able to understand every language which would lead to difficulties in effectively implementing a

---

[17] This analysis includes responses from 86 participants.

multilingual language policy. One student notes that 'if maybe they say "okay all of you are going to learn [in] Yao today", we're not going to even be attentive in class' [Speaker #4 KCN Focus Group] due to the fact they are not familiar with the language. Instead it is important to have a language policy in which 'we stay in something which…can reach out to everyone' [Staff #48 CHANCO]. The perceived difficulties of implementing a multilingual policy based on Malawi's languages is summarised by one lecturer:

> The problem is every university, we have public or private, in one class there all learners from all the languages so what wo- will determine your choice of a particular local language. Again, I'm saying we are having this problem because of linguistic pluralism there is in this country, it can be very tricky if in a class I keep on using Tumbuka, cause I'm Tumbuka and say let's say 20% if that class is Tumbuka. The other students from other tribes will say 'you are doing this deliberately so that you can advantage the Tumbuka speakers at our expense'. [Staff #60 MZUNI]

Ultimately, it is believed to be too difficult, perhaps impossible, to use multiple Malawian languages in a way which does not negatively impact upon students and in which they are all treated equally. This, in part, is one of the reasons for which English is viewed positively, as it can act as unifying language amongst individuals with 'so many different backgrounds' [Staff #64 COM].

7.3.2.b Advantages of Malawian languages

A minority of participants are in favour of the use of Malawian languages in the universities. One of the reasons given for this is again based on the fact that there are students with varied language backgrounds at the university. Rather than this being used as a reason to use one, potentially neutral, language, one student notes that this means it would be fairest if all languages were used. This is due to the belief that 'they can't be segregating towards a certain group of like languages, people speak a certain language so since there are many people coming from different parts of the country', it is then suitable to allow to students to use 'the different languages' [Student #54 MZUNI]. Another major reason for supporting the use of Malawian languages in university is that they are 'a point

of familiarity' [Student #72 LUANAR] and they will allow people to 'feel comfortable' and 'they can express things the way they feel they would like to express them rather than giving them a language which they are not comfortable with' [Student #41 CHANCO]. However, amongst those participants who are in favour of using Malawian languages in the university, it is noted by some that it should be 'the ones that are quite common' that are used [Student #72 LUANAR].

7.3.2.c Disadvantages of Chichewa

Chichewa is, again, viewed by the majority of participants to be an unsuitable language for use within the universities and a Chichewa-only language policy deemed to be the least desirable by all focus groups. There are a range of reasons why a Chichewa-only policy is viewed negatively. It is believed that this would restrict the universities' ability to market themselves globally and attract international students and that it would be 'not be fair to those international students' [Student #94 BIU]. Using Chichewa would also mean that students would 'never learn the English' [Student #90 BIU] terms for aspects of their subjects which could negatively affect their employment prospects.

As noted in Section 7.3.1, there is a common perception that the use of Chichewa would make learning in university simpler for students, however this is not always viewed in a positive manner. It is compared to 'spoon feeding' [Student #90 BIU] students and some believe that it will make students put less effort into their studies. One student notes that if Chichewa were to be used in exams then 'almost everyone can be getting the answers correct'; however, this is viewed as a negative thing as then exams will be too easy for students and 'then that won't be school' [Student #68 LUANAR]. The following extended extract from an interview with this student expands on the idea that the use of Chichewa as a language to allow students to more easily understand their courses is a negative thing:

> **Researcher**: you said there it would make it easier if Chichewa was used it would make it easier.

> **Student**: yeah it would it would make things very very easy.

Researcher: would that not be a good thing?

Student: hrmm.

Researcher: why not?

Student: we won't we will not learn then.

Researcher: if it was in Chichewa?

Student: okay it will be like we will be relaxing more since everyone can understand whatever people go in class just to understand what the lecturer want to explain.

Researcher: okay.

Student: what the lecturer wants to teach, Chichewa I cannot be going in class I can just be reading and going in exam and read pass.

Researcher: okay.

Student: explaining things in Chichewa is simple as compared in English it's, we have a lot to explain as compared to English.

Researcher: okay eh but then would it not, like, would that not be a good thing if people- I'm just trying to understand why you would prefer to use English because English is more complicated.

Student: it wouldn't be- it wouldn't be good then school won't be school [laughs].

Researcher: what do you mean by school won't be school?

Student: okay there is a part of school that needs, that needs us to struggle like us struggling hard to get where we are working hard in something else to learn to learn more.

…

Researcher: so using English makes people need to work harder?

Student: yeah.

Researcher: to understand it.

Student: yeah to research more.

Researcher: and then because because they need to research more to understand things because it's harder cause it's in English then that's better in the end because they've had to go and do the work?

Student: yes.

While Chichewa is seen as a language that will enable increased and easier understanding of subject content for students this has consequences for the university as a whole. For this student the expectation is that using Chichewa will indeed make things easier but that this could encourage students to take a less active approach to their learning as they would not even need to attend classes to be able to pass exams that were in Chichewa. Using Chichewa will not require students to do any active research on their own, so they will not develop their research skills or a deeper understanding of their topics over and above what is taught on the course. Using Chichewa, which will make university easier, will also bring down the quality of the degree and the quality of the skills formation which students can undertake during their studies. It would make it less of an achievement to complete a university course as it is perceived as something which anyone could do. A Chichewa-only policy is then considered by some to be unsuitable as it would bring the overall standard of the university down.

7.3.2.d Advantages of Chichewa

There are positive reasons given for the inclusion of Chichewa in the universities and for the implementation of a Chichewa-only policy. One student suggests that 'a lot of Malawians would love to see an all-Chichewa policy at the public university' [Speaker #3 LUANAR]. For some, this is related to the belief, which has been discussed from an alternative point of view in the section above, that using Chichewa would make university easier for students. There is a belief for some participants that 'we are failing because it's English' and 'if it were Chichewa we would have been passing' [Speaker #2 LUANAR Focus Group]. Instead of viewing Chichewa as something which will bring down the quality of the education students receive, for some it is simply a reality that they view English as hindering their academic success. Their understanding of a particular language and their ability to express their knowledge in that language is not necessarily related to their understanding of subject content. Using Chichewa would potentially enable them to understand subject content more easily but also, crucially, enable them to express their understanding. That this would happen if a Chichewa-only policy were implemented is not true for all students though and is dependent on their individual language skills as discussed in Section 4.3.1.

Another major reason for positive attitudes towards a Chichewa-only policy centres around the potential benefits that it could have for the language itself and how people view the language. If university students are 'learning in Chichewa' then 'the language itself can be enhanced' [Speaker #4 COM Focus Group] and there could be an opportunity for development of new lexical resources in Chichewa for the subjects which are taught at tertiary level. It is noted that Chichewa lacks the appropriate terminology to use it at university level as it 'has a small dictionary' [Student #60 LUANAR]. One staff member suggests that the lack of appropriate terminology in Chichewa is due to the fact that it has not been used for tertiary level teaching and that 'if we had stuck with Chichewa maybe now we could have had the the language, one language properly developed for teaching' [Staff #46 MUST]. Using a Chichewa-only policy at university level is also seen, by some participants, as an opportunity to enhance the prestige value of the language. It would highlight that 'Malawians value their language' [Speaker #4 COM Focus Group] and allow people to take pride in, and ownership of, their learning. The suggestion here is that status planning (see Section 2.1) with a focus on enhancing the functions and domains of use in which Chichewa could be used, would be a valuable process. This is also linked to individuals' wellbeing as some students note that having Chichewa in the university would make them feel good about themselves and about their language. One student suggests 'that if we use Chichewa here at university it's more like, okay it just makes you feel good, you just feel- you just feel that you own the thing' [Student #20 COM]. Another student notes the benefits that using Chichewa would have by comparison with China, stating that 'I heard like in China they do use their language when they are learning and they do like some uh that people feel better and they like doing well' [Student #58 MZUNI]. This viewpoint relates to the orientation, discussed in Section 2.3.2, expressed by Zuckermann (2013) and Hallet, Chandler and Lalonde (2007) that language planning should take into account the wellbeing of speakers, particularly those who may speak stigmatised minority languages.

A final key reason for positive attitudes towards a Chichewa-only policy is linked to beliefs around the potential benefit that it could have for the country as a whole. Some participants believe that the socioeconomic development of a country is potentially linked to the use of a local, national language in education and other sectors. One student suggests that if a Chichewa policy had been used then 'now we would have been somewhere else', more economically developed, and that the widespread adoption of English in tertiary

education and other high-level domains in Malawi has been 'hindering us' [Speaker #2 LUANAR Focus Group]. Other students view the implementation of a Chichewa-only policy as something which should be aspired to for the future and that they 'have hope, yes, that we are going to get there' [Speaker #3 LUANAR Focus Group]. A Chichewa-only policy is viewed as something which could aid Malawi's development, but also as something which would signal that Malawi is becoming more developed and less reliant on donors. Being able to effectively implement a Chichewa-only policy would 'mean that this country has developed to some extent that we can now rely on ourselves' and this is something that individuals want because 'many people like to see Malawi is developed at a point that it can do things on its own, not depending on other, like, countries or places from abroad' [Speaker #2 LUANAR Focus Group]. Being able to use a local language, instead of English, would highlight the value of Chichewa and the ability of Malawi to function using local resources. These attitudes reflect the changing views regarding the importance which the international development community should place on embracing multilingualism and harnessing local linguistic resources as a means for progress and change (see Sections 2.2.3 and 2.3.4).

Some students express a desire to be active agents in the creation and implementation of a Chichewa-only language policy with one student noting that after graduating they hope to be able to be in a position to influence policy decisions and would have a 'target' that one day they could 'have that policy in' place [Speaker #6 LUANAR Focus Group]. Another suggests that the only way that Malawi would have a Chichewa-only policy 'in the next 20-30 years' is if 'I create my own institution and I'm the private owner' and 'then I implement an all Chichewa policy' [Speaker #3 LUANAR Focus Group]. This suggests that these students are aware of the negative top-down attitudes towards African languages which pervade government language planning on the continent (Williams 2013, p84, Zsiga, Boyer and Kramer 2014 as discussed in Section 3.1.2).

7.3.2.e Summary of attitudes towards Chichewa and other Malawian languages

This section has discussed the positive and negative attitudes towards the use of Malawian languages in universities, with an additional focus on the use of Chichewa specifically. Generally, there are prevailing negative attitudes towards the use of Malawian languages in the universities. This is mainly due to the perceived difficulties in using multiple languages

at university and the belief that for a university to be of a high standard and to attract international students then English has to be the language of instruction. However, positive attitudes towards Malawian languages, in particular Chichewa, are found amongst participants. Part of the rationale behind attitudes towards the appropriateness of particular languages is founded on the practical reality within the contemporary context. Additionally, they are also based on the potential future ideological impacts that different policies could have on language attitudes more widely. Practically, participants note that using local languages will allow students to learn more easily and that they will be more comfortable using these languages in the university environment. Ideologically, there is a connection made between using a local language, with a focus on Chichewa, and that language being seen as having inherent value. Using Chichewa in the universities is, for some, a way of highlighting that the local cultural and linguistic resources which Malawi has are able to be harnessed to improve the socioeconomic conditions in the country.

7.3.3 Attitudes towards multilingualism

This section will focus on the attitudes towards a multilingual language policy, specifically a policy which incorporates both English and Chichewa. The perceived advantages and disadvantages of such a policy will be discussed initially before looking in more detail at the complexity which participants highlight would be involved in implementing such a policy.

7.3.3.a Advantages

A policy which includes both English and Chichewa is viewed as the most suitable policy by the majority of the focus groups and a majority of participants agree that using both English and Chichewa in universities is suitable. These positive attitudes stem from the reality of the multilingual linguistic repertoires which individuals in the universities have and from the acknowledgement of the benefits which each language can afford an individual or, more accurately, the benefits which multilingualism can afford an individual. Due to the varied linguistic resources and linguistic skills individuals have there is a view that a monolingual language policy is not sufficient to accommodate the needs of all students, with one student noting that 'I think one language [isn't] enough, not one language cannot- I think it's not enough' [Speaker #4 BIU Focus Group]. A policy which

incorporates English and Chichewa is viewed as being able to cater both for international students (or English speakers) and Malawian students (or Chichewa speakers). A 'language policy…which is flexible' [Student #62 MZUNI], which is not strictly monolingual but contains 'wiggle room' [Staff #6 POLY] is viewed as beneficial. It is the ability to flexibly use both which is viewed as beneficial as outlined by one student:

> I think it's a win win game yeah, it's a win win game, English being an international language, Chichewa being a national language. Those who understand in English they are okay, those in Chichewa okay as well it's a win win yeah. [Speaker #4 KCN Focus Group]

Another student echoes this in noting that using Chichewa would not disadvantage students who only know English as 'we'll still be allowed to speak English' and while 'people would be able to ask the questions in Chichewa' lecturers would be able to 'respond in English so that the other students…would also understand' [Student #92 BIU]. The perception that there is an advantage to a multilingual approach contrasts with disadvantages thought to be inherent in either an English-only or Chichewa-only monolingual policy. Due to the belief that different groups would be negatively affected by either monolingual policy one student notes that 'there's an evil to each side' [Speaker #3 COM Focus Group]. This leads some students to believe that 'combining both, using both of the languages' is 'a good policy' [Speaker #2 COM Focus Group] and leads them 'to want to say that there should be a policy where, where there is a Chichewa part and also there is an English part' [Speaker #4 COM Focus Group]. There is a recognition that 'you can benefit from Chichewa' and that you can also 'benefit from English' [Speaker #2 COM Focus Group]. Rather than a policy in which individuals are 'just speaking English only', a multilingual policy 'can be a good policy' as students and staff will be able to learn 'by mixing up in the way that help us to understand the things seriously' [Student #7 POLY Focus Group]. One student goes as far to claim that they 'don't see any disadvantage in this policy' [Speaker #2 LUANAR Focus Group]. There is a suggestion from some participants then that a multilingual policy allows for a deeper level of understanding and engagement with the learning experience. For some, the advantages of a multilingual approach are based in a perception around the deficiencies of individuals' skills in English and Chichewa. Allowing use of more than one language then allows

individuals to compensate for these deficiencies. One lecturer notes that 'even us lecturers, there are a number of us, many who also struggle to explain themselves' when using English only and that 'if you use Chichewa' it allows you to be able to 'give an example quicker' as you can 'just immediately give that example' [Staff #48 CHANCO] without struggling to express it in English. Incorporating Chichewa allows staff to 'speak the language that you are used to' and to be 'where you belong…go back to your roots' [Staff #86 KCN].

One staff member, discussing whether other members of staff would opt for a policy which allowed use of both Chichewa and English states:

> I don't know um but uh though they may not support that but most they do that in one way or the other because if they combine English and Chichewa what are they telling you? They're telling you that probably this is the best way for these students to understand, yeah so I would think that maybe they would say no but their actions are showing, their actions are showing that. [Staff #50 COM]

The perception of this staff member suggests that, while others may not explicitly state they are in favour of such a policy, if they are engaging in translanguaging practices in the classroom then at some level they must view this as pedagogically valid. Even if they are against such a policy in principle, in practice they are aware that the reality is that it can aid student comprehension.

For some, a multilingual approach is the approach which is most beneficial to the widest group of students. Those who favour a multilingual approach recognise that English is necessary for their lives post-university (see Section 6.2). Additionally, they recognise that, in terms of resources, the reality is that universities in Malawi have to rely on resources produced in English, as noted by one student who states that English is necessary due to 'the mere fact' that 'most of our textbooks are in English' [Speaker #3 KCN Focus Group]. However, they also recognise that Chichewa is beneficial in facilitating students' learning experience, that 'for the fact of understanding Chichewa has to be brought in' [Speaker #3 KCN Focus Group]. This leads to the conclusion that 'all in all English and Chichewa

mixed together' would be 'very good for most of our students as we are coming into the tertiary institution' [Speaker #3 KCN Focus Group]. A multilingual policy, which embraces translanguaging, then is something which can be both more inclusive and more representative of the linguistic diversity of the individuals in the university. This is illustrated by one student who states their support for the policy as follows:

> Yeah, we're going in for that too for two reasons. One it's not selective we are calling in for more to participate, two language diversity who would say no to that? It's a really good thing you see. [Speaker #6 MZUNI Focus Group]

Ultimately this perception that a multilingual policy offers an inclusive approach which caters for all plays a major role in the positive attitudes towards it. Additionally, a successful multilingual policy could also help to promote an acceptance of linguistic diversity as a good thing. Some students are of the opinion that a policy in which they 'try to balance the two' – English and Chichewa – is a policy which 'won't be a problem for anybody who is coming from any corner of Malawi' [Student #34 CHANCO] as through being able to access education multilingually they will all be able to participate.

A multilingual policy is believed to enable students to more effectively understand the material they are being taught while also reinforcing students' learning, as one student states that 'you can't find some [sic] difficult because you you are learning the same thing in both languages' [Speaker #6 POLY Focus Group]. This will allow students to 'understand stuff very clearly' [Student #3 POLY Focus Group] as 'practically it can be good' [Speaker #6 POLY Focus Group]. The ability to 'learn with both languages' allows students and lecturers to use their linguistic resources to negotiate difficulties when they arise such as when 'you'll find a difficult word' [Speaker #2 POLY Focus Group]. One staff member suggests that a multilingual policy – using both Chichewa and English – 'can be easy' as 'people will be very comfortable in both' [Staff #39 CHANCO]. Adopting a multilingual approach enables individuals to be more comfortable in the university by not restricting them to only using certain aspects of their linguistic repertoires. These attitudes reflect an orientation which views language as a resource (see Section 2.3.4) and seeks to utilise the linguistic skills and resources which students and staff already possess.

7.3.3.b Disadvantages

There are negative opinions towards the suitability of using both English and Chichewa within the universities. One of the reasons for these negative attitudes relates to the idea that a multilingual policy acts by compensating for students' linguistic deficits. This leads one student to state the while 'it would be easy for us to understand, mixing those things' that they are 'not completely in support of that' [Speaker #5 POLY Focus Group]. This is due to the fact that, according to this student, while there is currently an English-only policy in place, Chichewa does get used. If there was a policy which allowed Chichewa to be used, some fear that this could effectively become a Chichewa-only policy, which is deemed unsuitable. This concern is outlined by another student as follows:

> the point I mentioned earlier about the being lazy to learn English will be there just because we know Chichewa more than English…if we mix we'll find ourselves much based upon our own language. Learning English will not [inc] we will still find problems in speaking English just because we will be based much on Chichewa which is a language we already know that that laziness will be there. That's the disadvantage but the advantage is understanding yeah but I'm not in support. [Speaker #6 POLY Focus Group]

The key factor here is that because students already have skills in Chichewa they will use Chichewa as much as possible. This will then interfere with their skills formation in the English language. Other students echo this fear stating that lecturers who 'combine both English and Chichewa' achieve a short term goal in ensuring that 'people can understand'; however, in the long term it becomes a 'problem when they- we meet people who are only presenting English' as 'when you are used to hear English and Chichewa' and 'then you meet somebody who is only speaking English' it 'becomes a problem' [Speaker #7 KCN Focus Group].

An additional reason for negative attitudes towards a multilingual policy is the perceived impracticality of it. Allowing use of both Chichewa and English is seen as potentially complex with one student asking 'how do we know when Chichewa should be included' [Speaker #2 CHANCO Focus Group]. It is unclear to some participants how such a policy

would be organised, when it would be appropriate to use each language, and how much of each language would be permitted. The thought of taking a multilingual approach, particularly in assignments, is something which some students think is 'funny' [Student #25 MUST] and unusual. It can at times be helpful for students, but it is noted that 'the disadvantage part is that of confusing' [Speaker #3, KCN Focus Group]. While some students believe that being able to complete assignments multilingually 'may help' [Student #25 MUST] them and that if there are 'clauses or phrases that are hard for the students to express in English' they should be able to 'be expressed in Chichewa' [Speaker #3 KCN Focus Group], others believe that it would be too difficult. There is a perception that if students had the flexibility to complete written academic work such as assignments and exams using both Chichewa and English, this would not work. There would be a 'grammar issue' with 'the issue of mixing' [Speaker #4 LUANAR Focus Group]. As students are currently expected to write assignments in Standard English and would potentially be marked down for 'incorrect' grammar or spelling, there is an uncertainty around what could be considered 'correct' if students were able to write multilingually in their assignments. There is a perception that written language is more rule-constrained than spoken and because of this it would be too difficult to adopt a multilingual approach. In part this is due to a perception that Chichewa 'doesn't have much grammar' while English does [Speaker #3 LUANAR Focus Group]. Combining the two then will lead to a situation in which 'the grammar isn't correct' and students 'will still lose marks' [Speaker #3 LUANAR Focus Group]. While some students believe that, within a multilingual policy, assignments should remain written in English only, for others this would complicate matters even further. It would be a 'disadvantage' if Chichewa is used 'for understanding' in lectures and 'the lecturer says you can ask me in Chichewa if you don't understand' while at the same time they must use 'strictly English on assignments' [Speaker #3 LUANAR Focus Group]. The debate around when, to what extent, and for what purpose multilingualism is appropriate within the university complicates advocating for a multilingual approach. As discussed in Section 3.3.1 there are difficulties in adopting a multilingual language policy based on a translanguaging pedagogy and adequate resource development and staff training are crucial for the successful implementation of such an approach. Participants' attitudes towards this will now be discussed in more detail in the following section.

7.3.3.c Implementation of a multilingual policy

As noted above, there is a complexity which is perceived to be associated with adopting a multilingual approach. Due to this, participants differ as to how they think a multilingual policy would be best realised in practice. There is a general suggestion that English should be viewed as the main language for communication, but that Chichewa should be used when it is necessary for further clarification or for aspects of classroom management or joke-telling.

An initial concern when acknowledging that both English and Chichewa are suitable for use in the university is whether they should be kept separate. Some students suggest that, while both languages should be present, there should be separate streams for the languages and students should be given the choice of which stream they participate in, as outlined below:

> you can have you can English classes and Chichewa classes. People who prefer to go to the English classes and people who prefer to go to the Chichewa classes can do it and that way you can also allow the international students to join. [Speaker #2 BIU Focus Group]

For others there should be designated periods within a class where each language would be used. In this case when Chichewa is used it 'should be only Chichewa' and when English is used 'it will be just English' [Speaker #2 KCN Focus Group]. While both languages would be permitted within the university, there would be specific contexts and specific times in which they could be used.

Other students give examples of the amount of time each language should be used in classes. There is a common perception that implementing a policy that 'should be half Chichewa, half English' would not be the most appropriate as 'it will not work' [Speaker #5 MZUNI Focus Group]. Another student echoes this stating that 'Chichewa shouldn't be fifty fifty with English' [Speaker #2 POLY Focus Group]. When discussing this, focus group participants asked one another what appropriate levels of language use would be for

particular languages. Participants have a range of opinions on the specific periods of time for which each language should be used. One notes that it should be '70% English' and '30% Chichewa' [Speaker #3 KCN Focus Group]. Another suggests that '90% should be English then 10% Chichewa' [Speaker #2 MZUNI Focus Group] with another stating that 'English should be at least 95%' [Speaker #6 POLY Focus Group]. At the most extreme one student suggests that English should be '99%' with '1% Chichewa' [Speaker #3 POLY Focus Group]. There is a clear desire that Chichewa should only be used a minority of the time. Some students note that Chichewa should be used sparingly, only 'for clarifications' when 'people need to understand better' [Speaker #2 MZUNI Focus Group]. This issue is summarised in the following focus group exchange:

Speaker #2: if we can take ah put at least 70% of learning should be in English and 30% should be in Chichewa because Chichewa is our-

Speaker #4: but still mix English and Chichewa.

Speaker #2: yeah you still agree with him.

Speaker #6: yeah, it's a mix [crosstalk].

Speaker #2: but but but I think the percent of using Chichewa should be I mean English should be be higher than.

Speaker #4: yeah use Chichewa just to emphasise a point like you've said [crosstalk], I didn't get this word so you can say it in Chichewa.

There is a view that a multilingual approach offers the flexibility to use Chichewa in classes as and when it becomes necessary for students' learning. This view is common amongst participants such as one staff member who believes that 'English is the best for for teaching purposes', but that Chichewa can be used to 'just make two or three

comments' [Staff #91 CHANCO]. Another staff member states that their preferred policy would be 'English, code switch where necessary' for when some students are 'completely struggling and you think you can explain better' [Staff #44 CHANCO]. For some the important aspect of a multilingual policy is that it does not restrict language use to being only English, but allows the use of other languages, mainly Chichewa. A multilingual policy which will 'recognise the English' as 'the main medium of instruction' but that also recognises 'the other languages' [Staff #39 CHANCO] is viewed to be a potentially effective and desirable policy.

The extent to which multilingualism should be accepted or enshrined in policy also differs. While some advocate for a policy which allows people to be 'flexible to interact in whatever language they find um easier to relay whatever they're trying to say at the moment' [Speaker #3 COM Focus Group], others do not feel the need to foreground this multilingual aspect in a policy. One staff member states that while they would 'allow that to happen' they 'wouldn't encourage it' [Staff #35 CHANCO]. A situation in which it 'happens informally' although it is 'not part of the official policy' [Staff #35 CHANCO] is viewed as an acceptable arrangement. A student echoes this point saying that 'they don't have to make a policy to include Chichewa' but it's 'quite okay that we use English and then if you can employ Chichewa here and there' [Speaker #2 CHANCO Focus Group].

7.3.3.d Summary of attitudes towards multilingualism

A multilingual language policy is met with support amongst participants. This is due to the recognised benefits which incorporating more than one language can have. Using both English and Chichewa is believed to accommodate the linguistic repertoires of a wide proportion of students and can aid in comprehension. Negative attitudes towards a multilingual approach are centred around the belief that it will inhibit skills development in English. Crucially, there is not a clear consensus on how a multilingual approach should be implemented; however, the majority view a situation in which English is used as the main language of instruction with Chichewa being used selectively where appropriate as a useful approach.

7.3.4 Changing language policy

There are differing attitudes towards the extent to which the way in which language is used, and regulated, in the universities is currently appropriate and may need to change. For some it is not an issue which needs much serious attention. For example, one staff member suggests language issues should not be considered 'a policy issue at university level' [Staff #85 LUANAR]. For the majority of these participants, they 'would like to remain' with 'the status quo' [Staff #84 KCN] as the current situation is 'working pretty well' [Speaker #2 CHANCO Focus Group] and things 'should just continue how it is' [Speaker #5 COM Focus Group]. However, as discussed in Section 7.2.2, the perceptions to what the current situation actually is differs. Some participants wish to maintain the 'policy' that 'says we should speak English in all the universities' [Student #19 POLY]. However, for a number of those who do not see a need for a change in language policy or practice within the universities, they view the current situation as one in which 'people are flexible to interact' [Speaker #3 COM Focus Group] multilingually, and to 'use English' but 'employ Chichewa here and there' [Speaker #2 CHANCO Focus Group]. As mentioned above, there is a perception, for some, that there is no need to have Chichewa enshrined as an official language in a policy, that 'they don't have to make a policy to include Chichewa' [Speaker #2 CHANCO Focus Group] as using it unofficially already happens and is deemed to be fine.

Others however do see a need for change with one staff member suggesting that 'the way we are doing things' in terms of 'policy…and also practice in our schools and universities' is something which 'requires some serious reform' [Staff #39 CHANCO]. These participants recognise a need to challenge and change the current practices, as one student notes that 'the thing that is happening right now, I think it should be changed', hoping for a new situation in which students 'can be free to express themselves in the language that they…are comfortable with' [Student #78 KCN]. Some participants wish for a change in the other direction, wanting to move towards using English-only as currently they believe that 'now we use Chichewa too much' and that 'English should be used more' [Student #83 KCN].

For some participants there is more uncertainty around whether or not approaches to language policy should change. One participant illustrates this when responding to this

question by saying 'I think we have to change' but then changing their mind and adding 'but not really' [Student #92 BIU]. Another student highlights their own lack of knowledge on language policy when it comes to making a decision either way stating:

I've never thought of that question but then if if changing the language would be uh effective I would change the language like to Chichewa but if if it would cause more problems then I would rather stick to English. [Student #16 COM]

For this student then there is a desire for the language policy to be that which will be most effective, but an uncertainty about what this specific policy would look like in practice.

Finally, a number of participants note the difficulty that would be involved in an attempt to implement changes to a language policy within the universities in Malawi. One student states that the language policy has to remain as English as 'it has existed for years' and 'it's just really nuts' [Student #24 MUST] to consider making changes to that. It is considered difficult for people to 'adjust because the tradition' of language policy within education 'has been like English English English English English' [Student #21 CHANCO]. Changing the legislation is perceived to be difficult as it 'has to go through the parliament' [Student #24 MUST] and would have to be implemented across all of Malawi's universities. Additionally, it is viewed as being impractical to focus attention on changing the language policy at the university level, as any changes have to be applied through the whole education system. This is noted by one staff member who states that 'it is difficult to change the language…if you want to change the language then it has to start from the primary school and then…the secondary school' [Staff #85 KCN]. There is a suggestion that any change would have to be gradual as people cannot be expected 'just to change' and that it would have to take place from primary up to…university' [Student #21 CHANCO]. It is also noted that there is a need to challenge and change the 'mentality' of a number of stakeholders in relation to language policy in education and crucial to 'also consider what society thinks' [Speaker #4 KCN Focus Group]. This is viewed as particularly challenging, with one student suggesting that it would 'take time, probably 100 years' [Speaker #4 KCN Focus Group] to change the general public's attitudes to become more positive towards the use of Chichewa in higher education.

Taking monolingual language policy options, these findings are broadly in line with other research which shows the individuals in African universities hold positive attitudes towards the use of English, and European languages, and negative attitudes towards the use of African languages (e.g. Hilton 2010, Mbaye 2016, Ndebele and Zulu 2017). Additionally, that Chichewa is viewed more positively than Malawian languages generally suggests that this is viewed with higher prestige than other Malawian languages, in a similar way as Kiswahili in Kenya (Kamwangamalu and Toveres 2016) and Setswana in Botswana (Letsholo and Matlhaku 2017).

However, previous research has also shown that African students do exhibit positive attitudes towards the inclusion of African language within higher education (e.g. Letsholo and Matlhaku 2017 in Botswana, Dyers and Abongdia 2014 in Cameroon, Adriosh and Razi 2016 in Nigeria, Wildsmith-Cromarty and Conduah 2014, Ditsele 2016 and Lombard 2017 in South Africa) and towards the use of a bilingual MOI (Aziakpono and Bekker 2010). This study's findings echo this positive attitude as individuals are clearly in favour of a language policy which allows for the use of both English and Chichewa.

What is of interest in this study's findings is the high degree of support for a multilingual language policy. This study indicates that stakeholders in university education in Malawi show positive attitudes towards the use of more than one language in the classroom and 50% of participants opt for a multilingual language policy as their favoured policy option. Increasingly calls are being made to recognise the potential benefits of multilingualism in education and to implement multilingual language-in-education policies (Hornberger 2002, Hornberger and Vaish 2009, Samuelson and Freedman 2010). Erling, Obaidul and Seargeant (2010) suggest that there is a benefit to flexible multilingual education policies which can acknowledge the values of named languages such as English for international access but also recognise the value of local languages for cultural and national identity. Enabling flexible language practices to occur in the classroom allows students and staff to draw on their linguistic resources to learn through communicating in a way which is already natural to them and could positively impact education in Africa (see Makoni and Mashiri 2006, Oduor 2015). Taking account of the actual multilingual language practices of individuals in Africa could have implications for language planning and language policy on the continent (Dyers 2013). This study provides evidence that stakeholder attitudes of

individuals in higher education in Malawi do, to some extent, reflect the growing calls from researchers to adopt flexible multilingual language policies which more closely reflect individuals' language practices. While there is a strong level of support for English-only policies, crucially there is also a desire expressed to see multilingual policies implemented and an acknowledgement that this would be suitable in higher education. This represents a move amongst stakeholders in Malawian education towards a language policy orientation which views language as a resource. It should be noted however that for the majority, support for multilingualism effectively means support for English and Chichewa and not necessarily support for other Malawian languages. This is due to the tendency, as noted above, for students to value African lingua francas more highly than minority African languages (see Section 3.1.3 and Section 6.3). This is also due to the language planning which has occurred in Malawi and has elevated the status and function of English and Chichewa to the detriment of other Malawian languages (see Section 1.3.4).

This chapter has illustrated that participants' attitudes towards language policy in universities are varied and complex. Responses to language attitude statements indicate that there this is a strong agreement that English is a suitable language to use in university with support for the suitability of using both English and Chichewa also being high. A minority of participants agree that Malawian languages generally, and Chichewa specifically, are suitable for use in the universities. When asked to state what they would choose as a language policy, 50% of participants opt for a multilingual policy with 50% opting for a monolingual policy.

English is generally viewed as a more suitable language the Malawian languages due to the perceived benefits which the language allows individuals to access and the belief that having an English-only policy would allow students to develop their English skills. However, participants recognise the difficulties which some have with the English language and view the use of both English and Chichewa as something which could be beneficial. While there is support for a multilingual policy, incorporating both English and Chichewa, which more closely reflects the linguistic repertoires of students and staff, there is no clear consensus from participants of how this might best be implemented. The next chapter will discuss the results presented in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 in relation to the study's research questions and the wider research context discussed in Chapters 2 and 3.

Chapter 8:   Discussion and conclusion

The previous three chapters have presented the results of this study. This chapter will discuss these results further and use them as a basis to answer the study's research questions and compare the findings to the wider literature in the field. Prior to beginning the discussion, the main aims and research questions will be revisited.

8.1 Research aims and research questions

The main aim of the current study was to investigate the sociolinguistic context of Malawi's universities. This has been achieved by collecting and analysing data which highlights the ways in which language is used, and is viewed, in the universities. Guided by this aim, this study sought to answer the following research questions:

Language Use

1) *What are the patterns of language use amongst students and staff within the domain of tertiary education in Malawi?*

2) *What factors lie behind the patterns of language use?*

Language attitudes

3) *What are the attitudes of students and staff towards the suitability of various languages as MOI in tertiary education in Malawi?*

Language policy

4) *Could changes be made to create a more effective language-in-education policy for Malawian universities?*

The chapter will take each of these research questions in turn and provide answers to them based on the study's research findings.

8.2 Language use

1) *What are the patterns of language use amongst students and staff within the domain of tertiary education in Malawi?*

2) *What factors influence the patterns of language use?*

The initial discussion in this section will focus on the dominance of English in academic contexts and Chichewa in social contexts alongside the factors influencing language use across domains. The multilingual nature of the universities and the use of translanguaging will be then be discussed.

While the universities are multilingual environments, as a broad generalisation, this study has shown that academic contexts are more likely to be those in which English is the dominant language used and social contexts those in which Chichewa is the dominant language used. This finding mirrors other studies into language use in African universities in which English, and European languages, are found to be the dominant languages within academic domains. Previous research has shown this is the case in Burundi (Irakoze 2015), Cameroon (Kouega 2008), Madagascar (Wills et al 2014), Morocco (Chakrani and Huang 2014), Nigeria (Adriosh and Razi 2016), South Africa (Dominic 2011, South African Department of Higher Education and Training 2015), Tanzania (Kalmanlehto 2014), and Uganda (Bayiga 2016). Such is the extent of this dominance and, in Malawi, the degree to

which English is intrinsically linked with education (Matiki 2001), that as discussed in Section 5.2.1 even when Chichewa is used for what are ostensibly teaching purposes it is often not considered to be a language for teaching and learning.

As introduced in Section 3.3 the concepts of domains (Fishman 1965) and translanguaging spaces (Wei 2011, 2017) were adopted to analyse the ways in which language is used within the universities. Previous research has shown that, within domains, factors such as setting, topic, and interlocutor can have an influence on the way in which language is used (Fishman 1965). For example, in Moroccan universities it has been shown that students are more likely to speak a former colonial, European language (French) when in class and when interacting with staff whereas they are more likely to use Standard Arabic outside of the class and when interacting with friends (Chakrani and Huang 2014). Similarly, Kalmanlehto (2014) has shown the importance of setting in language use within Tanzanian universities as students are likely to use English inside of class and use Kiswahili in social contexts. Additionally, in Malawi Kayambazinthu (2000) has found that linguistic proficiency will have an effect on language choice. Thus, from previous research it has been shown that patterns of language use can vary across domains, and even within a single domain factors such as context/setting, topics, participants, and linguistic proficiency can cause language use to vary. The key factors in influencing language use in Malawian universities will now be discussed in turn, drawing on the study's findings to highlight how they influence language use in Malawi's universities.

Context refers to the specific environment in which the interactions take place. For the universities in this study, contexts range from educational to social, formal to informal. The most formal environments are academic classes; this is followed by meetings with lecturers in their offices, meetings with lecturers outside of their offices, studying with friends in group settings, and finally most informally, chatting to friends socially. The most formal contexts are associated with use of the language with overt prestige, English, and the most informal with the language of covert prestige, Chichewa. The influence of context on language use closely reflects the influence of topic as more formal academic environments are more likely to involve discussing academic topics. In a similar fashion to context, as shown in Section 5.2.1 participants report that academic topics are ones which would be discussed using English and non-academic topics ones which would generally be

discussed using Chichewa. This reflects style shifting, in which the overt prestige variety would be used for formal topics while the covert prestige variety, and more non-standard features, would be used as the topics grew less formal (Labov 1972).

As highlighted in Section 5.3.2, language use is restricted by various rules which are enforced upon speakers. These can be what are perceived to be official rules (i.e. that English is the only language which should be used in classes) and unofficial rules. In this regard, individuals' language attitudes and the discourse surrounding specific languages can lead to invisible language policies (Kachru 1991, Erling, Obaidul and Seargeant 2010) in which the attitudes of participants acutely affect how language is used in the university spaces. So, in the case of Malawi's universities, individuals' attitudes towards languages can effectively produce invisible language policies which dictate how language is used in different contexts. Students' ability to freely choose which languages to use in classes is restricted by the language rules which are enforced by the staff members in those classes and by the other students. Staff may or may not allow students to speak a language other than English within a class. Lecturers may not permit students to speak Chichewa in a class and may ignore or reprimand them when they do so. Chichewa is in this instance stigmatised within the classroom. Other students may ridicule those who use Chichewa to ask questions in class, and this may cause other students to shy away from using a language other than English in the classroom environment. However, at other times the use of Chichewa is allowed by staff members, who allow more flexible rules regarding language use in class. As discussed in Section 5.3.2, some staff members will themselves speak Chichewa while not allowing students to use the language in class. Students then must adapt their linguistic practices to accommodate to the particular preferences and rule enforcement of individual staff members in academic domains. Wodak, Kryzyżanowski and Forchtner (2012) have highlighted the role which power dynamics can have in negotiating multilingual contexts. A key dynamic dictating language use is the power relationships between the interlocutors and who is able to dictate the language use within the interaction. In Malawian universities, generally, the power to control the language choice for interactions will lie with the members of staff and, in staff-staff interactions, with the more senior staff members.

The academic domains are viewed by participants as being more rigidly controlled in terms of their language use and the social domains are viewed as allowing more flexibility in individuals' language choices. While there may not be explicit language rules within the social contexts and students would be free, to some extent, to choose who they socialise with, there are also sociolinguistic rules affecting language use in social contexts. This is intrinsically linked to the notions of prestige associated with specific languages as has already been discussed. While the use of English indicates that students are educated, Chichewa is used as a marker of Malawian identity. In social situations then students will use the language which they would identify as their home language. For a majority this will mean using Chichewa in social interactions as for many Chichewa is their home language. For those who have English as a home language, they will generally use English in their social interactions. This group, speaking the language of overt prestige, are associated with prestige characteristics such as wealth, but also with negative characteristics such as being pompous. This is due to the fact that English is the marked language within the social domain and some students, despite having English as their home language, then aim to alter their speech to use more of the unmarked language, Chichewa, when in social contexts. The covert prestige of Chichewa is evident in the value it has as a social language to convey friendship and group solidarity (Labov 1966, Trudgill 2003).

As discussed in Section 5.3.2 students must be able to exhibit their ability to use multiple languages at the appropriate time to follow the sociolinguistic rules within the university. Use of too much English outwith the educational domains is met with stigma, due to the overt prestige which the language has. However, use of the incorrect resources from Chichewa, such as the terms discussed in Section 5.2.3, when use of English terms would be more appropriate, also leads to stigma, due to the negative associations which Chichewa has (e.g. being uneducated). To negotiate language use within the universities students, and staff, have to at times exhibit their ability to use translanguaging, which will be discussed in more detailed in the next section. Students also indicate that their language use may change over time as they integrate into the university life and become more fully aware of the sociolinguistic rules which exist therein.

As discussed in Section 3.3.2, interlocutors can play a crucial rule in influencing language choice. Due to the associations discussed above between English and academic contexts,

the standard language used when talking with academic university staff is English. When interacting with friends in the Malawian university context, participants indicate that they are likely to communicate in a language which is shared with those with whom they are communicating, and it is likely to be a language which they are comfortable communicating in. This is due to the fact that for many, the social domain is more closely connected to the home domain and the norms for language use within it. As one student notes, 'in Malawi as Chichewa is the mother language, English is a foreign language, so the home is best, they [students] normally use what home is' [Student #62 MZUNI]. In the Malawian universities, students, and certain staff, note that they will accommodate their language use to ensure that the people they are speaking to feel comfortable and do not feel unable to communicate effectively. Often the result of this, in social contexts, is that Chichewa is widely used. Participants will take into account the linguistic preferences and competences of the individuals to whom they are talking when they are making choices regarding what languages they should use. Some staff members, however, will not do this and will restrict the language choices of students in the classroom and in other interactions with them, as reported in Section 5.2.1. This highlights another major factor in influencing how language is used in the universities – language rules. The ways in which language rules are created and enforced influence the languages which students will choose to use in particular situations.

As discussed in Section 5.3.1 individuals' language skills, or linguistic proficiency, can influence the ways in which language is used. Linguistic proficiency was reported by participants as a key factor in influencing their language use and the language use of others. The linguistic competences and repertoires of individual interlocutors has a major influence on the languages which are used in different contexts. In the classroom domain, regardless of what policies dictate the 'personal linguistic competencies' of individuals, particularly staff members, will affect the de facto medium of instruction in classes (Ljosland 2015, p618).

The prevalence of Chichewa in social context is partly due to students negotiating their language practices in an environment in which not all will have linguistic proficiency in other Malawian languages nor linguistic proficiency, or confidence, in English. Conversely, linguistic proficiency results in some participants seeking to use English more,

to improve their skills in the language and seeking to converse with other like-minded individuals. Students' linguistic proficiency is perceived to be connected to their educational background, which in turn is connected to their socioeconomic position. Students who are proficient in English, and speak English more often, are assumed to come from wealthier backgrounds and are more likely to have attended prestigious schools in which English is more widely used. Conversely, students who have less proficiency in English are assumed to be from poorer backgrounds and are more likely to have attended community day secondary schools in which English is less likely to be used. This conforms to the widely accepted fact that those from higher on the socioeconomic ladder are more likely to use more of the prestige language and those lower down likely to use less of the prestige variety (Labov 1966, Trudgill 1972, Guy 1988).

As noted above, English is the perceived dominant language of formal contexts and academic topics as, for participants in this study, English is viewed as the language of education and the language through which learning and teaching take place. That English is thought of in this way and reported as the main language which is used in formal academic contexts is to be expected given that there is a growing tendency to adopt English as a medium of instruction in universities across the globe (Dearden 2014). As discussed in Section 2.2.4 English now holds a globally dominant position within the academic world (Crystal 2003, p39) and is fundamentally linked to the internationalisation of universities (Garrett and Balsà 2014, Soler, Björkman and Kuteeva 2018). This is now a position which arguably favours African countries, like Malawi, who have largely retained the colonial language policies (Bamgbose 2011). While European countries are forced to reconcile the effects which the intrusion of English has (Garrett and Balsà 2014, Soler, Björkman and Kuteeva 2018), Malawian universities have always, on a de facto policy level, used English as an MOI. For Malawian universities then, maintaining the apparent status quo would allow them to compete internationally. This then plays a crucial role in perceptions around language use in Malawian universities as it adds to the prestige which English already has in education. Given the prestige of universities and the belief that they allow access to the international academic community this results in a perception of a strong link between English and academic environments amongst participants.

As a result, as discussed in Section 5.2.1, there is an assumption amongst participants that Chichewa and other Malawian languages are not able to function as languages of teaching. This is in part due to a lack of development or resource production in these Malawian languages. This is an example of what Phillipson (1992, 2003, p162) terms Linguistic Imperialism in which one language, in this case English, is assumed to be more appropriate for a prestigious function and then is systematically aided to maintain a dominant position through the unequal dispersal of resources. The 'asymmetrical coexistence' (Kayambazainthu 1998, p369) of English and Malawian languages is endemic in the language policies in Malawi and exerts an influence over their use within the universities. Chichewa however is the dominant language of the social domains in the universities in this study. While English possesses overt prestige as the intellectual language of education, and signals that speakers are modern, education and internationally connected, Chichewa possesses covert prestige (see Section 3.1.1 for an overview of prestige and Section 5.3.2 for a summary of covert prestige in Malawian universities). While Chichewa is associated with rural and more traditional life and does not get associated with education it is also viewed as fundamentally Malawian. Chichewa acts as a marker of group identity, a language which is of cultural and national importance to participants. The abundant use of Chichewa in social contexts reflects its position as a national lingua franca of the country and the fact that it is the most widely spoken language in Malawi.

This study's findings indicate that the way in which language is used in Malawi's universities is dependent on a number of factors. Crucially, it is dependent on the individuals taking part in any interaction. The exact experiences of participants can differ due to these individual acts. However, as noted by Ljosland (2014), viewing these individual acts collectively and thus establishing the cumulative effect of them is important to ascertain the situation of languages within the university. While this study has shown that English is widely regarded as the language of the educational domain and Chichewa the language of the social, it has also been shown that these domains are not exclusively monolingual domains and that students and staff interact multilingually across the different environments of the university.

Of additional interest in the study's findings is that, while a general pattern does emerge of language use within the universities, each participant's experience is unique to them. As

has been reported by Ljosland (2014) in a study into Norwegian universities, a monolingual language policy is only one element which can influence language use. In practice, competing with policy, the 'interactional demands' (Ljosland 2014, pp395-396) will also influence how individuals use language. Ultimately, the present study finds that patterns of language use, and language choice, will differ throughout a student's time at university and will be affected personally by the individual's own language competence and ideology as well as the competences and ideologies of those with whom they interact. In this case, language use is highly dependent on the interlocutors in any given interaction and so 'norms for language choice must be continuously forged anew through practice' (Mortenson 2014, p439) and the ways in which language is used can be seen to be 'person-dependent' (*Ibid*). In Malawian universities, students must adapt their language practices based on the individual demands of different staff members. While these individual acts are very much dependent on the individuals involved, these then build up over time to create the norms of practice for language use in different contexts within the university (Ljosland 2014).

The study has shown that Malawian universities are multilingual environments. Participant observation, participant recording, and self-reported language use in the interviews and focus groups discussed in detail in Chapter 5 show that this is the case. The English-only language policy which covers the lower levels of education is not reflected in the language practices of individuals in the higher education context. While this study was restricted to higher education, it is possible that the language practice in primary and secondary education are similar. The multilingual nature of Malawian universities reflects similar studies which show that educational contexts in Africa are likely to be multilingual environments (Clegg and Afitski 2011 in Sub-Saharan Africa, Erling and Seargreant 2013 in Cameroon) in which monolingual policies do not work effectively in practice (Heugh 2013). A major reason for the multilingual nature of Malawian universities is the multilingual nature of individuals within them. Participants routinely state that the multilingual practices within universities arise due to the impracticalities of using a monolingual approach. Often this is due to a perceived deficit in English language skills amongst students, and sometimes staff members. This, again, is a common perception in African education as Kiramba (2014) and Mati (2004) have discussed the need for a multilingual medium of instruction due to a lack of appropriate English language skills amongst students in Kenya and South Africa respectively.

Translanguaging spaces, discussed in Section 3.3.2, are defined by Wei (2011, 2017) as spaces created for and by translanguaging. The patterns of language use indicate that Malawian universities are multilingual environments in which individuals make use of translanguaging practices. This study has found that translanguaging does occur in both academic and social contexts in Malawian universities. Thus, Malawian universities could be considered to be translanguaging spaces in that they are spaces in which translanguaging occurs. Malawian universities can be considered translanguaging spaces in that they contain interactional spaces created *by* translanguaging. However, they are not necessarily spaces which are created *for* translanguaging in that there are lecturers and students who police others' language use and discourage and stigmatise the use of translanguaging. As with language use patterns generally in the universities, the experiences for each participant are individual. Universities generally offer ample conditions to become translanguaging spaces. Despite the growing trend for universities to adopt English-only MOI (Dearden 2014), translanguaging has been found to occur in universities worldwide. Universities are particularly well suited to translanguaging given the diverse, global nature of students and staff as well as curricula. The use of translanguaging in universities is highly contextualised and dependent on the social, cultural, linguistic and pedagogical situation in individual institutions (see Mazak and Carroll 2016). The use of translanguaging in Malawian universities is therefore unsurprising as they offer an ideal space for translanguaging to occur. Malawi's universities, like others, offer a liminal space between education and employment, between the global and the local. While university students and staff are clearly embedded within the local Malawian context in their day to day lives, the university space allows them to connect with an international academic community and, for students, allows them to aspire towards opportunities outwith Malawi which their university education may allow them to achieve. Further, Malawian universities can be considered to be transglossic spaces in which individuals bring their 'already mixed language worlds' (Dovchin, Pennycook and Sultana 2018, p30) with them into their interactions on campus. As such, across interactions and across domains, the spaces in the universities have the potential to become translanguaging spaces. Individuals come to universities with a diverse range of linguistic and cultural backgrounds and, as such, universities are spaces in which a multiplicity of linguistic repertoires exist alongside each other and are used in communication.

8.3 Language attitudes

3) *What are the attitudes of students and staff towards the suitability of various languages as MOI in tertiary education?*

Students and staff have largely positive attitudes towards English and negative attitudes towards Malawian languages, when considering them as media of instruction. However, students and staff also have positive attitudes towards a multilingual language policy and view the use of both English and Chichewa as suitable for university. This section will discuss the reasons for these attitudes, drawing on the instrumental and integrative motivations behind them.

English has a dominant position in Malawi and is held in high prestige in the public consciousness. Language policies in Malawi have led to what Kayambazinthu (1998) describes as an unequal coexistence of English and Malawian languages in the country. This is reflected in individuals' attitudes towards the languages. It has been shown globally that English is associated with prestige, opportunity, and global and social mobility (Crystal 2003, Graddol 2006), all of which is exhibited by participants as discussed in Section 6.2.1. The positive attitudes which participants display towards English reflect similar findings from research undertaken at universities, discussed in Section 3.1.3, such as in Ghana (Sarfo 2012), Nigeria (Adriosh and Razi 2016), and South Africa (Dyers 1997, Noboda 2010) in which students display positive attitudes towards the use of English as an official medium of instruction in universities. Olivier (2014) has also shown that general public attitudes towards the use of African languages in tertiary education in South Africa are highly negative. Favouring former colonial languages in university education has also been found amongst students in Morocco, who favour the use of French and English over local languages (Chakrani and Huang 2014).

The importance of instrumental and integrative attitudes and of prestige was discussed in Section 3.1.1. The findings of this study provide further evidence for these concepts as being influential factors in language attitudes. The role that these concepts have in affecting language attitudes in Malawian universities will now be summarised. Often

viewed in the context of second language acquisition (see Baker and Jones 1998, p176 and Gardner and MacIntyre 1991), instrumental motivations relate to the external factors which use of a language can influence such as career opportunities and financial reward while integrative (or affective) motivations relate to the intrinsic relationship individuals have with a language due to its associations with culture and identity (Woodrow 2015, p 404). The perceived instrumental value of English is widely recognised in Africa (Schmied 1991) and participants in this study display positive attitudes towards English for a variety of reasons relating to what the language will enable them to achieve. At the level of the individual these instrumental reasons, discussed further below, include the opportunity to connect with the international community, to pursue employment abroad and locally, to pursue educational opportunities abroad, and to have access to knowledge produced in English.

Seeking membership and access to an international community of English speakers is increasingly viewed as a motivation for individuals to learn the language (Ryan 2006, Seilhamer 2013). The desire to pursue educational opportunities abroad is a key factor in participants' positive attitudes towards English as they want to pursue the best quality education that they can and 'universities in the English-speaking world dominate the global league tables' (Graddol 2006, p73). Participants' desire to use English to access knowledge is in line with the commonly held view that English is 'the medium of a great deal of the world's knowledge' (Crystal 2003, p110) as a number of industrial and technological innovations have occurred in English-speaking countries and were initially communicated through English. English is viewed as a key factor for local employment opportunities due to the fact that, as in much of Africa, it is believed to be of greater use than local languages in the formal labour market and for the type of graduate level jobs students wish to obtain (Djite 2008, p62). Students and staff view English as a crucial language to know for employment opportunities abroad, due to the fact that English is a major business language for international organisations as a 'language of global business' and the demand for employees with English skills is forecast to increase (Cambridge English 2016, p34). English is also viewed by participants as being a key language at an institutional level, if universities are to be viewed as international institutions. At an institutional level, the use of English can act as a symbol of the internationalisation of universities (Duong and Chua 2016). Institutionally, the instrumental benefits of English are that they allow the university to compete on the international stage and attract international students and staff.

The final instrumental benefits of English which emerge in this study are those which affect Malawi at the national level. Due to the fact that Malawi receives aid from donor countries, participants are acutely aware of the role of English as an international lingua franca and the need for English to be connected to global affairs and to other countries. English is viewed by students as a language which is necessary to enable the nation to develop socially and economically. Having a more educated population, a population of people who can speak English, is viewed as something which will be beneficial for Malawi. This is a key concern for students and staff given Malawi's high rates of poverty (World Bank 2018). Participants' attitudes towards this reflect the belief that multilingualism has a negative impact on economic growth (see Pool 1972, Coulmas 1992) and that instead English is the language through which development can occur. As English is viewed as the language of the economic elite in Malawi this is then viewed as the most appropriate language through which the overall wealth of the country can be increased (see Djite 2008, pp137-140). These attitudes are potentially due to the fact that English has been found to play a major role in aspects of development (Coleman 2010) and similar positive beliefs towards the role of English in development have been found in Bangladesh (Erling et al 2012). For some participants in this study, however, English is viewed as a hindrance towards development and their attitudes align more strongly with more recent calls (Coleman 2011, Ferguson 2013a, Heugh 2013) to consider the benefits which utilising both local linguistic resources and international linguistic resources could have on socioeconomic development in Africa.

Further reasons behind the strong positive attitudes towards English are due to the aforementioned high levels of prestige it has within Malawian society. In much of Africa, English is associated with the elite class and the wealth and high levels of education which the members of this class have (Prah 2003, Bamgbose 2011). Due to the highly competitive nature of university admissions in Malawi, being a university student is a prestigious role in and of itself. As Bangeni and Kapp (2007) have found in South Africa, the 'Englishness' of the university environments themselves can affect students' language attitudes as the dominance and prestige of English is linked to the institution itself. Likewise, the employment which students enter into after university is likely to be in prestigious professional careers. English goes hand in hand with this prestige and acts as an indicator of an individual's success. Erling (2017, p401) highlights that individuals can seek to acquire English skills to become part of the prestige group and this is echoed in the

present study as those in the universities want to be seen as English speakers as it marks them out as different and, potentially, better than non-English speakers. The importance of prestige has also been shown to be a key factor in positive attitudes towards English as a MOI in Kenya (Ayub 2013).

The positive attitudes which participants have towards Chichewa are mainly due to integrative reasons and the relationship that individuals have with the language. This relates to the attempt in many African countries to promote a single local language as a language of national unity in an attempt to bring together multiple ethnic and linguistic groups into a shared, collective sense of national identity (see Simpson 2008). As discussed in Section 1.3.4, this was a key goal in newly independent Malawi. While some participants highlight the oppressive dominance of Chichewa over other Malawian languages, the majority openly state that Chichewa is Malawi's mother tongue, suggesting that the 'Chewaisation' of Malawi has been effective and has contributed to a shared sense of Malawian identity. The role that Chichewa has as a marker of Malawian identity is then important for participants as it acts as a tool to create solidarity between individuals and promote and maintain Malawian culture. Omoniyi (2004) has discussed these factors as important in integrative identity in the African context. The creation of solidarity is important as it leads individuals to accept languages despite other 'social stigmatization' in an example of covert prestige (Amorrortu 2003, p78). For some, however, as discussed in Section 6.3.2, English is an important language for their sense of identity due to it being related to their socioeconomic standing and their upbringing, using the language as a home language.

Attitudes towards the English language are also affected by its relationship to participants' Malawian identity and the disconnect between themselves and the English language. English is viewed by some participants as a colonial relic. The continued prominence of English in Malawi is viewed as a consequence of the linguistic imperialism of the colonial period and as something which negatively affects the vitality of Malawian languages, and Malawian cultural identity. This manifests itself in the perceived relationship between English and Western culture and the perception that if Malawians learn English and speak it more frequently then this is part of a process of becoming more Western. For some, this is not a negative prospect but specifically one of the reasons that they wish to learn

English. This is an example of the 'invisible ideological hegemony' of the legacy of colonialism in which Western society, culture and crucially languages are viewed as more modern and advanced (Lin and Luke 2006, p69). The continued dominant position of English in Malawi and the privileging of Western, English-speaking culture could be considered as a form of what Phillipson (2008) refers to as Linguistic Neo-Imperialism. However, the responses from some participants points to another possibility. For them English is not intrinsically associated with the West or with colonialism but instead is something which can be considered to be Malawian and which forms a key part of their Malawian identity. Malawi is not unique in this regard in Africa as it has been suggested that English may be beginning to act as an important identity marker in Ghana (Anyidoho and Kropp-Dakubu 2008, Sarfo 2012), Kenya (Ogechi 2009), and Liberia (Lang 2016). This points to a key critique of Phillipson's Linguistic Imperialism as it removes the agency of individuals and positions them as passive (Bisong 1995, Ferguson 2006, p117). For some participants, English is not something which is imposed on them by the West but is something which they are able to appropriate and use in their daily lives, on their own terms.

The overt and covert prestige and the global and local associations of the languages are key to understanding attitudes towards English and Chichewa respectively. English is viewed as the language of opportunity because it is embedded in the global context. Chichewa is viewed as embedded in the local context which results in both positive and negative attributes. Contrary to the positive relationship which some participants have with English, the negative attributes which English has are due to the fact that it, for others, is viewed as something which is not central to Malawian identity. It is also not the case that only English is reported as having instrumental or practical functions. Participants recognise the practical use of Chichewa, and to some extent other Malawian languages, for employment purposes in Malawi as discussed in Section 6.2.2. While English has practical benefits for participants globally, Chichewa can have direct practical benefits locally. The effect of the dual advantage which both languages can offer has been found amongst South African university students who express what Conduah (2003, p245) terms 'conflicting attitudes' due to perceived importance of acquiring English versus the importance which African languages have as markers of identity and solidarity. Bangeni and Kapp (2007, p266), also in South Africa, have recognised the 'dual desire' which students have in both wanting to

be fluent English speakers in their academic environment while also having an allegiance to their home languages and the connection they have with their identities.

While the collective attitudes of individuals towards English and African languages may seem to be conflicting it does not necessarily have to be so. It has been noted that speakers can display awareness of prevailing language ideologies (Kroskrity 2010) and this study has shown that some participants do have an acute awareness of the fact that the beliefs surrounding the value of languages are something which is socially constructed. Further, this study indicates that students and staff recognise that their different linguistic resources allow them to perform different aspects of their identities. Use of English allows individuals to highlight their identity as educated, university students while Chichewa allows them to highlight their identity as Malawians. Research on identity and language acquisition is increasingly moving to a poststructuralist view of identities as flexible and fluid (Norton and Toohey 2011) and Creese, Blackledge and Hu (2016) note that translanguaging can allow for more flexible ways of thinking about culture. The identities of individuals in this study are multifaceted and fluid, and translanguaging allows students, and staff, in Malawian universities to explore more than one fixed Malawian identity or static Malawian culture. Creese and Blackledge (2010) have discussed the advantages which multilingualism allows as it is a valuable resource for performing identity. Multilingualism is used by individuals in Malawian universities to perform aspects of their multifaceted identities. It allows them to use the linguistic resources available to them in a way which is relevant to their lives and identities and can transcend the historical and national associations that discrete, named languages have (Creese 2017, p8).

These language attitudes all factor in to participants' decisions regarding what languages are suitable for use within the universities in Malawi. Unsurprisingly, given the widely discussed associations which English has with education and due to the instrumental benefits which the language has, English is viewed as the most suitable language for use within education. Chichewa and other Malawian languages are generally not viewed as being suitable for use within education. However, participants exhibit an awareness of the fact that knowledge of English and Chichewa hold both advantages and disadvantages. The instrumental and integrative pulls of each language are important to participants and as such they recognise the value of being multilingual. This recognition is evident through

analysis of participants' responses to language attitude statements, as reported in Section 7.2. When given the opportunity to use both English and Chichewa at university participants respond favourably. For the majority of participants, there are practical pedagogical reasons for this. A monolingual medium of instruction does not allow them to use all of their linguistic resources for learning and can inhibit students. This reflects research by Alenezi (2012) which illustrates the positive attitudes university students in Kuwait can have towards a multilingual approach. Adriosh and Razi (2016) report similar findings in a Nigerian university in which, while the importance of English is acknowledged, and the language viewed positively, there is also support for the introduction of local languages. Similar findings emerge in South Africa as Conduah (2003) found that students at Wits University were supportive of using both English and an African language in the university. Conduah's findings differ from the present study however in that staff at Wits University were largely unsupportive of this, contrasting with the positive attitudes which staff in Malawi's universities display towards the use of both English and Chichewa.

In summary, English is viewed as the most appropriate language for use in the universities and is also reported as being the main academic language used. The use of Chichewa as a social language also reflects the importance placed on the value of Chichewa as a marker of authentic Malawian identity. The reported and observed use of Chichewa within academic contexts also conforms to positive attitudes towards the use of both English and Chichewa in class. Participants' responses are in line with other research into language attitudes within Africa, and within the Global South more generally. English is viewed positively, and local languages are viewed more negatively. However, what is of interest in this study's findings is that, when no longer discussing language attitudes through a monolingual lens, participants tend to view multilingualism positively.

8.4 Language policy

The attitudes discussed above are not wholly reflected in the language-in-education policies in Malawi. They do reflect the large support and positive stances taken towards English. However, the policies do not reflect the substantial positive support given towards multilingualism and the use of both Chichewa and English. As in much of Africa the language-in-education policies in Malawi do not reflect the multilingual nature of the country and of Malawians. This section will discuss current evidence which suggests that multilingual policies can be beneficial for education in Africa and, combining this with the findings discussed above, make suggestions for improving the language-in-education policy in Malawian universities.

As discussed in Section 3.3, the increasing prevalence of English in higher education institutions worldwide has led to universities having to take language planning more seriously, to enable multilingual language policies to be implemented. In the European context, this is largely focused on creating policies which will create space for the introduction of English alongside other national languages. Liddicoat (2016) suggests that for universities in English-speaking contexts such as the UK and USA the internationalisation of universities has been business as usual. In this regard, the Malawian context is more similar to the UK than it is to other multilingual European contexts as English has always been the de facto medium of instruction for university. The important question for language planners in Malawi, and other African countries, is then why introduce multilingual policies utilising African languages while higher education institutions globally are moving towards English.

In the European context, universities in non-Anglophone countries are widely regarded as crucial institutions for the maintenance of a national language and preparing graduates for the national labour market (Soler and Vhiman 2018). While this has not traditionally been the case in much of Africa, universities have the potential to be key sites for creating a

'multilingual habitus' in the African context and can raise the status of African languages when they share academic spaces with elite languages such as English (Benson 2008, pp26-27). Further, this can develop the multilingual repertoires of graduates, enabling them to develop and implement other 'language-related reforms' to make other sectors of society more inclusive (*Ibid*). The use of a multilingual language policy, which includes African languages within higher education can influence the public's perception of the value of those languages in other stages of education (Phaahla 2014).

Increasingly calls are being made to recognise the potential benefits of multilingualism in education and to implement multilingual language-in-education policies (Hornberger 2002, Hornberger and Vaish 2009, Samuelson and Freedman 2010). This study indicates that stakeholders in university education in Malawi show positive attitudes towards the use of more than one language in the classroom and 50% of participants opt for a multilingual language policy as their favoured policy option. Exploring language-in-education policy in Ghana, Erling, Adinolfi and Hultgren (2017, p142) have suggested that current policies are 'too simplistically conceptualised' as policies are 'rooted in notions of language as homogenous, standardised, codified entities with clear boundaries' which is 'not appropriate to diverse, multilingual education contexts'. Makoni and Mashiri (2006) also suggest that language policies created through this monolingual ideology do not accurately reflect the multilingual realities of individuals or society. Instead, Erling, Adinolfi and Hultgren (2017) suggest flexible multilingual education policies which can acknowledge the values of named languages such as English for international access but also recognise the value of local languages for cultural and national identity. Taking account of the actual multilingual language practices of individuals in Africa could have implications for language planning and language policy on the continent (Dyers 2013). As stated in Section 7.3.4 enabling flexible language practices to occur in the classroom can have a positive impact on education in Africa as it allows students and staff to draw on their linguistic resources to learn through communicating in a way which is already natural to them (Makoni and Mashiri 2006, Oduor 2015). There are increasing calls to recognise this as a valid pedagogical approach (Lasagabaster and García 2014, Guzula, McKinney and Tyler 2016). This study provides evidence that stakeholder attitudes of individuals in higher education in Malawi do reflect the growing calls from researchers to adopt flexible multilingual language policies which more closely reflect individuals' language practices. While there is a strong level of support for English-only policies, crucially there is also a

desire expressed to see multilingual policies implemented and an acknowledgement that that would be suitable in higher education.

This would also reflect the current language practices within the institutions in Malawi, in which translanguaging is used for pedagogical and social functions. Clegg and Simpson (2016), focusing on education in Sub-Saharan Africa have discussed three major benefits of translanguaging in the classroom, namely: it can be used to scaffold learning and aid cognitive understanding of new concepts; it can improve development of skills in a second language; and it can have affective benefits for students' sense of identity, self-esteem and can connect their home and school lives (Baker 2001, p 290). McKinney et al (2015) have argued that monoglossic language ideologies, often based on colonial language constructs, can restrict students' engagement with learning through not recognising the value of their multilingual repertoires. Use of translanguaging in academic environments can act as a positive resource which recognises the value of linguistic diversity and of multilingualism (Doiz, Lasagabaster and Seirra 2013, Tikly 2016) which, this study has highlighted, is something that is recognised by individuals in Malawian universities.

In this study, many students and staff have exhibited an awareness of their own fluid language practices and recognise the value of adopting a language policy which is not strictly multilingual but allows them to draw on their multilingual linguistic resources to aid learning and, as Makalela (2015) states, to increase epistemic access both to allow a deeper understanding of subject content and to knowledge of the world and of ideas. Translanguaging is also believed to increase positive attitudes towards African languages themselves (Makalela 2016b), so could play a role in enhancing the status of Malawian languages in other domains. Translanguaging pedagogies can also empower those who are currently ill-affected by monolingual English-only policies (Hurst and Mona 2017). Hurst and Mona (2017) suggest that translanguaging can have a social justice role in Africa as not recognising the importance of an individual's culture, language, and history in the educational context can be a dehumanising act (see also Childs 2016).

'Natural translanguaging' occurs in education contexts in Africa out of necessity due to the need for students to engage in learning and the difficulties of doing this through a monolingual European medium of instruction (Catalano and Hamann 2016, p269). This

natural translanguaging is what is widely found in Malawian universities. This contrasts with 'official translanguaging' which is viewed as the deliberate and planned intervention of teachers using translanguaging techniques (Lewis, Jones and Baker 2012, Madiba 2017). Adopting an official translanguaging pedagogy in Malawian universities could offer a more inclusive and effective language policy. A translanguaging pedagogy has been shown to be effective in a range of educational contexts (Wei 2017). While the majority of research into translanguaging focuses on the primary and secondary stages of education, translanguaging practices do exist in higher education worldwide (Mazak and Carroll 2016) for which the present study provides additional evidence. Makalela (2014, 2016a) and Madiba (2010, 2017) have shown that adopting official translanguaging pedagogies can have a positive impact on learning in universities in South Africa. This reflects the belief amongst participants in this study that drawing on the flexible multilingual resources of students and staff is necessary for participation in university education. Participants recognise the limitations which a purely monolingual approach would have on their interactions in the university, which has also been identified by Makalela (2014) as a limitation in South Africa. Morriera, Madiba and Hurst (2017) argue that translanguaging practices in higher education can scaffold learning, challenge what linguistic resources are viewed as valuable, and is a fundamentally decolonial act in the African context. As participants note, translanguaging allows them to perform different aspects of their fluid identities by employing their varied linguistic resources at different times and in different ways (see Creese and Blackledge 2015), enabling them to fully express their identities as young Malawians. It has been claimed that translanguaging can play an important role in ensuring that students are able to effectively integrate and work in the labour market of a multilingual society (Ngcobo et al 2016). This is reflected by participants who realise the potential value of multilingualism to their lives after graduating from university.

As discussed in Section 7.3.3, the type of multilingual language policy which participants favour differs. For some, they favour a policy which exhibits 'separate bilingualism' as beneficial, feeling it best that, while each language is used, they are not used at the same time. While there remain proponents for the use of separate bilingualism, more recently practitioners and researchers have begun to question the usefulness of this approach, arguing instead for a more flexible approach (Creese and Blackledge 2010). Creese et al (2011) have suggested that separate bilingualism is an artificially constructed method which does not reflect the flexible bilingualism of individuals. A translanguaging

pedagogy allows this more natural way of communicating to be adopted for the benefit of learners. For a number of participants in this study a 'flexible bilingualism', which could incorporate translanguaging strategies, is viewed as the most favourable option. This would not restrict the use of named languages to specific functions and in doing so create separate monolingual environments in which specific named languages could be used. Instead it would allow students and staff to flexibly and freely drawn on their entire range of linguistic resources to communicate and learn multilingually.

Measuring the true effectiveness of the current language-in-education policy would require more in-depth study of the overall academic performance of individual students, and student cohorts, and more detailed research on the effects which language has on actual pass rates. Additionally, the low quality of the higher education system in Malawi is due to a myriad of factors including quality of resources, facilities, and staff development. Isolating the impact of language policy within this would require more detailed research into how these factors intersect and affect access to, and quality of, higher education in Malawi. What is crucial for this study however is that, while language skills have been noted to be a hindrance to the successful engagement with higher education (Kamwendo 2003) the proposed solution to this has been to attempt to develop students' English language skills rather than questioning the ideologically dominant position that a monolingual English-only medium of instruction has in the education system. Participants raise concerns regarding the efficacy of additional communication skills courses but, importantly, a potential root of the language issue in universities is not being addressed by these additional courses.

From the findings of this study, the current language-in-education policy situation is perceived to be having negative effects on some, if not all, students. Crucially, there is technically no official sector-wide language-in-education policy for the universities. This causes confusion regarding what the policy is and who has the power to control how language is used within the university. This can clearly be seen from the results reported in Section 7.2.2. This is a policy issue which should be tackled through a sector-wide intervention, as Drummond (2016) has noted that in the South African context individual institutions have neither the power nor capacity to influence the language practices and policies of other institutions.

However, the language-in-education policy which affects the rest of the education system, that of English-only, is clearly not reflected in the language use or language attitudes of the participants in this study. The case in Malawi highlights the potential difficulties of an English-only medium of instruction in a multilingual context, even at the university level of education. The focus on English and the lack of attention given to the potential use of multilingual language practices within education could be having a detrimental effect through not allowing students or staff the ability to fully access and use their multilingual linguistic repertoires for their education. There does then seem scope to improve the language-in-education policy within Malawi. In the university context, initially what is needed is a clear and well communicated policy. Secondly, the role and value of multilingualism in education should not be dismissed.

This section has provided evidence of the potential benefits which multilingual language policies can have in a multilingual education environment. This study's findings regarding language use and language attitudes suggest that translanguaging occurs in Malawi's universities and that individuals are favourable towards a multilingual policy. The difficulties of having a multilingual policy successfully implemented have been noted at University of KwaZulu-Natal by Moodley (2010) who finds that a theoretical and abstract policy is unlikely to be effectively transformed into practice without parallel effects to revise learning resources, encourage professional development, and incentivise attitudinal change towards the importance of multilingualism. Support, and recognition, for the importance of multilingualism in education is present amongst stakeholders in Malawi and could be capitalised on to implement an officially multilingual policy which recognises the valuable resource which individuals' multilingual repertoires can have in education.

8.5 Conclusion

This study has provided an overview of the sociolinguistic context of Malawian universities. The main findings of this are:

- In academic domains, English is viewed as a dominant language and, in social domains, Chichewa is viewed as a dominant language. However, Malawian universities are multilingual environments in which translanguaging occurs in both academic and social domains for a variety of reasons.
- Students and staff in Malawi's universities have generally positive attitudes towards English as a medium of instruction and negative attitudes towards the sole use of any Malawian language as a medium of instruction.
- Students and staff also show positive attitudes towards the use of a multilingual medium of instruction.

These findings provide research-based evidence which can add to the current language-in-education policy debates which are ongoing in Malawi. Language policy implementation in Malawi has traditionally been bereft of sociolinguistic evidence, and this study provides key insight into the sociolinguistic context of Malawi's universities based on the language practices and language attitudes of those within them.

More widely, these findings can also inform ongoing debates surrounding the increasing use of English as a global language, particularly as a medium of instruction in higher education institutions. The findings show that English is viewed as a key language for increasing students' prospects and for communicating, and travelling, internationally. In the African context, it also highlights that these views are complicated by the neo-colonial position of English in the continent and the impact this can have on individuals' relationship to the language. It provides evidence that, in multilingual university contexts, while recognising the value which English has, individuals are also favourable towards their multilingualism.

Additionally, suggestions have been made for potential policy improvements towards the language-in-education policy for universities in Malawi. The findings suggest that the

newest change to the language-in-education policy in Malawi, towards an English-only approach, reflects neither the language practices nor the attitudes of individuals in higher education. An officially multilingual policy which recognises the multilingual repertoires of individuals, their translanguaging abilities, and the multilingual reality of society in Malawi could offer a more effective policy approach than the monolingual English-only policy which ideologically dominates the education system in the country. The findings suggest that it would be useful to move the language debate in Malawi away from a binary choice of English or Chichewa to looking more closely at how the multilingual repertoires and multilingual identities of students and staff could be effectively harnessed and supported in education in Malawi. These policy suggestions draw on academic research which advises of the benefits of a multilingual approach but are also crucially based on both the current language practices and language attitudes of individuals within Malawi's universities, adding to the calls for language policy to move away from monoglossic ideologies of language use.

The finding that translanguaging occurs within Malawian universities also adds to the increasing literature on translanguaging as a concept and on the use of translanguaging as a pedagogical approach and as a practice which does occur in higher education. In line with Makoni and Mashiri (2006), Makalela (2014, 2016a) and Erling, Adinolfi and Hultgren (2017) this study's findings highlight that it would be beneficial to challenge the dominance of monoglossic language policies based on Eurocentric conceptualisations of language as discrete, bounded entities. This study has shown that there are individuals in Malawian universities who conceptualise their language use through a translanguaging lens, students who adopt translanguaging in their social communications, and staff who adopt translanguaging for pedagogical functions in the classroom. To fully embrace multilingualism and exploit the potential of the multilingual resources of individuals in Africa, and elsewhere, translanguaging must become an integral part of language planning and language policy. Translanguage planning and translanguage policy would foreground multilingualism as the norm of interaction, legitimise language practices which emphasise individual repertoires as integrated systems of linguistic resources, and recognise that communication which draws on multilingual linguistic repertoires is a valid means of communication. This extends Ruiz's (1984) concept of language as a resource to view translanguage as a resource. It moves towards viewing multilingualism and all linguistic resources as inherently valuable. Through placing translanguaging as the central

orientation towards language within language planning and language policy this provides a foundation to create and implement language policies that are based on actual multilingual language use, which can harness multilinguals' resources, and which can provide a creative and fluid approach towards language planning and policy which can be truly inclusive, challenging and transformative.

This study has produced the first comprehensive overview of language use and language attitudes in Malawian universities and involved collecting a valuable data set which I can analyse further. In future research, the 300 hours of participant recording can be more thoroughly analysed to evaluate any significant factors affecting individuals' language practices within the universities. This study has also illustrated the use of translanguaging as a pedagogical resource in universities. Future research in Malawi, which introduces small-scale classroom activities (such as those discussed in Madiba 2010) which formally adopt a translanguaging approach would be useful to ascertain their effectiveness and evaluate individuals' reactions towards them. Additionally, in terms of language attitudes, this study provides a broad overview of the university landscape in Malawi as it has targeted all public universities and one private university in the country. Larger scale studies of specific institutions would provide further insight into the language attitudes and language use in particular institutions. Additionally, research into the particular language varieties in use within Malawi's universities could provide further insight into the sociolinguistic context therein. This would include investigating the different varieties of English and Malawian languages which are used and how these are viewed by individuals.

The process of conducting this study has involved numerous occasions in which I questioned my involvement with the project and my position within the research. The major question emerging from this is whether I, as a privileged Western researcher, should be conducting this research at all or whether this is in and of itself an example of a neo-imperial imposition of Western ideas onto a former colonial context.

In engaging with this through the research process there was a constant need to question and challenge my own assumptions and biases and to reflect on my position within the research. There is also a need to recognise that while this reflection is necessary it is not sufficient to erase any problems which could be present in the research. To engage in the

process of decolonisation it has been crucial to constantly reflect on numerous aspects of this study. One important aspect, relating to engaging with wider literature, concerns who is being cited and what previous research is deemed valuable. It has been necessary to ensure that I engage with academics and research emerging from Malawi and other African contexts and not only to engage with ideas emerging from the Global North. This also extends to how I treat my own participants, viewing them as the experts within the university context and their experience of it. This involves an acknowledgement that my understanding of the Malawian context and the complexity of language within it may be incomplete and will be that of an outsider. There must be an acknowledgement that my contribution to the field is built upon the Malawian linguists who have previously conducted work in this area and those who continue to do so and that my ability to do this work is an example of my own privilege.

While I am able to do this research, I must also acknowledge that I am not immediately affected by the issues which I am researching. My findings should be viewed within the context of work done by Malawian linguists and should not be viewed as more valid than that which may suggest opposing views but as part of the ongoing conversation around language issues in the country and can, and should, be open to critique from those working from the Global South.

The process of decolonisation, and the intellectual burden of it, is not one which should solely be on the shoulders of those within the Global South. Participation and support from those in the Global North is necessary. There does need to be a recognition that those in the Global North must be open to guidance from those in the Global South. Decolonisation is a process in which we all must participate, and for me it is an ongoing one.

8.6 Limitations

8.6.1 Language attitude statements

A limitation within the study design relates to the phrasing of the interview questions, most specifically the language attitude statements. An initial issue within these is the problem of meaning (Byram 2012). This relates to the assumption that the terms used in the questions (specifically the word 'suitable' in relation to the varying language policy options) share the same meaning for both myself and each participant, and between participants. The reliability of the data emerging from these responses is problematised as the word 'suitable' may mean different things to different participants. The problem of meaning is further complicated in this context given the multilingual aspect of the data collection.

Further, these questions sought to elicit insight into participants' language attitudes. They were not however constructed in a way similar to other language attitude surveys. The response elicited from participants was a binary – either agree or disagree – and not one based on a point-scale as is more traditional in language attitude research (Garrett, Coupland and Williams 2003). The quantitative figures which emerge in the responses to these questions then present a binary and do not, in themselves, highlight the varying intensity or the complexity of individuals' attitudes. This study did not employ a traditional language attitude scale, which would involve asking participants to respond to a series of questions concerning each language, and which would use various labels to ascertain the differing evaluative dimensions in which individuals view languages.

While this limitation is present in the quantitative language attitude data reported, it should be noted that the complexity of participants' language attitudes emerged in this study from the analysis of the qualitative responses. The language attitude statements in the interviews then can be viewed as an initial opening question which then allows for further prompts to ascertain individuals' attitudes.

An alternative approach to this data collection would involve the use of a point-scale. This could be in the form of a Likert scale, asking participants to state the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with specific statements. Alternatively, a semantic differential scale could be used, asking participants to rate the extent to which they felt particular languages

have certain characteristics within the university context. This would allow for a more nuanced quantitative, and more advanced statistical, analysis to be conducted into language attitudes.

8.6.2 Data collection

Due to contextual limitations, this study did not adopt a questionnaire approach in collecting language attitudes. This approach would have allowed for more questioning using point-scales as discussed above. However, an online questionnaire was not viewed as a suitable approach to take due to difficulties in dissemination, internet access and speed, and the high rate of power cuts in Malawi. This approach would not have yielded sufficient responses in the time given. An offline questionnaire was also felt to be outwith the scope of this study. Again, due to time limitations in the fieldwork period, collecting the qualitative interview data was given higher priority. A larger scale study of language attitudes within Malawian universities could benefit from combining questionnaire and semi-structured interview data collection methods.

Further limitations regarding data collection stem from the extent to which the research training offered by elite universities in the Global North can prepare PhD researchers for conducting research into contexts within the Global South. Some data collection methods, such as an online questionnaire discussed above, are perhaps more suited for use, and more easily administered, in research being conducted in the Global North. Other practical factors such as power cuts, internet connectivity, and transport infrastructure are elements which are not necessarily considered in research training programmes. These can however affect practical steps which have to be taken to ensure data collection and management is robust. Importantly, these factors can affect the overall difficulty of conducting the research which, while difficult to fully prepare for, is something which can potentially impact the quality of the day-to-day data collection.

Appendices

Appendix 1. Student interview schedule

This schedule provides a guide to the student interview. However, as the interviews are semi-structured, each interview may not follow the schedule exactly, participants' responses can be probed further, and new topics can be discussed.

A: Face to face interview.

1) Introduction and building rapport.

1.1) At the beginning of the interview I will introduce myself, explain that I am doing research into the experience of university students in Malawi, and that I will be conducting interviews with a number of Malawian students and university staff.

1.2) I will then ask for permission to record the interview, explaining that I will make use of the recordings when transcribing and analysing the interview.

1.3) In the, likely, scenario that access to the interviewee has been made through a personal friend I will ask how they know that friend and how long they have known them.

2) University

2.1) I will start this section by briefly talking about my own experience of University: the courses I studied, the opportunities I had to go to Malawi.

2.2) I will then ask participants to tell me more about their university career:

2.2.a) "What course are you studying?"

2.2.b) "Do you have a favourite lecturer?"

    2.2.bi) "Why are they your favourite?"

2.2.c) "Are there any lecturers you do not like as much?"

    2.2.ci) "Why not?"

2.2.d) "If you ever have any questions, how easy is it to contact lecturers outside of class?"

    2.2.di) "How formal do you need to be when contacting them?"

2.3.a) "Do you have tutorials for your subjects?"

    2.3.ai) "What aspects of tutorials do you enjoy?"
    2.3.aii) "What aspects of tutorials do you not like?"

2.4.a) "How are you assessed?"

2.4.b) "Are there some methods of assessment you prefer to others?"

    2.4.bi) "Why is this?"

2.4.c) If the interviewee mentions that they have to do presentations, this will be probed further:

    2.4.ci) "Do you enjoy doing presentations?"

2.4.dii) If not I will ask: "Do you ever have to do presentations?". If the response is yes, question 2.4.ci will then be asked.

2.5) "Do you ever have to do group work?"

2.5.a) "Do you enjoy doing group work?"

2.5.b) "Are there any aspects of group work you do not enjoy?"

2.6.a) "Is the social side of university life important to you?"

2.6.b) "Are you in any clubs or societies?"

    2.6.bi) If the answer is yes, I will ask: "What kinds of activities do you do?"

3) Evaluating university

3.1) "Could anything be done to improve the university experience for students in Malawi?"

3.2) "Do you know anyone that struggles with university work?"

    3.2.a) "Why do they struggle?"

3.3) "Do you ever need to help anyone with university work?"

    3.3.a) "What do you need to help them with?"

3.4) "Do you think that all students are able to take part in class discussions?"

3.5) "Do you have friends who didn't go to university?"

    3.5.a) "Why didn't they go?"

3.6) "What skills do you think make someone successful at university in Malawi?"

4) Direct questions on language use

If, at this point, no information has been given which is at all related to language use within university, the following questions will be asked:

4.1) "How many languages are there in Malawi?"

4.2) "What languages are used at university?"

4.3) "What languages are used in lectures?"

4.4) "What languages are used in tutorials?"

4.5) "What languages are used when students socialise outside of class?"

4.6) "What languages are used when students discuss academic work outside of class?"

4.7) "What languages are used when contacting lecturers outside of class?"

Participants will then be asked to state to what extent they agree or disagree with the following statements. After this, they will be asked to explain their reasons for agreeing or disagreeing:

4.8) "English is a suitable language to use at university in Malawi"

4.9) "Malawian languages are suitable to use at university in Malawi"

4.10) "Chichewa is a suitable language to use at university in Malawi"

4.11) "Using both English and Chichewa at university would be suitable"

4.12) "English language skills are essential to be successful at university in Malawi"

Participants will then be asked the following questions:

4.12) "Is there a language policy at university in Malawi?"

4.13) "If you were in charge of making a language policy, what would yours be?"

5) I will then conclude the interview, I will inform interviewees that I have reached the end of my questions, and give them the opportunity to add any additional comments or ask me any questions. Interviewees will be asked to participate in a focus group. I will then thank them for their time.

Appendix 2. Staff interview schedule

This schedule provides a guide to the staff interview. However, as the interviews are semi-structured, each interview may not follow the schedule exactly, participants' responses can be probed further, and new topics can be discussed.

A: Face to face interview.

1) Introduction and building rapport.

1.1) At the beginning of the interview I will introduce myself, explain that I am doing research into the experience of university students in Malawi, and that I will be conducting interviews with a number of Malawian students and university staff.

1.2) I will then ask for permission to record the interview, explaining that I will make use of the recordings when transcribing and analysing the interview.

1.3) In the, likely, scenario that access to the interviewee has been made through a personal friend I will ask how they know that friend and how long they have known them.

2) University

I will ask general questions about the participant's job.

2.1) "How long have you been working at the university?"

2.2) "What did you do before you came to the university?"

2.3) "What aspects of your job do you enjoy?"

3) Evaluating university

3.1) "Could anything be done to improve the university experience for students in Malawi?"

3.2) "Do you know any students that struggle with university work?"

    3.2.a) "Why do they struggle?"

3.3) "When students come to you for help, what is it that they are struggling with?"

    3.3.a) "What do you need to help them with?"

3.4) "Do you think that all students are able to take part in class discussions?"

4) Direct questions on language use

    If, at this point, no information has been given which is at all related to language use at university, the following questions will be asked:

4.1) "How many languages are there in Malawi?"

4.2) "What languages are used at university?"

4.3) "What languages are used in lectures?"

4.4) "What languages are used in tutorials?"

4.5) "What languages are used when students socialise outside of class?"

4.6) "What languages are used when students discuss academic work outside of class?"

4.7) "What languages are used when contacting lecturers outside of class?"

4.8) "What languages are used during staff meetings?"

Participants will then be asked to state to what extent they agree or disagree with the following statements. After this, they will be asked to explain their reasons for agreeing or disagreeing:

4.9) "English is a suitable language to use at university in Malawi"

4.10) "Malawian languages are suitable to use at university in Malawi"

4.11) "Chichewa is a suitable language to use at university in Malawi"

4.12) "Using both English and Chichewa at university would be suitable"

4.13) "English language skills are essential to be successful at university in Malawi"

Participants will then be asked the following questions:

4.14) "Is there a language policy at university in Malawi?"

4.15) "If you were in charge of making a language policy, what would yours be?"

5) I will then conclude the interview, I will inform interviewees that I have reached the end of my questions, and give them the opportunity to add any additional comments or ask me any questions. I will then thank them for their time.

Appendix 3. Interview breakdown per college

University	Interviews
University of Malawi: The Polytechnic (POLY)	3 staff interviews 8 student interviews
University of Malawi: Chancellor College (CHANCO)	6 staff interviews 8 student interviews
Blantyre International University (BIU)	0 staff interviews 9 student interviews
University of Malawi: Kamuzu College of Nursing (KCN)	4 staff interviews 6 student interviews
University of Malawi: College of Medicine (COM)	4 staff interviews 7 student interviews
Lilongwe University of Agriculture and Natural Resources (LUANAR)	4 staff interviews 9 student interviews
Mzuzu University (MZUNI)	3 staff interviews 8 student interviews
Malawi University of Science and Technology (MUST)	3 staff interviews 10 student interviews

Appendix 4. Extended lecture transcript[18]

I said that a limited company, a limited enterprise is okay don't write cause-. An organisation that you can set up, run your business, it's responsibility it's in your own rights it's it's own rights not yours eti (not so?). Ah it does finances okay it does have finances and the finances are separate from you which is-

I wanted to talk about the difference between a sole trader and a limited company. A limited company imadzipangira run chilinchonse payokha (does run everything on its own). Iweyo (you) sole trader you can put your own eti (not so)?

[Student]

uh huh uh huh uh huh

[Student]

Kodi? (what)

[Student]

The partnership can also be what?

[Student]

Okay, when you talk of a limited company a limited company ineyo ndikuyambitsa kempane yanga (I am starting my company) called kaya (such as) 'Zanimuone', 'Ekwendeni', 'Embangweni', 'Emzuzu' company limited imene (that) 'Emzuzu' company limited eti (not so)?

[Student]

That company ndi ineyo (and me) we are two different entities. Kampane izipanga run chilichonse payokha inenso ndizipanga run chilichonse pandekha. (The company will be running everything on its own I too will be running everything on my own).

Kampane itha kukalowa mukhothi, kampaneyo not ine. Inenso nditha kukalowa mukhothi ine not kampane (The company can be taken to court not me. I too can go to court, not the company).

Ine (me) not company okay so in other words, iyo entity payokha inenso entity payokha (it's an entity on its own, I am also an entity on my own) that is a company limited eti imeneyi (it's just me).

When we talk of [inc] sole proprietor ine ndi chani (me and what again?) imakhala chimodzi (become one) now when you talk of a corporate corporation it's hrmm it's more than now limited it's bigger than limited imatenga ma characteristics a limited aja (adopts the characteristics of the limited) komano nkudzayikano tsopano ku ma shares (and then add that now to the shares) ma shareholders (the shareholders.)

Partnership I know you can have fifty fifty as a limited company pomwe (whereas) corporation singakhale ndi munthu m'modzi womayiyang'anira (cannot have one person managing it) or anthu awiri omayiyang'anira (or two people managing it). You're talking of a lot of people oti (who) they have shares now ena oti atha kungokhala ndi (some who even have) two percent.

[Student]

Press Kopereshoni (Corporation) ndiyayikulu kwambiri (is very big) okay now you get the point eti? (not so?) Now the point was limited shares as in shareholders, I don't where it's going apopo nditiyo (which one is which here?)

[Student]

Uh huh yes I was I was this point I was just trying to differentiate sole proprietorship and limited

[Student]

partnership of a limited company where there are just two

[Student]

No I am asking partnership you can be four, three koma sikuti mungathe kufika mpakana hundredi (but you cannot get to as far as one hundred) partnership.

[Student]

Meaning? Meaning? [Laughs] Partnership has limited abilities meaning?

[Student]

Don't don't think kuti (that) when they say limited abilities you are talking of shareholder limited my point is crashing where there are limited shareholders, limited shareholders.

[Student]

Okay I don't agree to that, I don't agree. Okay maybe ndikaziwerengereso (let me read it again)

[Student]

Kuti kukhala kuti- (that it can be that-) ineyo ineyo (myself myself) honestly okay fine fine fine fine fine fine go and study that bwanji? (what's happening?)

Bwanji wanyanyara (what's happening? He's walked away?)

[Student]

Okay it's okay alright

[Student]

No no in economics in economics there is no right and there is no wrong

[Student]

[Laughs] No in economics there is no right and there is no wrong. Everything if you just defend it it's okay.

[Student]

It's okay, it's very okay this other time, I think anali (he was) the president of USA anali (he was) Dan Kennedy. Reagan ananena kuti (said that) if you have if you have 100 questions to economics expect to have more than 1000 answers. Which are all right.

[Student]

I think pamenepapa tachezako kwambiri (now we have had a good chat) if it can be a question just to differentiate you can forget about this.

[Student]

Now ah ha

[Student]

Limited when you say limited what do you mean?

[Student]

Eh?

[Student]

Uh huh

[Student]

Uh

[Student]

Yeah the koma (but) now if you talk of that that mulandu (the case) my friend now you are talking law cause they can be a winner for example for co- you have done business law before? You have done business law before all of you? Business law if you talk of ikapita ku law kwenikweni (when it goes into law) it's not business it's contract law.

So let's say in your contracts mwagwirizana (you have agreed) I'll pay you this this this and this, this amount okay for example ukamatenga loni (when you go to get a loan) sumakapereka nyumba utha kukapereka er mwina azi kampani kuti okay mashares anga ku company uku which mwina ndili nawo 40% (Don't you give a house, you can give er perhaps as a company like okay my shares at this company maybe I've got 40%).

I have the documents. Okay fine sunapange (you did not do) that you didn't fulfil your contract, atha kubwera imatenga shares zotheka (they can come to take your shares, it's possible) according now to that contract eti? (not so?)

But now if you talk of ndyomwe ndinapeleka example yoti (that's the one I gave an example) yoti mwina uli ndi mulandu wako woti kaya wapha munthu sangakatseke ma shares ako (even though you've got a murder case they cannot go and close your shares no that's still yours). Ndi kampani ndi iwe ndi zinthu ziwiri zosiyana (the company and you are two different things).

[Student]

It's a se- ukoko imatha kukalowa mu khothi imeneyoyo (that can go to court) kampaneyo yamubera munthu iweyo sizikukhudza (the company has stolen from somebody it does not concern you). In other words when you don't have anything to do with that company it can be running on its own.

For example some of you maybe I have I have shares in TNM. Sizimandikhudza (it does not concern me) kuti zikukhala bwanji kumeneko (what is happening) at the end of the month andibweretsere cheke changa (they should bring me my cheque).

Kuti uh two thousand yalowa ku company- ku account (that two thousand has going into my company- my account) kaya zoti anthu mukupanga complain kaya mukupitisana kukhoti sizikundikhudza (that you are complaint or that you are taking each other to court, it doesn't concern me.)

Ndinalongezatu (I had packed)

[Student]

Ayi (no) you know that's the problem now.

I you talk of kuti ma share holder share holder (that shareholders). It kuti trust me it kaya ndinagula kaya ndi ten thousand kwacha (that trust me like maybe I bought it for ten thousand kwacha). Serious it was very cheap but panopa nditati ndigulise (now if I were to sell it).

Ah I know I bought it at what how much I've forgotten koma (but) it wasn't that big whereby wow koma panopo nditati ndigulitse ma shares amenewa (butt now should I decide to sell those shares), ah my friend koma ndipweteka munthu (but I'm going to hurt somebody).

[Student]

Cha? (what)

[Student]

Buy shares okay, for example eh kodi (inc) actually a TNM they are still selling koma (but) at a higher price now. Okay, the company amakaika ku stock exchange eti? (puts that in the stock exchange, not so?) whereby mwina ikufuna ipeze ndalama (maybe it wants to find money) you know one one of the ways kupeza ndalama (to find money) is selling shares eti (not so) selling shares or kukatenga ngongole (to go and get a loan).

Oh you have a accounts (accounts people) ndi omwe akuziziwa (are the ones who know this).

[Student]

Amomwemo (from within) amomwemo (from within) but now mostly kwambiri (mostly) ma companies like (companies like) loans and sharing. Mainly selling share shares, eh having share eh having more shareholders.

Okay, now kampani ija akaipititsa ku stock exchange ndiye kuti ikufuna kuti (now the company when they take the company to the stock exchange it means they want to sell shares) kuti agulitse ma shares apeze ndalama (sell shares to find money). Apeze ma funds awo to run their chani (they should find their funds to run their what?)

Now akapeza (when they find) pomwe they anaipititsa (they took it to) TNM I think'so (also) even National Bank as well yeah National Bank i'so (also) inazapitako (it went there) because a lot of shares za (for) National Bank ndiza (are for) Adimaki Adimaki.

Adimaki they own National Bank I think. Press, Press owns Adimaki. Adimaki, Adimaki owns eh National Bank, in other words Press owns National Bank.

[Student]

Press Corporation.

[Student]

Not actually one it's the richest in Malawi, the richest company.

[Student]

No ndi ya anthuso (it's for people also)

[Student]

Yeah Tembo is there koyambilira ndiyomwe inali kalekale kaya (a long time back at the start it was eh?) it was owned by MCP kaya (eh?)

[Student]

I don't know the history part but uyu ndaninso anali ndani uyu (this one who was this one?)

Oh, you professor no no no

[Student]

Professor he was a governor of ma- of Reserve Bank of Malawi, I for- he was also once a minister of finance

[Student]

No [Laughs] before Goodall there was who? Ken? Before Ken I mean. A doctor oti amadzisata za economics (who follows economics)

[Student]

He was Professor, I've forgotten the name but I know the face, the face it's in my mind but now the name ndikakumbukira ndikuuzani (when I remember I will tell you) pompano anali ndi mulandu wake pompano pompano (quite recently he had a court case) recently. Aprop a misappropriation of money ndiye amafuna ayime kaye (he wanted to be minister no longer) kuba ndalama kwambiri (stealing money too much).

[Student]

Not not even Dov- not even the owner of Dovik, cause the owner of Dovik you know him eh?

[Student]

Dovik hotels and wamwalira pompano (just died) analiso governanso (he was also a governor).

[Student]

It's Dovik it's Victor Dovi, it's Dorothy and Victor Dovik). Yeah the names the names of the wife and the husband, Dorothy and Victor Dovik.

[Student]

Mbewe he was anali (he was) kuti (that) (inc) Chikawonda Professor Matthews Chikawonda.

[Student]

He was the CEO of Press you are talking of company eh ku Press kuli ndalama yes (eh in press there is money) he he atanditenga ku press ndingoti ana anga zikomo kwambiri ndapita (if they can pick me to work in press I'll just say my kids thank you very much I'm heading).

[Student]

Kaya (eh) I don't know. Oh you want to get shares in Press? Work under Press. I dont know.

[Student]

[Laughs] There are other people who are workers in National Bank koma (but) they don't have shares in National Bank, there are other actually a lot a lot of people work in TNM koma (but) they don't have shares in TNM. Kumakhala kuchenjera (it's being clever), kuganiza kwa munthu (it's the way somebody thinks) cause in like the shares which I have

I will leave them ana anga ndiomwe adzanjoye nawo (it's my kids who will enjoy them). If I will have kids actually.

[Student]

Come. No it doesn't it depends with the way the company has made its profit and you know we are thinking of phunziro lakuti (the lesson that) kuti akapereke ndalama ku mashares (to contribute towards the shares) ma shareholders ndiye kuti amakhala kuti (to the shareholders) chilichose athana nacho (they've done away with everything) chilichose akapereka kungogole zili zonse zonse zonse (they've paid back everything that they owe) then you'll be the last ma di- (inc).

[Student]

Nzotheka nzotheka (it's possible it's possible) sometimes ikadzakhala kuti yapanga profit kwambiri (when the company happens to make a lot of profit) I will have a lot.

[Student]

Yapanga (it's made) profit or not amakutumizirani (then send you)

[Student]

Amanditimizira ndithu chimakhala chi envelopu (they send a big envelope)

[Student]

amatumiza chimakhala ndithu ka envelopu (they send a small envelope)

[Student]

Pali ena oti amalandira mwina amalandira five hundred kwacha a month (there's some people who perhaps receive about five hundred kwacha a month) as their shares.

[Student]

Amayenela kuti awatumizirebe basi (they are supposed to send them still).

[Student]

In seriously I say I don't even care about that ndikangochitenga ndimakayachiyatsira moto (when I get it I just set it on fire).

[Student]

292

I have forgotten kuti panopano zili how much kaya inali bwanji kaya (at the moment I have forgotten how much it used to be).

[Student]

No I will have to yeah it is it's very possible for me to sell you komano (but also) there should be documentation kuti asiyeno kumandipatsa ine adzikupatsa iweyo (saying that they should stop paying me they should now be paying you).

[Student]

Ineyo panopa nditha kuganiza ndi ndekha (at the moment I can decide on my own) kuti shares anga will sell them at at this amount (that my shares I should sell them at at this amount).

Zachamba (nonsense) sell brocka (broker).

You want them take them you don't want them leave them.

[Student]

Hrmm.

[Student]

You really think there is something like free lunch? Never and you that the subsidies they are not for free yeh.

[Student]

The subsides the subsidies they are not for free, they are not for free. Actually ineyo ndimapereka ku subsidy sinanga amandidula msonkho amatenga za msonko za ine (I contribute towards a subsidy because they deduct tax from me they take tax money from me). Inu (you) you know eh actually inunso mumaperekanso ku chani? Ku ku subsisdiy (you too contribute towards the what? The subsidy) mukamagula zinthu (when you buy things) tax ya kumeneko (tax deducted from there) diye mukupita ku (then you are going to) nothing is for free in this world nothing. No free lunch.

Apa ndiye mwandisokoneza bwanji (over here now you've confused me).

[Student]

Okay fine. There are key indicators in the in the household accounts huh. One savings, two disposable income.

[Student]

Ah ah ndagotchula zinthu ziwiri zokha (I've only given you two). The key indicators in the household accounts. Savings and disposable income. You remember these things in macro, where savings plus uh consumption is equal to?

[Student]

Disposable income

[Student]

Savings and disposable income

[Student]

In other words apopo titha kutchuladi (over here we can indeed say) savings and consumption cause ku (in) disposable income we will talk of savings definitely, and in disposable income there's no way we can't talk of consumption. Guys do you remember in macroeconomics nanu inu (you (silly) guys) mukukumbukira eti (do you still remember?) kuti (that) it's savings plus consoumption is equal to disposable income. Muka- mukapanga (when you do) marginal propensity to save and to (marginal) propensity to consume is equal to MPS plus MPC is equal to?

[Student]

One

[Student]

Ayi sanagesi (no he didn't guess) ah ma jelase ma jelase (you're just jealous).

[Student]

Alright if we talk of guys you know economicsi (economics)? Ubwino wake zimalowelerana- lowelerana lowelerana lowelerana (they intertwine with each other). Kukoma (it's enjoyably interesting). You are saying that there is savings.

[Student]

[Laughs] Iyayi sinanga inu munati kuti mukumvera za- za za chani za shareholders (Ii thought you had said you were listening about shareholders ma shares anga (my shares). The savings plus consumption is equal to disposable income eti (not so). These savings imadzalowa (goes into) mu (in) GDP pa chani (on what?)

[Student]

Investment. In other words iyi ikamakwera (when this one goes up) we expect investment kugwera eti (to go up again, not so?) Therefore we expect GDP kuta- (to do what?)

[Student]

Mmwayimvetsetsa? (have you understood it?) Yeah other things kept constant.

[Student]

Go on go on. Tachita kumuikira saundino saunditraki ameneyi (we've had to add a sound soundtrack to him) go on go on okay. Now there is a point which says kuti ku (that in) USA in USA after Second World War the household savings they were they were low. Okay, but their GDP went up. It grew. How? Cause if it's low, investment low, GDP low, other things kept constant.

[Student]

If consumption ili yambiri (is more) what will happen?

[Student]

Uh huh therefore?

[Student]

How?

[Student]

Consumption tikungochulutsa kugula ndiye tikuchepetsa (we are just buying more which means we are reducing) savings which is a case of Malawi and I think akunenani kaya ndi achani awa (you have been criticised by who is that?) amalawi (malawians) you don't have chani (what) the the mtima woseva (a heart to save). Luckily enough I did a a a survey on- not a surv- but my dissertation was the determinants of savings in Malawi.

[Student]

Yeah when I was doing undergraduate

[Student]

Undergraduate that's your degree tikati digiri ndiye kuti ndi undergrad (when we say degree we mean undergraduate) postgraduate ndiye ndi masters (postgraduate then is masters).

[Student]

Uh huh

[Student]

A lot of consumption uh huh

[Student]

So here you are saying kuti ndiye kuti (that you are saying that it implies) which it domestic, so the they should be a domestic there should be like a ndiye kuti tili ndi (it implies that we have a) restriction kuti (that) for domestic okay fine but let's say kuti (that) there is no restriction.

[Student]

How? There is no restriction.

[Student]

There is no restriction, it is still open. Yes, yes.

[Student]

How?

[Student]

You say that this only increases aggregate demand when it's domestic.

[Student]

Now let's say it's open open market now, international whatever will it increase?

[Student]

How?

[Student]

Uh huh

[Student]

Alright according to you

[Student]

No according to him not according to him he said what he said that at first is true this one if this one increases if if this decreases this one will think kuti (that) it will increase eti (not so) and it can increase aggregate demand and aggregate supply only if if and only if it's domestic if it's not domestic no it won't now ku (to) use that time they were closed economy no they were open economy okay he is the answer.

[Student]

uh huh uh huh

[Student]

Continue

[Student]

Hrm, hrm.

[Student]

Here the savings here ya apa apapa (for here) tikamalowa gdp (when we go into GDP) I mean GDP timayamba ndi closed economy eti (we start with a closed economy) then at the end we end up being in an open economy eti (not so). Savings ya apa (for here) ndiye imayamba ndi ya domestic (then it starts with the domestic). Right as a closed economy but now since takhalano chonchi (we are like this) this means it's an open economy eti (not so) meaning we can have foreign investors nkumadzabweranso apa (and coming back to here) savings ya apa ndi apa (for here and there) I mean savings ya uku (from there) kulowa mu investmenti (going into investment and foreign investors) okay.

Now USA inali (was) poor but they had a good foreign investors, good policies for foreign investors which Malawi is lacking chifukwa ngati apapa tili poor (because of we are poor like this) domestically tikud- (we could) but we could have had good policies for foreign investors kuti chizkwerabe (so that is should be rising) but now look at magetsi zomwe akupanga (what electricity is doing) can a foreign investor come here in Malawi, madzi zomwe ama panga (water what it is doing) can a foreign investor come here in Malawi.

But they had this ones they had good policies for this meaning their GDP was good I can ask a question there kuti (that) USA after first world war domestic savings inali (was) low

but their relative GDP it grew or their relative investment grew why? They had good policies for foreign investors.

Nthawi ndikudzaiwona kuti yatha nane nkapume before I enter in another class (looking at the time now, it is up, I too should go and rest).

You said Cook Douglas mukumudziwa eti? (you should you know Cook Douglas not so?). Guys

I hope mukumudziwa ameneyi (you know him).

[Student]

Inter-

[Student]

From here mukakumbukira (when you remember) just econometrics from here you can you can you can do regression eh model from here.

[Student]

Where let's say ikhala y (it is going to be y) is equal to beta zero plus beta one l plus beta 2 k plus

[Student]

Eh

[Student]

It's what, no.

[Student]

Iyayi mukufuna mpaka a summation of (No you even want a summation of).

Ah, you see those things eti kwambiri zimakhala (mostly they are), ah prac- not practical but eh eh theory the the summation of chani (what) finding a squared chani (what) but if if you talk of practical yake (it's practical) r squared is there amakhala kuti wapangidwa kale (it's already been included).

Okay fine. Bwena, simunapange summarise (haven't you summarised)?

[Student]

The actual document ndimene ndimanena kuti mundipangira chaniyo email (is the one you said that you are going to email it to me)?

[Student]

Ah n'napereka sindingaperekenso kachiwiri (I already gave it to you I cannot give it to you again).

[Student]

Sindimayika m'ma flash (I don't put it in flash).

[Student]

Sindimaloleza ma flash (I don't allow the use of flashes), sorry, flashi ma virus (flash has got viruses).

[Student]

How do you know sinalowa pa pc pena (did it not enter into a different pc).

[Student]

Ayise uli ndi tishu? (My friend do you have a tissue?)

[Student]

Bwena tishu tigaireni (Bwena share me a tissue). Why, okay bweretsa ma dreads ako tipukutire (bring your dreads we should use to wipe).

[Student]

Ndi ya white (is it white?) Pasavute (I hope there won't be a problem).

[Student]

Aye eti trauzali likanavuta (the trousers is going to be difficult).

[Student]

Sifoni yanga (it's not my phone). Itiyo (which one?) Mukanditumizire (send it to me).

[Student]

Mwatumiza (have you already sent it?). Eh are you sure should I check?

[Student]

Let me see your name is who

Oh forty four, one, forty four

Mwatumiza pompano mani (you've just sent it just now man) Mwatumiza pompano (you have sent it just now) like an hour an hour ago.

Eh

Ah ine mukuti kale kale ine kumati mwina dzulo (you said ages ago and I was thinking perhaps yesterday) then I was wondering what ah ah I always I always check my emails, every day three times a day.

Bibliography

Abongdia, J. F. A. (2014) Ideologies and Attitudes of Foundation Students at a Multilingual University. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences* Vol 5 (4). pp415-422.

Abushafa, M. (2014) *Changing Practices in a Developing Country: The Issues of Teaching English in Libyan Higher Education*. Unpublished PhD thesis. De Montfort University.

Adamson, J., and Fujimoto-Adamson, N. (2012) Translanguaging in Self-Access Language Advising: Informing Language Policy. *Studies in Self-Access Learning Journal* Vol 3 (1). pp59-73.

Adamson, J. L. (2006) The Semi-Structured Interview. *Bulletin of Shinshu Honan Junior College* Vol 23. pp1-22.

Adegbija, E. (1994) *Language Attitudes in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Adendorff, R. (1993) Codeswitching Amongst Zulu-Speaking Teachers and Their Pupils: Its Functions and Implications for Teacher Education. *Language and Education* Vol 7 (3). pp141-162.

Adriosh, M. M., and Razi, O. (2016) Investigating Nigerian University Students' Perceptions Towards English Language Dominance Over Their Indigenous Languages. *The Eurasia Proceedings of Educational and Social Sciences* Vol 5. pp206-213.

Agheyisi, R., and Fishman, J. (1970) Language Attitude Studies: A Brief Survey of Methodological Approaches. *Anthropological Linguistics* Vol 12 (5). pp137-157.

Ajepe, I. (2014) Investigating the Attitude of Undergraduate Students Towards the Use of Mother Tongue. *International Journal on Studies in English Language and Literature* Vol 2 (7). pp122-130.

Albaugh, E. A. (2009) The Colonial Image Reversed: Language Preferences and Policy Outcomes in African Education. *International Studies Quarterly* Vol 53 (2). pp389-420.

Albaugh, E. A. (2014) *State-Building and Multilingual Education in Africa.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Alebiosu, T. A. (2016) Language Attitudes and the Issue of Dominance: The Nigerian Experience. *English Language, Literature and Culture* Vol 1 (3). pp21-29.

Alenezi, A. (2012) Students' Language Attitudes Towards Using Code-Switching as a Medium of Instruction in the College of Health Science: An Exploratory Study. *The Annual Review of Education, Communication, and Language Sciences* Vol 7. pp1-22.

Alexandre, P. (1972) *An Introduction to Languages and Language in Africa*. London: Heinemann Educational Books.

Al-Ghazali, F. (2014) A Critical Overview of Designing and Conducting Focus Groups in Applied Linguistics Research. *American Journal of Educational Research* Vol 2 (1). pp6-12.

Alimi, M. M., and Matiki, A. J. (2017) Translanguaging in Nigerian and Malawian Online Newspaper Readers' Comments. *International Journal of Multilingualism* Vol 14 (2). pp202-218.

Amorrortu, E. (2003) *Basque Sociolinguistics: Language, Society, and Culture.* Reno, Nevada: Center for Basque Studies.

Anderson, B. (1983) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

Andrade, M. S., and Evans, N. W. (2013) *Principles and Practices for Response in Second Language Writing: Developing Self-Regulated Learners*. New York: Routledge.

Angouri, J. (2010) Combining Methods in Linguistic Research. In Litosseliti, L. (ed.) *Research Methods in Linguistics*. London: Continuum. pp29-48.

Anyidoho, A. and Kropp-Dakubu M. E. (2008) Language, Nationalism and National Identity in Ghana. In Simpson, A. (ed.) *Language and National Identity in Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp141-157.

Arcand, J. L., and Grin, F. (2013) Language in Economic Development: Is English Special and is Linguistic Fragmentation Bad? In Erling, E., and Sergeant, P. (eds.) *English and Development: Policy, Pedagogy and Globalization*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters. pp243-267.

Arkorful, K. (2014) Ghana's Complementary Education Program. In Zsiga, E.C., Boyer, O.T., and Kramer, R. (eds.) *Languages in Africa: Multilingualism, Language Policy, and Education*. Georgetown: Georgetown University Press. pp71-80.

Arnett, J. J. (2002) The Psychology of Globalization. *American Psychologist* Vol 57 (10). pp774-783.

Aronin, L. (2012) Material Culture of Multilingualism and Affectivity. *Studies in Second Language Learning and Teaching* Vol 2 (2). pp179-191.

Aronin, L., Laoire, M., and Singleton, D. (2011) The Multiple Faces of Multilingualism: Language Nominations. In Wei, L. (ed.) *Applied Linguistics Review 2.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. pp169-191.

Arthur, J. (1996) Code-Switching and Collusion: Classroom Interaction in Botswana Primary Schools. *Linguistics and Education* Vol 8 (1). pp17-33.

Arzoz, X. (2007) The Nature of Language Rights. *JEMIE - Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe.* Vol 6 (2). pp1-35.

Austin, P. K., and Sallabank, J. (2011) Introduction. In Austin, P. K., and Sallabank, J. (eds.) *The Cambridge Handbook of Endangered Languages.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp1-24.

Awobuluyi, O. (2013) Official Language Policies in Africa. In Orie, O., and Sanders, K. (eds.) *Selected Proceedings of the 43rd Annual Conference on African Linguistics*. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project. pp68-76.

Ayub, M. (2013) Attitudinal Factors as Determinants of Language of Educational Instruction in Kenya: A Case Study of Nairobi. *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences* Vol 3 (14). pp41-45.

Aziakpono, P., and Bekker, I. (2010) The Attitudes of isiXhosa-Speaking Students Toward Language of Learning and Teaching Issues at Rhodes University, South Africa: General Trends. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* Vol 28 (1). pp39-60.

Bagwasi, M. M. (2017) A critique of Botswana's Language Policy from a Translanguaging Perspective. *Current Issues in Language Planning* Vol 18 (2). pp199-214.

Baker, C. (1992) *Attitudes and Language.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Baker, C. (2001) *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 5th Edition. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Baker, C., and Jones, S. P. (1998) *Encyclopaedia of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Bakhtin, M. (1981) *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays.* Holquist, M. (ed.). Translated by Emerson, C., and Holquist, M. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bakhtin, M. (1986) *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*. Emerson, C., and Holquist, M. Austin (eds.). Translated by McGee, V. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Baldauf, R., and Kaplan, R. (2004) Language Policy and Planning in Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique and South Africa: Some Common Issues. In Baldauf, R., and Kaplan, R. (eds.) *Language Planning and Policy in Africa, Vol 1: Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique and South Africa*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. pp5-20.

Balfour, R. (2007) University Language Policies, Internationalism, Multilingualism, and Language Development in South Africa and the UK. *Cambridge Journal of Education* Vol 37 (1). pp35–49.

Bamgbose, A. (1991) *Language and the Nation*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Bamgbose, A. (2004) *Language of Instruction Policy and Practice in Africa*. Available at: http://www.unesco.org/education/languages_2004/languageinstruction_africa.pdf. Last accessed: September 2018.

Bamgbose, A. (2011) African Languages Today: The Challenge of and Prospects for Empowerment under Globalization. In Bokamba, E. G., Shosted, R. K., and Ayalew, B. Z. (eds.) *Selected Proceedings of the 40th Annual Conference on African Linguistics*. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project. pp1-14.

Bamgbose, A. (2014) The Language Factor in Development Goals. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* Vol 35 (7). pp646-657.

Bangeni, B., and Kapp, R. (2007) Shifting Language Attitudes in Linguistically Diverse Learning Environment in South Africa. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* Vol 28 (4). pp235-269.

Barnett, J., Deng, R., and Yoasa, N. B. (2008) Post-Conflict Issues at the University of Juba, Southern Sudan: Policies, Proficiencies and Practicalities. *The Australasian Review of African Studies* Vol 29 (1&2). pp92-103.

Basit, T. N. (2003) Manual or Electronic? The Role of Coding in Qualitative Data Analysis. *Educational Research* Vol 45 (2). pp143-154.

Batibo, H. (2007) Language Use Optimisation as a Strategy for National Development. In Coleman, H. (ed.) *Language and Development: Africa and Beyond, Proceedings of the 7th International Language and Development Conference. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. 26th-28th October 2005.* Addis Ababa: British Council. pp12-21.

Batibo, H. (2014) Searching for an Optimal National Language Policy for Sustainable Development. In McIlwraith, H. (ed.) *The Cape Town Language and Development Conference: Looking Beyond 2015.* London: British Council. pp16-20.

Bayiga, F. T. (2016) *Profiles of Multilingualism in Kampala: An Analysis of Language Biographies and Language Repertoires of University Students.* Unpublished PhD thesis. Stellenbosch University.

Bello, Y., Ogundele, M. O., Agboola, F. M., and Akande, E. I. (2015) Teaching and Learning of English Language by the French Students in Porto-Nove, Benin Republic. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education, Arts and Sciences* Vol 2 (1). pp1-5.

Benson, C. (2008) *Language "Choice" in Education*. Cape Town: PRAESA.

Beyogle, R. (2014) Language Contact and Language Attitudes in Two Dagara-Speaking Border Communities in Burkina Faso and Ghana. In Zsiga, E.C., Boyer, O.T., and Kramer, R. (eds.) *Languages in Africa: Multilingualism, Language Policy, and Education.* Georgetown: Georgetown University Press. pp81-91.

Billson, J. (2006) Conducting Focus Group Research Across Cultures: Consistency and Comparability. *Wellbeing in Developing Countries Working Paper 27.* Available at: http://www.bath.ac.uk/soc-pol/welldev/research/workingpaperpdf/wed27.pdf. Last accessed: September 2018.

Bisong, J. (1995) Language Choice and Cultural Imperialism: A Nigerian Perspective. *ELT Journal* Vol 49 (2). pp122-132.

Blommaert, J. (2008) Artefactual Ideologies and the Textual Production of African Languages. *Language and Communication* Vol 28. pp291-307.

Blommaert, J., and Rampton, B. (2011) Language and Superdiversity. *Diversities* Vol 13 (2). pp3-21.

Bolton, K., and Kuteeva, M. (2012) English as an Academic Language at a Swedish University: Parallel Language Use and the 'Threat' of English. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* Vol 33 (5). pp429-447.

Bourhis, R. Y., Giles, H., and Tajifel, H. (1973) Language as a Determinant of Welsh Identity. *European Journal of Social Psychology* Vol 3 (4). pp447-460.

Boyer, A. T., and Zsiga, E. C. (2014) Language and Education Policy in Botswana: The Case of Sebirwa. In Zsiga, E.C., Boyer, O.T., and Kramer, R. (eds.) *Languages in Africa: Multilingualism, Language Policy, and Education.* Georgetown: Georgetown University Press. pp92-101.

Breton, R. (2003) Sub-Saharan Africa. In Maurais, J. (ed.) *Languages in a Globalising World.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp203-217.

British Association for Applied Linguistics (2006) *Recommendations on Good Practice in Applied Linguistics.* Available at: http://www.baal.org.uk/dox/goodpractice_full.pdf. Last accessed: August 2018.

Brock-Utne, B. (2003) Formulating Higher Education Policies in Africa: The Pressure from External Forces and the Neoliberal Agenda. *Journal of Higher Education in Africa* Vol 1 (1). pp24-56.

Bruthiaux, P. (2003) 21st Century Trends in Language and Economics. *Current Issues in Language Planning* Vol 4 (1). pp84-90.

Bulajeva, T., and Hogan-Brun, G. (2014) Internationalisation of Higher Education and Nation Building: Resolving Language Policy Dilemmas in Lithuania. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* Vol 35 (4). pp318-331.

Bullock, B. E., and Toribio, A. J. (2009). Themes in the Study of Code-Switching. In Bullock, B. E., and Toribio, A. J. (eds.) *The Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Code-Switching.* New York, NY, US: Cambridge University Press. pp1-17.

Byram, A. (2012) *Social Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cambridge English (2016) *English at Work: Global Analysis of Language Skills in the Workplace.* Cambridge: Cambridge English.

Canagarajah, S. (1995) Functions of Codeswitching in ESL Classrooms: Socialising Bilingualism in Jaffna. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* Vol 16 (3). pp173-195.

Canagarajah, S. (2011a) Codemeshing in Academic Writing: Identifying Teachable Strategies of Translanguaging. *The Modern Language Journal* Vol 95 (3). pp401-417.

Canagarajah, S. (2011b) Translanguaging in the Classroom: Emerging Issues for Research and Pedagogy. *Applied Linguistics Review* Vol 2. pp1-28.

Carroll, K. S., and van den Hoven, M. (2016) Translanguaging within Higher Education in the United Arab Emirates. In Mazak, C. and Carroll, K. S. (eds.) *Translanguaging in Higher Education: Beyond Monolingual Ideologies.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters. pp139-154.

Catalano, T., and Hamann, E. T. (2016) Multilingual Pedagogies and Pre-Service Teachers: Implementing "Language as a Resource" Orientations in Teacher Education Programs. *Bilingual Research Journal* Vol 39 (3&4). pp263-278.

Chakrani, B., and Huang, J. L. (2014) The Work of Ideology: Examining Class, Language Use, and Attitudes Among Moroccan University Students. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* Vol 17 (1). pp1-14.

Chambers, J. K. (2003) *Sociolinguistic Theory*. Cornwall: Blackwell Publishing.

Childs, M. (2016) Reflecting on Translanguaging in Multilingual Classrooms: Harnessing the Power of Poetry and Photography. *Educational Research for Social Change (ESRC)* Vol 5 (1). pp22-40.

Chilora, H. G. (2000) School Language Policy Research and Practice in Malawi. *Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) 2000 Conference.* 8th-12th

March 2000. San Antonio, Texas, USA. Available at: pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/pnack274.pdf. Last accessed: September 2018.

Chimbganda, B., and Mokgwathi, T. (2012) Code-Switching in Botswana's ESL Classrooms: A Paradox of Linguistic Policy in Education. *International Journal of English Linguistics* Vol 2 (2). pp21-32.

Chimbutane, F. (2017) Language Policies and the Role of Development Agencies in Postcolonial Mozambique. *Current Issues in Language Planning* Vol 18 (4). pp356-370.

Chiwanda, M. (4th March 2014) Pupils to be taught in English from STD1. In *The Nation.* Blantyre: Malawi.

Christian, D. (1988) Language Planning: The View from Linguistics. In Newmeyer, F. J. (ed.) *Linguistics: The Cambridge Survey*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp193-209.

CIA (2018) *The World Factbook 2018: Africa, Malawi*. Washington, DC: Central Intelligence Agency. Available at: https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/mi.html. Last accessed: September 2018

Clegg, J., and Afitska, O. (2011) Teaching and Learning in Two Languages in African Classrooms. *Comparative Education* Vol 47 (1). pp51-77.

Clegg, J., and Simpson, J. (2016) Improving the Effectiveness of English as a Medium of Instruction in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Comparative Education* Vol 52 (3). pp359-374.

Cogneau, D. and Moradi, A. (2014) Borders That Divide: Education and Religion in Ghana and Togo Since Colonial Times. *The Journal of Economic History* Vol 74 (3). pp694-729.

Coleman, H. (2010) *English in Development.* London: British Council.

Coleman, H. (2011) Developing Countries and the English Language: Rhetoric, Risks, Roles and Recommendations. In Coleman, H. (ed.) *Dreams and Realities: Developing Countries and the English Language.* London: British Council. pp9-22.

Coleman, H. (2017) Milestones in Language Planning and Development Aid. *Current Issues in Language Planning* Vol 18 (4). pp442-468.

Conduah, A. N. (2003) Introducing an African Language for Teaching and Learning at Wits University. *Nordic Journal of African Studies* Vol 12 (3). pp245-264.

Cooper, R. L. (1989) *Language Planning and Social Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Copland, F., and Creese, A. (2015) *Linguistic Ethnography: Collecting, Analysing and Presenting Data*. California: Sage Publications.

Coulmas, F. (1992) *Language and Economy*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Creese, A. (2017) Translanguaging as an Everyday Practice. In Paulsrudd, B., Rosén, J., Straszer, B., and Wedin, Å. (eds.) *New Perspectives on Translanguaging and Education.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters. pp1-9.

Creese, A., and Blackledge, A. (2010) Translanguaging in the Bilingual Classroom: A Pedagogy for Learning and Teaching. *The Modern Language Journal* Vol 94 (1). pp103-115.

Creese, A., and Blackledge, A. (2015) Translanguaging and Identity in Educational Settings. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* Vol 35. pp20-35.

Creese, A., Blackledge, A., Caraç, T., Bhatt, A., Hamid, S., Wei, L., Lytra, A., Martin, P., Wu, C. J., and Yağcioğlu, D. (2011) Separate and Flexible Bilingualism in Complementary Schools: Multiple Language Practices in Interrelationship. *Journal of Pragmatics* Vol 43 (5). pp1196-1208.

Creese, A., Blackledge, A., and Hu, R (2016) Noticing and Commenting on Social Difference: A Translanguaging and Translation Perspective. *Working Papers in Translanguaging and Translation* (WP. 10).

Creese A., Takhi J.K., and Blackledge A. (2015) Metacommentary in Linguistic Ethnography. In Snell J., Shaw S., and Copland F. (eds.) *Linguistic Ethnography. Palgrave Advances in Language and Linguistics*. Palgrave Macmillan: London. pp266-284.

Creswell, J., and Clark, V. (2011) *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research.* California: Sage Publications.

Crystal, D. (2003) *English as a Global Language* 2nd edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crystal, D. (2010) *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Language* 3rd edition. Cambridge*:* Cambridge University Press.

Dalvit, L., and de Klerk, V. (2005) Attitudes of Xhosa-Speaking Students at The University of Fort Hare Towards the Use of Xhosa as a Language of Learning and Teaching (LOLT). *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* Vol 23 (1). pp1-18.

Darquennes, J., and Nelde, P. H. (2005) Multilingualism and Language Planning. In Sujoldzic, A. (ed.) *Encyclopaedia of Life Support Systems (EOLSS - Developed under the auspices of the UNESCO).* Oxford: EOLSS Publishers. Available at: http://www.eolss.net/. Last accessed: September 2018.

Dearden, J. (2014) *English as Medium of Instruction.* London: British Council.

Daryai-Hansen, P., Barfod, S., and Schwarz, L. (2016) A Call for (Trans)languaging: The Language Profiles at Roskilde University. In Mazak, C., and Carroll, K. S. (eds.) *Translanguaging in Higher Education: Beyond Monolingual Ideologies.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters. pp29-49.

de Jong, E. J., Li, Z., Zafar, A. M., and Wu, C. H. (2016) Language Policy in Multilingual Contexts: Revisiting Ruiz's "Language-as-Resource" Orientation. *Bilingual Research Journal* Vol 39 (3&4). pp200-212.

Dewilde, J. (2017) Multilingual Young People as Writers in a Global Age. In Paulsrudd, B., Rosén, J., Straszer, B., and Wedin, Å. (eds.) *New Perspectives on Translanguaging and Education.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters. pp56-71.

Dimmendaal, G. J. (2015) Different Cultures, Different Attitudes: But How Different is "the African Situation" Really? In Essegbey, J., Henderson, B., and McLaughlin, F. (eds.) *Language Documentation and Endangerment in Africa.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins. pp37-58.

Ditsele, T. (2016) Attitudes Held by Setswana L1-Speaking University Students Toward Their L1: New Variables. *South African Journal of African Languages* Vol 36 (1). pp1-13.

Djite, P. (1990) The Place of African Language in the Revival of the Francophonie Movement. *International Journal of Sociology* Vol 86 (1). pp87-102.

Djite, P. (2008) *The Sociolinguistics of Development in Africa*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Doiz, A., and Lasagabaster, D. (2016) Teachers' Beliefs about Translanguaging Practices. In Mazak, C., and Carroll, K. S. (eds.) *Translanguaging in Higher Education: Beyond Monolingual Ideologies.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters. pp155-174.

Doiz, A., Lasagabaster, D., and Sierra, J. M. (2013) *English-Medium Instruction at Universities: Global Challenges.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Dominic, P. A. (2011) *Language Practices and Identities of Multilingual Students in a Western Cape Tertiary Institution: Implications for Teaching and Learning*. Unpublished MA thesis. University of the Western Cape.

Dörnyei, Z. (2007) *Research Methods in Applied Linguistics.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dörnyei, Z., Csizér, K., and Németh, N. (2006) *Motivation, Language Attitudes, and Globalisation: A Hungarian Perspective*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Dovchin S., Pennycook A., and Sultana S. (2018) *Culture, Voice and Linguistic Diversity. Language and Globalization*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Dreachslin, J. L. (1999) Focus Groups as a Quality Improvement Technique: A Case Example from Health Administration Education. *Quality Assurance in Education* Vol 7 (4). pp224-233.

Dressler, W., and Oths, K. (2015) Social Survey Methods. In Bernard, H., and Gravlee, C. (eds.) *Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield. pp497-518.

Drogojevic, M. (2017) Language Attitudes. *Oxford Research Encyclopaedia of Communication.* Available at: http://communication.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228613-e-437. Last accessed: September 2018.

Drummond, A. (2016) An Analysis of Language Policy Versus Practice in Two South African Universities. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* Vol 34 (1). pp71-79.

Duong, V. A., and Chua, C. S. (2016) English as a Symbol of Internationalization in Higher Education: A Case Study of Vietnam. *Higher Education Research and Development* Vol 35 (4). pp669-683.

Dyers, C. (1997) An Investigation into Current Attitudes Towards English at the University of the Western Cape. *Per Linguam* Vol 13 (1). pp29-38.

Dyers, C. (2013) Multilingualism in Late-Modern Africa: Identity, Mobility and Multivocality. *International Journal of Bilingualism* Vol 19 (2). pp226-235.

Dyers, C., and Abongdia, J. F. (2014) Ideology, Policy and Implementation: Comparative Perspectives from Two African Universities. *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics* Vol 43. pp1-21.

Early, M., and Norton, B. (2014) Revisiting English as Medium of Instruction in Rural African Classrooms. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* Vol 35 (7). pp647-691.

Edley, N., and Litosseliti, L. (2010) Contemplating Interviews and Focus Groups. In Litosseliti, L. (ed.) *Research Methods in Linguistics*. London: Continuum. pp155-179.

Ekkehard Wolff, H. (2016) *Language and Development in Africa: Perceptions, Ideologies and Challenges.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ekkehard Wolff, H. (2017) Language Ideologies and the Politics of Language in Post-Colonial Africa. *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics Plus* Vol 51. pp1-22.

Erling, E. (2017) Language Planning, English Language Education and Development Aid in Bangladesh. *Current Issues in Language Planning* Vol 18 (4). pp388-406.

Erling, E. J., Adinolfi, L., and Hultgren, A. K. (2017) *Multilingual Classrooms: Opportunities and Challenges for English Medium Instruction in Low- and Middle-Income Contexts*. The Open University. Available at: https://www.theewf.org/uploads/pdf/r-english-medium-instruction-in-low-and-middle-income-contexts.pdf. Last accessed: September 2018.

Erling, E., Obaidul, H. M., and Seargeant, P. (2010) Grassroots Attitudes to the Positioning of English as a Language for International Development. *Sociolinguistics Symposium 18: Negotiating Transnational Space and Multilingual Encounters*, 1st-4th September 2010, Southampton, UK.

Erling, E., and Seargeant, P. (2013) Introduction: English and Development. In Erling, E., and Sergeant, P. (eds.) *English and Development: Policy, Pedagogy and Globalization*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters. pp1-20.

Erling, E., Seargeant, P., Michael, S., Qumrul Hasan, C., and Sayeedur, R. (2012) *Attitudes to English as a Language for International Development in Rural Bangladesh.* London: British Council.

Ferguson, G. (2003) Classroom Code-Switching in Post-Colonial Contexts: Functions, Attitudes and Policies. *AILA Review Africa and Applied Linguistics* Vol 14. pp38-51.

Ferguson, G. (2006) *Language Planning and Education.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Ferguson, G. (2009) What next? Towards an agenda for classroom codeswitching research. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* Vol 12 (2). pp231-241.

Ferguson, G. (2013a) English, Development and Education: Charting the Tensions. In Erling, E., and Sergeant, P. (eds.) *English and Development: Policy, Pedagogy and Globalization*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters. pp21-44.

Ferguson, G. (2013b) The Language of Instruction Issue: Reality, Aspiration and the Wider Context. In McIlwraith, H. (ed.) *Multilingual Education in Africa: Lessons from the Juba Language-in-Education Conference.* London: British Council. pp17-22.

Fern, E. (1982) The Use of Focus Groups for Idea Generation: The Effects of Group Size, Acquaintanceship, and Moderator on Response Quantity and Quality. *The Journal of Market Research* Vol 19 (1). pp1-13.

Fisher, R. (1993) Social Desirability Bias and the Validity of Indirect Questions. *Journal of Consumer Research* Vol 20. pp303-315.

Fishman, J. (1965) Bilingualism, Intelligence and Language Learning. *The Modern Language Journal* Vol 49 (4). pp227-237.

Fishman, J. (1968) Nationality-Nationalism and Nation-Nationism. In Fishman, J. (ed.) *Language Problems of Developing Nations*. New York: John Wiley and Sons. pp39-52.

Fishman, J. (1974) Language Modernization and Planning in Comparison with other Types of National Modernization and Planning. In Fishman, J. (ed.) *Advances in Language Planning.* Berlin: de Gruyter. pp79-102.

Flores, N., and Rosa, J. (2015) Undoing Appropriateness: Raciolinguistic Ideologies and Language Diversity in Education. *Harvard Educational Review* Vol 85 (2). pp149-171.

Freitas, H., Oliveira, M., Jenkins, M., and Popjoy, O. (1998) The Focus Group, a Qualitative Research Method. *ISRC Working Paper No. 010298.* ISRC, Merrick School of Business, University of Baltimore.

Gadelli, K. (1999) *Language Planning: Theory and Practice. Evaluation of Language Planning Cases Worldwide.* Paris: UNESCO.

García, O. (2009) *Bilingual Education in the 21st Century*. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.

García, O. (2014) Countering the Dual: Transglossia, Dynamic Bilingualism and Translanguaging in Education. In Rubdy, R., and Alsagoff, L. (eds.) *The Global-Local Interface, Language Choice and Hybridity*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters. pp100-118.

García, O., and Lin, A. M. Y. (2017) Translanguaging in Bilingual Education. In García O., Lin, A. M. Y., and May, S. (eds.) *Bilingual and Multilingual Education. Encyclopaedia of Language and Education* 3rd edition. Cham: Springer. pp117-130.

García, O., and Torres-Guevara, R. (2009) Monoglossic Ideologies and Language Policies in the Education of U.S. Latinas/os. In Mutillo, E. G., Villena, S. A., Galván, R. T., Muñoz, J. S., Martínez, C., and Machado-Casas, M. (eds.) *Handbook of Latinos and Education.* Abingdon: Routledge.

García, O. and Wei, L. (2014) *Translanguaging: Language, Bilingualism and Education.* London: Palgrave.

Gardner, R. C., and MacIntyre, P. D. (1991) An Instrumental Motivation in Language Study: Who Says It Isn't Effective. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* Vol 13 (1). pp57-72.

Gardner-Chloros, P. (2009) *Code-Switching.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Garrett, P (2010) *Attitudes to Language.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Garrett, P., and Balsà, L. G. (2014) International Universities and Implications of Internationalisation for Minority Languages: Views from University Students in Catalonia and Wales. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* Vol 35 (4). pp361-375.

Garrett, P., Coupland, N., and Williams, A. (2003) *Investigating Language Attitudes: Social Meanings of Dialect, Ethnicity and Performance.* Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Gibbs, A. (1997) Focus Groups. *Social Research Update 19.* Available at: http://sru.soc.surrey.ac.uk/SRU19.html. Last accessed: June 2018.

Giles, H., and Edwards, J. R. (2010) Attitudes to Language: Past, Present, and Future. In Malmkjaer, K. (ed.) *The Routledge Linguistics Encyclopaedia* 3rd edition. London: Routledge. pp35-40.

Giles, H., and Marlow, M. L. (2011) Theorizing Language Attitudes Existing Frameworks, an Integrative Model, and New Directions. *Annals of the International Communication Association* Vol 35 (1). pp161-197.

Gillham, B. (2000) *The Research Interview.* London: Continuum.

González-Vilbazo, K., Bartlett, L., Downey, S., Elbert, S., Heil, J., Hoot, B., Koronkiewicz, B., and Ramos, S. (2013) Methodological Considerations in Code-Switching Research. *Studies in Hispanic and Lusophone Linguistics* Vol 6 (1). pp119-138.

Gorter, D., and Cenoz, J. (2015) Translanguaging and Linguistic Landscapes. *Linguistic Landscape* Vol 1 (1&2). pp54-74.

Gorter, D. and Cenoz, J. (2017) Language Education Policy and Multilingual Assessment. *Language and Education* Vol 31 (3). pp231-248.

Gorter, D., Cenoz, J., Nunes, P., Riganti, P., Onofri, L., Puzzo, B., and Sachdeba, R. (n.d.) Benefits of Linguistic Diversity and Multilingualism. *Sustainable Development in a Diverse World (SUS. DIV) Position Paper, Research Task, 1.2.* Available at: http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.551.5009andrep=rep1andtype=pdf. Last accessed: September 2018.

Government of Malawi. *Official Website.* Available at: http://www.malawi.gov.mw/. Last accessed: September 2018.

Government of Malawi (1998) *Constitution of the Republic of Malawi.* Lilongwe: Government of Malawi.

Government of Malawi (2017) *The Malawi Growth and Development Strategy (MGDS) III (2017-2022).* Government of Malawi. Available at: http://www.scotland-malawipartnership.org/files/4115/2294/0024/UNDP_Malawi_MGDS_III.pdf. Last accessed: September 2018.

Graddol, D. (2006) *English Next.* London: British Council.

Grimes, B. F. (1996) *Ethnologue: Languages of the World.* USA: The Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Grin, F. (2003) Language Planning and Economics. *Current Issues in Language Planning* Vol 4 (1). pp1-66.

Grin, F., Gazzola, M., and Vaillancourt, F. (2015) The Economic Evaluation of Language Policy and Planning: An Introduction to Existing Work. *ELF Working Paper No. 19.* Geneva: University of Geneva.

Groff, C. (2016) Multilingual Policies and Practices in Indian Higher Education. In Mazak, C., and Carroll, K. S. (eds.) *Translanguaging in Higher Education: Beyond Monolingual Ideologies.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters. pp119-139.

Grosjean, F. (1982) *Life with Two Languages*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Grosjean, F. (1989) Neurolinguists Beware! The Bilingual is Not Two Monolinguals in One Person. *Brain and Language* Vol 36. pp3-15.

Guest, G., Namey, E. E., and Mitchell, M. L. (2013) *Collecting Qualitative Data: A Field Manual for Applied Research*. London: Sage.

Gumperz, J. (1982) *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Guy, G. (1988) Language and Social Class. In Neymeyer, F. (ed.) *The Cambridge Survey Volume 4, Language: The Socio-Cultural Context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp47-64.

Guzula, X., McKinney, C., and Tyler, R. (2016) Languaging-for-Learning: Legitimising Translanguaging and Enabling Multimodal Practices in Third Spaces. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies.* Vol 34 (3). pp211-226.

Gwengwe, C. (10th March 2014). Letter to the Editor. In *The Nation.* Blantyre: Malawi.

Hallet, D., Chandler, M. J., and Lalonde, C. E. (2007) Aboriginal Language Knowledge and Youth Suicide. *Cognitive Development* Vol 22. pp392-399.

Halvorsen, T. A. (2010) The ICT Influence on the Choice of Language in Higher Education in Tanzania: Pictures from Fieldwork at UDSM in 2008-2009. In Desai, Z., Qorro, M., and Brock-Utne, B. (eds.) *Educational Challenges in Multilingual Societies*. South Africa: African Minds. pp306-332.

Hamel, R. E. (1994) Indigenous Education in Latin America: Policies and Legal Frameworks. In Skutnabb-Kangas, T., and Phillipson, R. (eds.) *Linguistic Human Rights: Overcoming Linguistic Discrimination.* Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter. pp271-287.

Harrison, G. (2007) Language as a Problem, a Right or a Resource? A Study of How Bilingual Practitioners See Language Policy Being Enacted in Social Work. *Journal of Social Work* Vol 7 (1). pp71-92.

Haugen, E. (1950) The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing. *Language* Vol 26 (2). pp210-231.

Haugen, E. (1973) The Curse of Babel. *Daedalus* Vol 102 (3). pp47-57.

Haugen, E. (1987) Language Planning. In Ammon, U., Dittmer, N., and Mattheier, K. K. (eds.) *Sociolinguistics. Soziolinguistik. An International Handbook of the Science of Language and Society. Ein internationales Handbuch zur Wissenschaft von Sprache und Gesellschaft Volume 1*. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter. pp626-637.

He, P., Lai, H., and Lin, A. (2016) Translanguaging in a Multimodal Mathematics Presentation. In Mazak, C., and Carroll, K. S. (eds.) *Translanguaging in Higher Education: Beyond Monolingual Ideologies.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters. pp91-118.

Heller, M., and Martin-Jones, M. (2001) *Voices of Authority: Education and Linguistic Difference*. Westport CT: Ablex.

Heugh, K. (2002) The Case Against Bilingual and Multilingual Education in South Africa: Laying Bare the Myths: Many Languages in Education: Issues of Implementation. *Perspectives in Education* Vol 20 (1). pp171-196.

Heugh, K. (2013) Multilingual Education Policy in South Africa Constrained by Theoretical and Historical Disconnections. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* Vol 33. pp215-237.

Heugh, K. (2015) Epistemologies in Multilingual Education: Translanguaging and Genre – Companions in Conversation with Policy and Practice. *Language and Education* Vol 29 (3). pp280-285.

Hilton, N. H. (2010) University Students' Context-Dependent Conscious Attitudes Towards the Official South African Languages. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* Vol 28 (2). pp123-132.

Hornberger, N. H. (2002) Multilingual Language Policies and the Continua of Biliteracy: An Ecological Approach. *Language Policy* Vol 1 (1). pp27-51.

Hornberger, N. H., and Vaish, V. (2009) Multilingual Language Policy and School Linguistic Practice: Globalization and English-Language Teaching in India, Singapore and South Africa. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education.* Vol 33. pp305-320.

Huiskamp, J. (2016) *'I Am an Accomplished Speaker of Chibrazi': Chibrazi Language and Identity*. Unpublished BA thesis. Leiden University.

Hult, F. M., and Hornberger, N. H. (2016) Revisiting Orientations in Language Planning: Problem, Right, and Resource as an Analytical Heuristic. *The Bilingual Review* Vol 33 (3). pp30-40.

Hurst, E., and Mona, M. (2017) "Translanguaging" as a Socially Just Pedagogy. *Education as Change* Vol 21 (2). pp126-148.

Hutchison, J. P. (1997) Review of *Language Attitudes in Sub-Saharan Africa* by Efurosibina Adegbija. *African Studies Review* Vol 40 (1). pp190-193.

International Association of Universities (2013) *The Guide to Higher Education in Africa.* London: Palgrave.

Irakoze, S. J. (2015) *The Impact of English on Kirundi and French in Burundi: Use and Attitudes Among Burundian Students.* Unpublished MA thesis. University of Tlemcen.

Jalasi, E.M. (1999) *Semantic Shift in Chichewa Among Chancellor College Students*. Unpublished BA dissertation. University of Malawi.

Johnson, D. (2013) *Language Policy*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Johnson, J. (2001) In-Depth Interview. In Holstein, J. (ed.) *Handbook of Interview Research: Context and Method.* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications. pp103-120.

Jones, J. (2012) The Effect of Language Attitudes on Kenyan Stakeholder Involvement in Mother Tongue Policy Implementation. *The Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* Vol 33 (3). pp237-250.

Jonsson, C. (2017) Translanguaging and Ideology: Moving Away from a Monolingual Norm. In Paulsrudd, B., Rosén, J., Straszer, B., and Wedin, Å. (eds.) *New Perspectives on Translanguaging and Education.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters. pp20-37.

Kachru, B. (1991) Liberation Linguistics and the Quirk Concern. *English Today* Vol 7 (1). pp3-13.

Kalmanlehto, I. (2014) *Mixed Domains and Multilingual Practices: An Ethnographic Study of Tanzanian University Students' Language Use.* Unpublished MA thesis. University of Tampere.

Kamanga, C. (2014) Who Speaks Chibrazi, the Urban Contact Vernacular of Malawi? *Language Matters* Vol 45 (2). pp257-275.

Kamanga, C. (2016) *A Descriptive Analysis of Chibrazi the Urban Contact Vernacular Language of Malawi: A Focus on the Lexicon and Semantic Manipulation*. Unpublished DPhil thesis. University of Pretoria.

Kamowa, O.M. (1994) *Language Change: A Case Study of Language Change at Chancellor College*. Unpublished BA dissertation. University of Malawi.

Kamwangamalu, N. M. (2018) The Issue of the Medium of Instruction in Africa as an "Inheritance Situation". *Current Issues in Language Planning* Vol 19 (2). pp133-135.

Kamwangamalu, N. M., and Moyo, T. (2003) Some Characteristic Features of Englishes in Lesotho, Malawi and Swaziland. *Per Linguam* Vol 19 (1&2). pp39-54.

Kamwangamalu, N. M., and Tovares, A. (2016) English in Language Ideologies, Attitudes, and Educational Practices in Kenya and South Africa. *World Englishes* Vol 35 (3). pp421-439.

Kamwendo, G. (2003) Is Malawi Guilty of Spoiling the Queen's Language? *English Today* Vol 2. pp30-33.

Kamwendo, G. (2004a) *Language Policy in Health Services: Sociolinguistic Study of a Malawian Referral Hospital*. Unpublished PhD thesis. University of Helsinki.

Kamwendo, G. (2004b) 'Your Chitumbuka is Shallow. It's Not the Real Chitumbuka': Linguistic Purism Among Chitumbuka Speakers in Malawi. *Nordic Journal of African Studies* Vol 13 (3). pp275-288.

Kamwendo, G. (2005) Language Planning from Below: An Example from Northern Malawi. *Language Policy* 2005 (4). pp143-165.

Kamwendo, G. (2008) The Bumpy Road to Mother Tongue Instruction in Malawi. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* Vol 29 (5). pp353-363.

Kamwendo, G. (2010) Denigrating the Local, Glorifying the Foreign: Malawian language Policies in the Era of African Renaissance. *International Journal of African Renaissance Studies* Vol 5 (2). pp270-282.

Kamwendo, G. (2015) The Straight for English Policy in Malawi: The Road not to be Taken. In Miti, L. (ed.) *The Language of Instruction Question in Malawi*. Cape Town: CASAS. pp29-40.

Kanyumba, L. (5th March 2014) Malawi Std 1 Pupils to Start Learning in English in All Subjects. In *Nyasa Times*. Lilongwe: Malawi.

Kaplan, R., and Baldauf, R. (1997) *Language Planning: From Practice to Theory*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Kawulich, B. (2005) Participant Observation as a Data Collection Method. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research* Vol 6 (9). Available at: http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/466/996. Last accessed: September 2018.

Kayambazinthu, E. (1995) *Patterns of Language Use in Malawi: A Sociolinguistic Investigation into Selected Areas*. Unpublished PhD thesis. La Trobe University.

Kayambazinthu, E. (1998) The Language Planning Situation in Malawi. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* Vol 19 (5&6). pp369-439.

Kayambazinthu, E. (2000) Sociolinguistic Theories: Some Implications from Malawian Data. *Journal of Humanities* Vol 14. pp9-47.

Kayambazinthu, E. (2003) Language Rights and the Role of Minority Languages in National Development in Malawi. *Current Issues in Language Planning* Vol 4 (2). pp146-160.

Kelman, H. C. (1972) Language as an Aid and Barrier to Involvement in the National System. In Fishman, J. (ed.) *Advances in the Sociology of Language Volume 2.* The Hague: Mouton. pp185-212.

King, N. (2004) Using Templates in the Thematic Analysis of Text. In Cassell, C., and Symon, G. (eds.) *Essential Guide to Qualitative Methods in Organizational Research*. London: Sage Publications. pp256-287.

Kiramba, L. K. (2014) Classroom Discourse in Bilingual and Multilingual Kenyan Primary Schools. In Zsiga, E.C., Tlale, B. O., and Kramer, R. (eds.) *Languages in Africa: Multilingualism, Language Policy, and Education.* Georgetown: Georgetown University Press. pp49-58.

Kishindo, P. J. (1994) An Historical Survey of the Destabilization of Minority Languages in Malawi: The Case of Ciyao. *Logos* Vol 14. pp96-115.

Kishindo, P. J. (2001) Language and the Law in Malawi: A Case for the Use of Indigenous Languages in the Legal System. *Language Matters* Vol 32 (1). pp1-27.

Kishindo, P. J (2008) *Language Mapping for the Southern and Central Region of Malawi*. Blantyre: University of Malawi.

Kishindo, P. J. (2015) The Bird that was Not Allowed to Fly: The Case of the Mother Tongue Language-in-Education Policy in Malawi. In Miti, L. (ed.) *The Language of Instruction Question in Malawi*. Cape Town: CASAS. pp 9-28.

Koch, E., and Burkett, B. (2006) Making the Role of African Languages in Higher Education a Reality. *South African Journal of Higher Education* Vol 19 (6). pp1089-1107.

Komba, S. C. (2015) The Perceived Importance of Communication Skills Courses Among University Students: The Case of Two Universities in Tanzania. *International Journal of Education and Research* Vol 3 (2). pp497-508.

Kouega, J. P. (2008) Bilingualism at Tertiary Level Education in Cameroon: The Case of the University of Yaounde II (Soa). *ISB6: Proceedings of the 6th International Symposium on Bilingualism (ISB6).* pp1-13.

Kretzer, M., and Kumwenda, J. (2016) Language Policy in Malawi: A Study of its Contexts, Factors for its Development and Consequences. *Journal of Language and Literature* Vol. 27. pp20-38.

Kroskrity, P. V. (2010) Language Ideologies: Evolving Perspectives. In Jaspers, J., Östman, J. O., and Verschueren, J. (eds.) *Society and Language Use.* Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins. pp192-211.

Labov, W. (1966) *The Social Stratification of English in New York City.* Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Labov, W. (1972) *Sociolinguistic Patterns.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Lafon, M. (2013) 'Translanguaging' a Harbinger of Language and Cultural Loss in Africa? The Central Role of Schools in the Transmission of Standard Forms of African Languages. In Adegbite, W., Odungsiji, A., and Taiwo, O. (eds.) *Linguistics and the Glocalisation of African Languages for Sustainable Development. A Festschrift in Honor of Pr. Kola Owolabi*. Ibadan: Universal Akda Books Limited. pp74-92.

Landry, R., and Bourhis, R. Y. (1997) Linguistic Landscape and Ethnolinguistic Vitality: An Empirical Study. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*. Vol 16 (1). pp23–49.

Lang, J. (2006) *What Factors Influence the Academic Success of Liberian High School Students.* Unpublished MA thesis. Hamline University.

Langman, J. (2014) Translanguaging, Identity, and Learning: Science Teachers as Engaged Language Planners. *Language Policy* Vol 13 (2). pp183-200.

Lasagabaster, D., and García, O. (2014) Translanguaging: Towards a Dynamic Model of Bilingualism at School/ Translanguaging: Hacia un Modelo Dinámico de Bilingüismo en la Escuela. *Cultura y Educación: Culture and Education* Vol 26 (4). pp557-572.

Law Commission (2010) *Report of the Law Commission on the Review of Education Act.* Lilongwe: Government of Malawi.

Law Commission (2013) *New Education Act.* Lilongwe: Government of Malawi.

Leitner, G. (2004) *Australia's Many Voices: Australian English – the National Language*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Lekera, C.F. (1994) *Chirunga Language: A Preliminary Description*. Unpublished BA dissertation. University of Malawi.

Letsholo, R., and Matlhaku, K. (2017) Attitudes of University of Botswana Faculty of Humanities Students Towards Minority Languages. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* Vol 35 (3). pp245-257.

Levon, E. (2013) Ethnographic Fieldwork. In Mallinson, C., Childs, B., and van Herk, G. (eds.) *Data Collection in Sociolinguistics: Methods and Applications.* New York: Routledge. pp69-79.

Lewis, G., Jones, B., and Baker, C. (2012) Translanguaging: Developing its Conceptualisation and Contextualisation. *Educational Research and Evaluation* Vol 18 (7). pp655-670.

Liddicoat, A. J. (2013) *Language-in-Education Policies: The Discursive Construction of Intercultural Relations.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Liddicoat, A. J. (2016) Language Planning in Universities: Teaching, Research and Administration. *Current Issues in Language Planning* Vol 17 (3&4). pp231-241.

Lillrank, A. (2012). Managing the interviewer self. In Gubrium, J. F., Holstein, J. A., Marvasti, A. B., & McKinney, K. D. (eds.) *The SAGE Handbook of Interview Research: The Complexity of the Craft* (pp. 281-294). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications. pp281-294

Lin, A. M. Y. (2013) Classroom Code-Switching: Three Decades of Research. *Applied Linguistics Review* Vol 4 (1). pp195-218.

Lin, A. M. Y., and Luke, A. (2006) Coloniality, Postcoloniality, and TESOL…Can a Spider Weave its Way out of the Web that it is Being Woven into Just as it Weaves? *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies* Vol 3 (2&3). pp65-73

Ljosland, R. (2014) Language Planning Confronted by Everyday Communication in the International University: The Norwegian Case. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* Vol 35 (4). pp392-405.

Ljosland, R. (2015) Policymaking as a Multi-Layered Activity. A Case Study from the Higher Education Sector in Norway. *Higher Education* Vol 70 (4). pp611-627.

Lo Bianco, J. (2001) *Language and Literacy Policy in Scotland*. Available at: https://www.scilt.org.uk/Portals/24/Library/publications/languageandliteracy/Language%20and%20literacy%20policy%20in%20Scotland_full%20document.pdf. Last accessed: September 2018.

Lombard, E. (2017) Students' Attitudes and Preferences Toward Language of Learning and Teaching at the University of South Africa. *Language Matters* Vol 48 (3). pp25-48.

Longhurst, R. (2010) Semi-Structured Interviews and Focus Groups. In Clifford, N., French, S., and Valentine, G. (eds.) *Key Methods in Geography.* London: SAGE Publications. pp103-115.

Lopez, A. A., Turkan, S., and Guzman-Orth, D. (2017) Conceptualizing the Use of Translanguaging in Initial Content Assessments for Newly Arrived Emergent Bilingual Students. *ETS Research Report Series* Vol 2017 (1). pp1-12.

Lüpke, F. (2015). Denorthernising Multilingualism and Multilingualism Research Framing Language in the North. Voices from Around the World. *Special Issue on Multilingualism in the Global South*. Global South Studies Center, University of Cologne. pp3-5.

Lüpke, F. (2017) African(ist) Perspectives on Vitality: Fluidity, Small Speaker Numbers, and Adaptive Multilingualism Make Vibrant Ecologies (Response to Mufwene). *Language* Vol 93 (4). pp275-279.

Lyons, S. (2009) The Fine Art of Fencing: Nationalism, Hybridity, and the Search for a Native American Writing Pedagogy. *Journal of Advanced Composition* Vol 29. pp77–106.

Mackey, W. F. (1979) Language Policy and Language Planning. *Journal of Communication* Vol 29 (2). pp48-53.

MacSwan, J. (2017) A Multilingual Perspective on Translanguaging. *American Educational Research Journal* Vol 54 (1). pp167-201.

Madiba, M. (2010) Towards Multilingual Higher Education in South Africa: The University of Cape Town's Experience. *Language Learning Journal.* Vol 38 (3) pp327-346.

Madiba, M. (2013) *Academic Literacy at Foundation Phase Level: An Exploratory Investigation Report.* South Africa: Umalus.

Madiba, M. (2017) *Translanguaging as an Alternative Pedagogic Strategy for South African Universities.* Lecture, TLANG Summer School, Birmingham UK, 21st June 2017.

Magogwe, J. M. (1995) *Language Attitudes in Relation to Language Functions: An Investigation of the Attitudes of Botswana Cambridge 'O' Level Senior Certificate (COSC) Students.* Unpublished MA thesis. Edith Cowan University.

Makalela, L. (2013) Translanguaging in *Kasi-Taal*: Rethinking Old Language Boundaries for New Language Planning. *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics Plus* Vol 42. pp111-125.

Makalela, L. (2014) Teaching Indigenous Languages to Speakers of other African Languages: The Effects of Translanguaging for Multilingual Development. In Hibbert, L., and van der Walt, C (eds.) *Multilingual Universities in South Africa: Reflecting Society in Higher Education.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Makalela, L. (2015) Translanguaging as a Vehicle for Epistemic Access: Cases for Reading Compression and Multilingual Interactions. *Per Linguam* Vol 31 (1). pp15-29.

Makalela, L. (2016a) Translanguaging Practices in a South African Institution of Higher Learning: A Case of Ubuntu Multilingual Return. In Mazak, C., and Carroll, K. S. (eds.) *Translanguaging in Higher Education: Beyond Monolingual Ideologies.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters. pp88-106.

Makalela, L. (2016b) Ubuntu Translanguaging: An Alternative Framework for Complex Multilingual Encounters. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* Vol 34 (3). pp187-196.

Makoe, P., and McKinney, C. (2014) Linguistic Ideologies in Multilingual South African Suburban Schools. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* Vol 35 (7). pp658-673.

Makoni, S., and Mashiri, P. (2006) Critical Historiography: Does Language Planning in Africa Need a Construct of Language as Part of its Theoretical Apparatus? In Makoni, S., and Pennycook, A. (eds.) *Disinventing and Reconstituting Languages.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. pp62-89.

Makoni, S., and Pennycook, A. (2006) Disinventing and Reconstituting Languages. In Makoni, S., and Pennycook, A. (eds.) *Disinventing and Reconstituting Languages.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. pp1-41.

Malawi Congress Party (1978) *Annual Convention Resolutions 1965–1983*. Blantyre: Department of Information.

Malawi High Commission. *About Malawi.* Available at: http://www.malawihighcommission.co.uk/index.php/about-malawi. Last accessed. September 2018.

Mambo, M. M., Meky, M. N., Tanakan, N., and Salmi, J. (2016) *Improving Higher Education in Malawi for Competitiveness in the Global Economy*. Washington DC: World Bank. Available at: https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/24381/9781464807985.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y. Last accessed: September 2018.

Marczak, M., and Sewell, M. (2007) Using Focus Groups for Evaluation. University of Arizona. Available at: https://cals.arizona.edu/sfcs/cyfernet/cyfar/focus.htm. Last accessed: September 2018.

Marie, K. A. (2013) Coping with English as a Language of Instruction in Higher Education in Rwanda. *International Journal of Higher Education* Vol 2 (2). pp1-12.

Marinotti, J. P. (2016) *Final Report: Symposium on Language and the Sustainable Development Goals New York, 21-22 April 2016.* Available at: https://sites.google.com/site/languageandtheun/events/2016-symposium-conclusions. Last accessed: September 2018.

Martin-Jones, M. (1995) Codeswitching in the Classroom: Two Decades of Research. In Milroy, L., and Muysken, P. (eds.) *One Speaker, Two Languages: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Codeswitching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp90–111.

Masadeh, M. (2012) Focus Group: Reviews and Practices. *International Journal of Applied Science and Technology* Vol 2 (19). pp63-72.

Mashiya, N. (2010) Mother Tongue Teaching at the University of KwaZulu-Natal: Opportunities and Threats. *Alternation* Vol 17 (1). pp92–107.

Mati, X. (2004) Using Code Switching as a Strategy for Bilingual Education in the Classroom. *21st Annual AEAA Conference*. 25th–28th August, Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria. pp1–14. Available at: http://repository.hsrc.ac.za/handle/20.500.11910/7523. Last accessed: September 2018.

Matiki, A. J. (2001) The Social Significance of English in Malawi. *World Englishes* Vol 20 (2). pp201-218.

Matiki, A. J. (2003) Linguistic Exclusion and the Opinions of Malawian Legislators. *Language Policy* Vol 2. pp153-177.

Matiki, A. J. (2006) Literacy, Ethnolinguistic Diversity and Transitional Bilingual Education in Malawi. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* Vol 9 (2). pp239-254.

Matras, Y. (2009) *Language Contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mazak, C. (2016) Introduction: Theorizing Translanguaging Practices in Higher Education. In Mazak, C., and Carroll, K. S. (eds.) *Translanguaging in Higher Education: Beyond Monolingual Ideologies.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters. pp1-10.

Mazak, C. and Carroll, K. S. (eds.) (2016) *Translanguaging in Higher Education: Beyond Monolingual Ideologies.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Mazak, C., Mendoza, F., and Mangonéz, L. P. (2016) Professors Translanguaging in Practice: Three Cases from a Bilingual University. In Mazak, C., and Carroll, K. S. (eds.) *Translanguaging in Higher Education: Beyond Monolingual Ideologies.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters. pp70-90.

Mazrui, A. (2013) Language and Education in Kenya: Between the Colonial Legacy and the New Constitutional Order. In Tollefson, J. W. (ed.) *Language Policies in Education: Critical Issues* 2nd edition. New York: Routledge. pp139-155.

Mbaye, A. (2016) *Evaluation of Language Management by the University of Limpopo.* Unpublished MA thesis. University of Limpopo.

McCracken, J. (2002) The Ambiguities of Nationalism: Flax Musopole and the Northern Factor in Malawian Politics c. 1956-1966. *Journal of Southern African Studies* Vol 28 (1). pp67-87.

Mchombo, S. (2014) Language, Learning, and Education for All in Africa. In Babaci-Wilhite, Z. (ed.) *Giving Space to African Voices*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers. pp21-47.

Mchombo, S. (2017) Politics of Language Choice in African Education: The Case of Kenya and Malawi. *International Relations and Diplomacy* Vol 5 (4). pp181-204.

McKinney, C. (2017) *[Trans]languaging as a Decolonial Approach to Language in Education*. Lecture, TLANG Summer School, Birmingham UK, 21st June 2017.

McKinney, C., Carrim, H., Marshall, A., and Layton, L. (2015) What Counts as Language in South African Schooling?: Monoglossic Ideologies and Children's Participation. *AILA Review* Vol 28. pp103-126.

Meeuwis, M., and Blommaert, J. (1998) A Monolectal View of Code-Switching: Layered Code-Switching Among Zairians in Belgium. In Auer, P. (ed.) *Code-Switching in Conversation: Language, Interaction and Identity*. London, New York: Routledge. pp76-98.

Melliti, M. (2008) *The Perceived Value of English: The Case of Tunisian University Students*. Unpublished MA thesis. University of Manouba.

Meyer, C., and Schareika, N. (2009) Participant Audition: Audio-Recording as Ethnographic Method. *Working Papers*. Institut fur Ethnologie und Afrikastudien, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität. Available at: http://www.ifeas.uni-mainz.de/Dateien/AP101.pdf. Last accessed: September 2018.

Milroy, L. (1987) *Language and Social Networks*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Milroy, L., and Gordon, M. (2003) *Sociolinguistics: Method and Interpretation.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Miti, L. (ed.) (2015a) *The Language of Instruction Question in Malawi.* Cape Town: CASAS

Miti, L. (2015b) In Search of an Inclusive Language of Instruction Policy in Malawi. In Miti, L. (ed.) *The Language of Instruction Question in Malawi.* Cape Town: CASAS, pp4-5.

Mkhize, D., and Balfour, R. (2017) Language Rights in Education in South Africa. *South African Journal of Higher Education* Vol 31 (6). pp133-150.

Mohr, S., and Ochieng, D. (2017) Language Usage in Everyday Life and in Education: Current Attitudes Towards English in Tanzania. *English Today* Vol 33 (4). pp12-18.

Moodley, D. (2010) Bilingualism at the University of KwaZulu-Natal: Staff and Students' Preferences. *Alternation* Vol 17 (1). pp328–354.

Morgan, D. (1998) *The Focus Group Guidebook.* London: Sage Publications.

Morreira, S., Madiba, M., and Hurst E. (2017) Surfacing and Valuing Students' Linguistic Resources in an English-Dominant University. In Palfreyman, D., and van der Walt, C. (eds.) *Academic Biliteracies: Multilingual Repertoires in Higher Education.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Mortensen, J. (2014) Language Policy from Below: Language Choice in Student Project Groups in a Multilingual University Setting. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* Vol 35 (4). pp425-442.

Moto, F. (2001) Language and Societal Attitudes: A Study of Malawi's 'New Language'. *Nordic Journal of African Studies* Vol 10 (3). pp320-343.

Moyo, T. (2001) The Changing Language Policies and Reversing Language Roles in Malawi: From Colonial Times (1891-1964) to the Present. *Per Linguam* Vol 17 (2). pp1-11.

Msonthi, J. (1997). *Parents' Attitude Towards Multilingual Education in the Lower Primary School (Standard 1 – 4: The Malawian Experience).* Unpublished BEd dissertation. Chancellor College.

Mtenje, A. (2013) Developing a Language Policy in an African country: Lessons from the Malawi Experience. In McIlwraith, H. (ed.) *Multilingual Education in Africa: Lessons from the Juba Language-in-Education Conference.* British Council. pp 95-102. Available at: http://www.teachingenglish.org.uk/sites/teacheng/files/C413%20Juba%20Publication_FINAL_WEB%20ONLY%20v3.pdf. Last accessed: September 2018.

Muñoz, K. (1983) *Research Methods into Language/Code Switching and Synthesis of Findings into Theory.* Iowa: Department of Communication Studies Publications, University of Iowa.

Mutasa, D. (2015) Language Policy Implementation in South African Universities Vis-à-Vis the Speakers of Indigenous African Languages' Perception. *Per Linguam* 31 (1). pp46-59.

Myers-Scotton, C. (1982) Language Use in Kenya: An Urban Rural Comparison of the Luyia. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* Vol 1982 (34). pp121-136.

Myers-Scotton, C. (1993) *Social Motivations for Code Switching: Evidence from Africa.* New York: Oxford University Press.

National Statistical Office. (1998) *Population and Housing Census: Analytical Report.* Available at: http://www.nsomalawi.mw/images/stories/data_on_line/demography/census_98/analytical_report.pdf. Last accessed: September 2018.

National Statistical Office. (2008) *Population and Housing Census: Education and Literacy Report.* Available at: http://www.nsomalawi.mw/images/stories/data_on_line/demography/census_2008/Main%20Report/ThematicReports/Education%20and%20Literacy.pdf. Last accessed: September 2018.

Nawata, C.A. (2000) *An Investigation of Some Possible Sources of the Lexical Items of Malawian Youth Sociolects: A Case Study of the Lexical Items of the Chancellor College Student Sociolect*. Unpublished BA dissertation. University of Malawi.

National Council for Higher Education (2014) *Standards for Accreditation of Malawi's Higher Education Institutions.* Lilongwe: NCHE.

National Council for Higher Education (2015) *Minimum Standards for Higher Education Institutions*. Lilongwe: NCHE.

Ncoko, S. O. S., Osman, R., and Cockcroft, K. (2000) Codeswitching Among Multilingual Learners in Primary Schools in South Africa: An Exploratory Study. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* Vol 3 (4). pp225-241.

Ndayipfukamiye, L. (1994) Code-Switching in Burundi Primary Classrooms. In Rubagumya, C. R. (ed.) *Teaching and Researching Language in African Classrooms*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. pp79-95.

Ndebele, H., and Zulu, N. (2017) The Management of isiZulu as a Language of Teaching and Learning at the University of KwaZulu-Natal's College of Humanities. *Language and Education* Vol 31 (6). pp509-525.

Ndhlovu, F. (2014) *Becoming an African Diaspora in Australia: Language, Culture, Identity.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Nelde, P. H. (1987) Language Contact Means Language Conflict. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* Vol 8 (1&2). pp33-42.

Nelde, P. H. (2005) Language Contact. In Kaplan, R. (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Applied Linguistics.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp325-334.

Nero, S. J (2014) De Facto Language Education Policy Through Teachers' Attitudes and Practices: A Critical Ethnographic Study in Three Jamaican Schools. *Language Policy* Vol 13. pp221-242.

Nettle, D., and Romaine, S. (2000) *Vanishing Voices: The Extinction of the World's Languages.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ngcobo, S., Ndaba, N, E., Nyangiwe, B. L., Mpungose, N. C., and Jamal, R. (2016) Translanguaging as an Approach to Address Language Inequality in South African Higher Education: Summary Writing Skills Development. *Critical Studies in Teaching and Learning* Vol 4 (2). pp10-27.

Njurai, E. W. (2015) *Language Practices of Trilingual Undergraduate Students Engaging with Mathematics in Kenya*. Unpublished PhD thesis. University of South Africa.

Nkhoma, P., and Mugaba, W. (2013) Role of Malawian Languages in Attainment of Socio-Economic Developments and MGDS. *Journal of Development and Communication Studies* Vol 2 (1&2). pp380-391.

Nkosi, Z. P. (2014) Postgraduate Students' Experiences and Attitudes Towards isiZulu as a Medium of Instruction at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. *Current Issues in Language Planning* Vol 15 (3). pp 245-264.

NNM1/16/4. Mombera District Council, 1931/30=9. Meeting of 16th September (1933). In S1/449/32.

Noboda, G. (2010) *Language Preferences and Behaviours of Selected Students and Staff in the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Cape Town, in the Context of the University's Implementation of its 2003 Language Policy and Plan: A Qualitative Study.* Cape Town: PRAESA.

Norris-Holt, J. (2001) Motivation as a Contributing Factor in Second Language Acquisition. *The Internet TESL Journal* Vol 2 (6). Available at: http://iteslj.org/Articles/Norris-Motivation.html. Last accessed: September 2018.

Norton, B. (2014) Introduction: The Millennium Development Goals and Multilingual Literacy in African Communities. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* Vol 35 (7). pp633-645.

Norton, B., and Toohey, K. (2011) Identity, Language learning, and Social Change. *Language Teaching* Vol 44 (4). pp412-446.

Ntereke, B. B., and Ramoroka, B. T. (2017) Reading Competency of First-Year Undergraduate Students at University of Botswana: A Case Study. *Reading and Writing* Vol 8 (1). A123.

Obondo, M.A. (2007) Tensions Between English and Mother Tongue Teaching in Post-Colonial Africa. In Cummins, J., and Davison, C. (eds.) *International Handbook of English Language Teaching. Springer International Handbooks of Education Volume 15*. Boston, MA: Springer. pp37-50.

Oduor, J. A. (2015) Towards a Practical Proposal for Multilingualism in Education in Kenya. *Multilingual Education* Vol 5 (1). pp1-16.

OECD (2018) *DAC List of ODA Recipients.* Available at: https://www.oecd.org/dac/financing-sustainable-development/development-finance-standards/DAC_List_ODA_Recipients2018to2020_flows_En.pdf. Last accessed: September 2018.

Ogechi, N. O. (2009) The Role of Foreign and Indigenous Languages in Primary Schools: The Case of Kenya. *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics PLUS* Vol 38. pp143-158.

Olivier, J. (2014) Compulsory African Languages in Tertiary Education: Prejudices from News Website Commentary. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* Vol 32 (4). pp483-498.

Omoniyi, T. (2004) *The Sociolinguistics of Borderlands: Two Nations, One Community.* Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

Orekan, G. (2010) Language Policy and Educational Development in Africa: The Case of Nigeria. *Scottish Languages Review* Vol 21. pp17-26.

Otwinowska-Kasztelanic, A., and De Angelis, G. (2012) Introduction: Social and Affective Factors in Multilingualism Research. *International Journal of Multilingualism* Vol 9 (4). pp347-351.

Ouane, A. (2003) The Discourse on Mother Tongues and National Languages. In Ouane, A. (ed.) *Towards a Multilingual Culture of Education*. Germany: UNESCO Institute for Education. pp59-88.

Ouane, A., and Glanz, C. (2010) *Why and How Africa Should Invest in African Languages and Multilingual Education: An Evidence- and Practice-Based Policy Advocacy Brief.* Hamburg: UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning.

Ould Amed, S. M. (2012) *Aspects of Bilingualism in a Mauritanian Context: Nouakchott University as a Case Study.* Unpublished MA thesis. Abobekr Belkaid University.

Parmegiani, A. (2014) The (Dis)Ownership of English: Language and Identity Construction Among Zulu Students at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* Vol 17 (6). pp683-694.

Paulsrudd, B., Rosén, J., Straszer, B., and Wedin, Å. (2017) Perspectives on Translanguaging in Education. In Paulsrudd, B., Rosén, J., Straszer, B., and Wedin, Å. (eds.) *New Perspectives on Translanguaging and Education.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters. pp10-19.

Pérez-Milan, M. (2015a) Language and Identity in Linguistic Ethnography. *Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies Paper 132.* University of Tilburg.

Pérez-Milan, M. (2015b) Language Education Policy in Late Modernity: (Socio)Linguistic Ethnographies in the European Union Language Policy. *Language Policy* Vol 14 (2). pp99-107.

Pérez-Parent, M. (2002) Collection, Handling, and Analysis of Classroom Recordings Data: Using the Original Acoustic Signal as the Primary Source of Evidence. *Reading Working Papers in Linguistics* Vol 6. pp245-254.

Perry, F. L. (2005) *Research in Applied Linguistics: Becoming a Discerning Consumer.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Phaahla, P. (2014) Indigenous African Languages as Agents of Change in the Transformation of Higher Education Institutions in South Africa: UNISA. *Nordic Journal of African Studies* Vol 23 (1). pp31-56.

Phakiti, A. (2015) Quantitative Research and Analysis. In Paltridge, B., and Phakiti, A. (eds.) *Research Methods in Applied Linguistics.* London: Bloomsbury. pp27-48.

Phillipson, R. (1992) *Linguistic Imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Phillipson, R. (2003) *English-Only Europe?: Challenging Language Policy*. London: Routledge.

Phillipson, R. (2008) The Linguistic Imperialism of Neoliberal Empire. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*. Vol 5 (1). pp1-43.

Phillipson, R., and Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (1995) Language Rights in Postcolonial Africa. In Phillipson, R., and Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (eds.) *Linguistic Human Rights: Overcoming Linguistic Discrimination*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. pp 335-346.

Plüddermann, P. (2011) Crossing New Frontiers with the Translanguaging Wagon. *LEAP News* Vol 29 (March). pp10-11.

Pool, J. (1972) National Development and Language Diversity. In Fishman, J. (ed.) *Advances in the Sociology of Language Volume 2 (Selected Studies and Applications).* The Hague: Mouton. pp213- 230.

Potter, J. & Hepburn, A. (2012). Eight challenges for interview researchers. In Gubrium, J. F., Holstein, J. A., Marvasti, A. B., & McKinney, K. D. (eds.) *The SAGE Handbook of Interview Research: The Complexity of the Craft*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications. pp555-570.

Prah, K. (2003) Going Native: Language of Instruction for Education, Development and African Emancipation. In Brock-Utne, B., Desai, Z., and Qorro, M. (eds.) *Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa - Highlights from a Project*. Dar es Salaam: E and D Publishing. pp.14-34.

Prince, M., and Davies, M. (2001) Moderator Teams: An Extension to Focus Group Methodology. *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal* Vol 4 (4). pp 207-216.

Pulcini, V. (1997) Attitudes Towards the Spread of English in Italy. *World Englishes* Vol 16 (1). pp77–85.

Puplampu, K. P. (2006) Critical Perspectives on Higher Education and Globalization in Africa. In Abdi, A. A., Puplampu, K. P., and Sefa Sei, G. J. (eds.) *African Education and Globalization: Critical Perspectives.* pp31-52.

Rampton, B., Blommaert, J., Arnaut, K., and Spotti, M. (2015) *Introduction: Superdiversity and Sociolinguistics, Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies Paper 130.* Tilburg University. Available at: https://www.tilburguniversity.edu/upload/9d9b4db5-c7bb-4545-a4c8-cfd798c98624_TPCS_130_Rampton%20et%20al.pdf. Last accessed: September 2018.

Rassool, N., Edwards, V., and Bloch, C. (2006) Language and Development in Multilingual Settings: A Case Study of Knowledge Exchange and Teacher Education in South Africa. *International Review of Education* Vol 52 (6). pp533-552.

Rhodes University (2014) *Language Policy.* Available at: https://www.ru.ac.za/media/rhodesuniversity/content/chertl/documents/Language%20Policy.pdf. Last accessed: September 2018.

Ricento, T. (2005) Problems with the 'Language-as-Resource' Discourse in the Promotion of Heritage Languages in the U.S.A. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* Vol 9 (3). pp348-368.

Ricento, T. (2010) Language Policy and Globalization. In Coupland, N. (ed.) *The Handbook of Language and Globalization.* Singapore: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. pp123-141.

Rizk, S. (2007) The Language of Cairo's Young University Students. In Miller, C., Al-Wer, E., Caubet, D., and Watson, J. C. E. (eds.) *Arabic in the City: Issues in Dialect Contact and Language Variation*. London: Routledge. pp291-209.

Romaine, S. (1995) *Bilingualism.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Romaine, S. (2002) The Impact of Language Policy on Endangered Languages. International Journal on Multicultural Societies Vol 4 (2). pp194-212

Romaine, S. (2013) Keeping the Promise of the Millennium Development Goals: Why Language Matters. *Applied Linguistics Review* Vol 4 (1). pp1–21.

Rose, S., and van Dulm, O. (2006) Functions of Code Switching in Multilingual Classrooms. *Per Linguam* Vol 22 (2). pp1-13.

Ruíz, R. (1984) Orientations in Language Planning. *NABE Journal* Vol 8 (2). pp15-34.

Ryan, S. (2006) Language Learning Motivation within the Context of Globalisation: An L2 Self within an Imagined Global Community. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies* Vol 3 (1). pp23-45.

Sallabank, J. (2012) From Language Documentation to Language Planning: Not Necessarily a Direct Route. In Seifart, F., Haig, G., Himmelmann, N. P., Jung, D., Margetts, A., and Trilzbeek, P. (eds.) *Potentials of Language Documentation: Methods, Analyses, and Utilization.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. pp118-125.

Samarin, W. (1996) Review of *Language Attitudes in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Sociolinguistic Overview* by Adegbija Efurosibina. *Anthropological Linguistics* Vol 38 (2). pp389-395.

Samuelson, B. L., and Freedman, S. W. (2010) Language Policy, Multilingual Education, and Power in Rwanda. *Language Policy* Vol 9 (3). pp191-215.

Sarfo, E. (2012) Ghanaian University Students' Attitudes Towards English. *International Review of Social Sciences and Humanities* Vol 4 (1). pp86-99.

Saunders, M. (2006) Gatekeeper. In Jupp, V. (ed.) *The SAGE Dictionary of Social Research Methods.* London: Sage Publications. pp126-127.

Schilling, N. (2013) Surveys and Interviews. In Podesva, R., and Sharma, D. (eds.) *Research Methods in Linguistics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp96-116.

Schlettwein, S. (2015) *Multilingual Students' Attitudes Towards Their Own and Other Languages at the University of Stellenbosch and the University of the Western Cape.* Unpublished MA thesis. Stellenbosch University.

Schmied, J. J. (1991) *English in Africa.* New York: Longman.

Scotland Malawi Partnership (2012) *Scotland-Malawi Higher and Further Education Linking*. Edinburgh: Scotland Malawi Partnership.

Scotland Malawi Partnership (2015) *Practical Guide to Visiting Malawi* 5th Edition. Edinburgh: Scotland Malawi Partnership.

Seilhamer, M. F. (2013) English L2 Personas and the Imagined Global Community of English Users: Do L2 Users Feel 'Like a Different Person' When Speaking in English? *English Today* Vol 29 (3). pp8-14.

Sen, A. (1999) *Development as Freedom.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Shin, J., Sailors, M., McClung, N., Pearson, P. D., Hoffman, J. V., and Chilimanjira, M. (2015) The Case of Chichewa and English in Malawi: The Impact of First Language Reading and Writing on Learning English as a Second Language. *Bilingual Research Journal* Vol 38 (3). pp255-274.

Silverman, D. (2009) *Doing Qualitative Research* 3rd edition. London: Sage Publications.

Simango, S. R. (2006) East Africa/Ostafrika. In Ulrich, A., Mattheier, K. J., and Trudgill, P. (eds.) *Sociolinguistics/Soziolinguistik.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. pp1964-1971.

Simango, S. (2015) Learning English or Learning in English: Some Thoughts on the Language Question in the Malawian Classroom. In Miti, L. (ed.) *The Language of Instruction Question in Malawi.* Cape Town: CASAS, pp41-60.

Simons, G. F., and Fennig, C. D. (eds.) (2018) *Ethnologue: Language of the World, Twenty-first edition.* Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Available at: http://ethnologue.com. Last accessed: September 2018.

Simpson, A. (ed.) (2008) *Language and National Identity.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Simpson, J. (2017) *English Language and Medium of Instruction in Basic Education in Low- and Middle-Income Countries: A British Council Perspective*. London: British Council.

Skattum, I., and Brock-Utne, B. (2009) Introduction. Languages and Education in Africa: A Transdisciplinary Discussion. In Brock-Utne, B., and Skattum, I. (eds.) *Languages and Education in Africa: A Comparative and Transdisciplinary Analysis.* pp15-56.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (2000) *Linguistic Genocide in Education - or Worldwide Diversity and Human Rights?* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T., and Phillipson, R. (1994) Introduction. In Skutnabb-Kangas, T., and Phillipson, R. (eds.) *Linguistic Human Rights: Overcoming Linguistic Discrimination.* Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter. pp1-22.

Slotte, A., and Anlholm, M. (2017) Negotiating Concepts and the Role of Translanguaging. In Paulsrudd, B., Rosén, J., Straszer, B., and Wedin, Å. (eds.) *New Perspectives on Translanguaging and Education.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters. pp170-188.

Soler, J., and Vihman, V. A. (2018) Language Ideology and Language Planning in Estonian Higher Education: Nationalising and Globalising Discourses. *Current Issues in Language Planning* Vol 19 (1). pp22-41.

Soler, J., Björkman, B., and Kuteeva, M. (2018) University Language Policies in Estonia and Sweden: Exploring the Interplay Between English and National Languages in Higher Education. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* Vol 39 (1). pp29-43.

South African Department of Higher Education and Training (2015) *Report on the Use of African Languages as Mediums of Instruction in Higher Education.* Pretoria: Department of Higher Education and Training.

South African Department of Higher Education and Training (2018) *Call for Comments on the Revised Language Policy for Higher Education 2017. Government Gazette* Vol 632 (23).

Speer, S., and Hutchby, I. (2003) From Ethics to Analytics: Aspects of Participants' Orientations to the Presence and Relevance of Recording Devices. *Sociology 37.* pp315-337.

Spernes, K. (2012) "I Use My Mother Tongue at Home and with Friends – Not in School!" Multilingualism and Identity in Rural Kenya. *Language Culture and Curriculum* Vol 25 (2). pp189-203.

Spolsky, B. (2004) *Language Policy.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ssebbunga-Masembe, C., Mugimu, C. B., Mugagga, A., and Backman, S. (2015) Language-in-Education Policies in Africa: Perspectives, Practices, and Implications. In Jacob, W. J., Cheng, S. Y., and Porter, M. (eds.) *Indigenous Education*. New York: Springer. pp171-186.

Starfield, S. (2015) Ethnographic Research. In Paltridge, B., and Phakiti, A. (eds.) *Research Methods in Applied Linguistics.* London: Bloomsbury. pp137-153.

Stavans, A., and Hoffman, C. (2015) *Multilingualism.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stell, G., and Dragojevic, M. (2016) Multilingual Accommodation in Namibia: An Examination of Six Ethnolinguistic Groups' Language Use in Intra- and Intergroup Interactions. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* Vol 36 (2). pp167-187.

Straszer, B. (2017) Translanguaging Space and Spaces for Translanguaging: A Case Study of a Finnish-Language Pre-School in Sweden. In Paulsrudd, B., Rosén, J., Straszer, B., and Wedin, Å. (eds.) *New Perspectives on Translanguaging and Education.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters. pp129-147.

Stromquist, N. P. (2002) *Education in a Globalized World: The Connectivity of Economic Power, Technology, and Knowledge*. Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc.

Swann, J. (1994) Observing and Recording Talk in Educational Settings. In Graddol, D., Maybin, J., and Stierer, B. (eds.) *Researching Language and Literacy in a Social Context: A Reader*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. pp26-48.

Tagliamonte, S. (2006) *Analysing Sociolinguistic Variation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tamtik, M., and Jang, S. Y. (2018) Administering Higher Education Policies in the Baltic States: Balancing the Language Demands in Multilingual Society. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*. pp1-15.

Tauli, V. (1974) The Theory of Language Planning. In Fishman, J. (ed.) *Advances in Language Planning.* The Hague: Mouton. pp49-67.

Taylor-Leech, K., and Benson, C. (2017) Language Planning and Development Aid: The (In)Visibility of Language in Development Aid Discourse. *Current Issues in Language Planning* Vol 18 (4). pp339-355.

Tchesa, G. (2009) *A Sociolinguistic Study of Lexical and Semantic Changes in Chichewa: A Case of Chancellor College*. Unpublished BA dissertation. University of Malawi.

Tikly, L. P. (2016) Language-in-Education Policy in Low-Income Postcolonial Contexts: Towards a Social Justice Approach. *Comparative Education* Vol 52 (3). pp408-425.

Tollefson, J. W. (1989) Language Planning and Social Theory. *Slavistična Revija* Vol 37 (1, 2&3). pp309-318.

Trudgill, P. (1972) Sex, Covert Prestige and Linguistic Change in the Urban British English of Norwich. *Language in Society* Vol 1. pp179-196.

Trudgill, P. (2003) *A Glossary of Sociolinguistics.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Tshotsho, B., Mumbembe, L., and Cekiso, M. (2015) Language Challenges Facing Students from the Democratic Republic of Congo in a University in South Africa. *International Journal of Educational Sciences* Vol 8 (3). pp597-604.

UN (2015a) *Millennium Development Goals Report.* New York: United Nations.

UN (2015b) *Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.* Available at: https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/21252030%20Agenda%20for%20Sustainable%20Development%20web.pdf. Last accessed: September 2018.

Unamuno, V. (2014) Language Dispute and Social Change in New Multilingual Institutions in Chaco, Argentina. *International Journal of Multilingualism* Vol 11 (4). pp409–429.

UNESCO (n.d.) *Malawi.* Available at: http://uis.unesco.org/country/MW#slideoutmenu. Last accessed: September 2018.

UNESCO (1953) *The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education*. Switzerland: UNESCO.

UNESCO (1996) *Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights.* Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO (2003) *Education in a Multilingual World (Education Position Paper)*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO (2008) *Mother Tongue Matters: Local Language as a Key to Effective Learning*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO (2012) Why Language Matters for the Millennium Development Goals. Thailand: UNESCO Bangkok.

UNESCO (2015a) *Incheon Declaration: Education 2030: Towards Inclusive and Equitable Quality Education and Lifelong Learning for All.* Available at: http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/ED/ED/pdf/FinalVersion-IncheonDeclaration.pdf. Last accessed: September 2018.

UNESCO (2015b) *Education for All 2000-2015: Achievements and Challenges.* Paris: UNESCO.

UNICEF (2017) *Zambia: The Impact of Language Policy and Practice on Children's Learning: Evidence from Eastern and Southern Africa.* Available at: https://www.unicef.org/esaro/Zambia_LR_Updated_12May17.pdf. Last accessed: September 2018.

University of South Africa (2016) *UNISA Language Policy.* Available at: https://www.unisa.ac.za/static/corporate_web/Content/Colleges/CGS/documents/LanguagePolicy_rev_appr_Council_28042016.pdf. Last accessed: September 2018.

USAID (2016) *Survey of Children's Reading Materials in African Languages in Eleven Countries – Final Report.* Washington, DC: USAID.
Uyes, D. (2010) *The Functions of Teachers' Code-Switching in Multilingual and Multicultural High School Classrooms in the Siyanda District of the Northern Cape Province.* Unpublished MPhil thesis. Stellenbosch University.

Vail, L., and White, L. (1991) Tribalism in the Political History of Malawi. In Vail, L. (ed.) *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa.* California: The University of California Press. pp151-193.

van der Merwe, C. (2016) *Analyzing University Language Policies in South Africa: Critical Discourse and Policy Analysis Frameworks.* Unpublished MA thesis. University of the Western Cape.

van der Walt, C. (2010). The Context of Language Planning in Multilingual Higher Education. *The Language Learning Journal* Vol 38 (3). pp253-271.

van der Walt, C., and Hibbert, L. (2014) African Languages in Higher Education: Lessons from Practice and Prospects for the Future. In Hibbert, L., and van der Walt, C. (eds.) *Multilingual Universities in South Africa: Reflecting Society in Higher Education*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters. pp202-219.

van der Walt, C., and Mabule, D. R. (2001) Language Status and Covert Prestige in the Code Switching Practices of Mathematics, Science and Biology Teachers. *Journal for Language Teaching* Vol 35 (4). pp294-306.

Vila, F. (2015) Language Policy in Higher Education in Medium-Sized Language Communities: An Introduction. In Vila, F., and Bretxa, V. (eds.) *Language Policy in Higher Education: The Case of Medium-Sized Languages.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters. pp1-14.

Viriri, E., and Viriri, M. (2013) The Prevalence of Code-Switching in Secondary Schools Where English is the Official Medium of Instruction: A Case Study of Buhera South District. *International Journal of Academic Research in Progressive Education and Development* Vol 2 (1). pp227-234.

Vogt, H. (1954) Language Contacts. *Word* Vol 10 (2&3). pp365-374.
Vorster, H. (2008) Investigating a Scaffold to Code-Switching as Strategy in Multilingual Classrooms. *Pythagoras* Vol 67. pp33-41.

Watts, M., and Ebbutt, D. (1987) More Than the Sum of the Parts: Research Methods in Group Interviewing. *British Educational Research Journal* Vol 13 (1). pp25-34.

Webb, V. N. (1996) English and Language Planning in South Africa: The Flip Side. In de Klerk, V. (ed.) *Focus on South Africa.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins. pp175–187.

Wei, L. (2011) Moment Analysis and Translanguaging Space: Discursive Construction of Identities by Multilingual Chinese Youth in Britain. *Journal of Pragmatics* Vol 43 (5). pp1222-1235.

Wei, L. (2017) Translanguaging as a Practical Theory of Language. *Applied Linguistics* Vol 39 (1). pp9-30.

Wei, L. (2018) *Translanguaging and Code-Switching: What's the Difference?* Available at: https://blog.oup.com/2018/05/translanguaging-code-switching-difference/. Last accessed: September 2018.

Weinrich, U. (1953) *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems.* New York: Linguistic Circle of New York.

Weller, S. (2015) Structured Interviewing and Questionnaire Construction. In Bernard, H., and Gravlee, C. (eds.) *Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology.* New York: Rowman and Littlefield. pp343-390.

Wildsmith-Cromarty, R., and Conduah, A. N. (2014) Issues of Identity and African Unity Surrounding the Introduction of an Exogenous African Language, Swahili, at Tertiary Level in South Africa. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* Vol 17 (6). pp638-653.

Wiley, T. G., and García, O. (2016) Language Policy and Planning in Language Education: Legacies, Consequences, and Possibilities. *The Modern Language Journal* Vol 100 (S1). pp48-63.

Williams, C. (1994) *Arfarniad o Ddulliau Dysgu ac Addysgu yng Nghyd-destun Addysg Uwchradd Ddwyieithog, [An evaluation of teaching and learning methods in the context of bilingual secondary education].* Unpublished PhD thesis. University of Wales.

Williams, C. (2002). Extending Bilingualism in the Education System. Education and Lifelong Learning Committee ELL-06-02. Available at: http://www.assemblywales.org/3c91c7af00023d820000595000000000.pdf. Last accessed: September 2018.

Williams, E. (1996) Reading in Two African Languages at Year Five in African Primary Schools. *Applied Linguistics* Vol 17 (2). pp182-209.

Williams, E. (2013) Political Perspectives on Language Policies and Development in Africa. In Erling, E., and Seargeant, P. (eds.) *English and Development: Policy, Pedagogy and Globalization*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters. pp68-87

Wills, A. R., Reuter, K. E., Gudiel, A. A., Hessert, B. P., and Sewall, B. J. (2014) Barriers to Student Success in Madagascar. *Global Education Review* Vol 1 (4). pp114-134.

Wodak, R., Kryzyżanowski, M., and Forchtner, B. (2012) The Interplay of Language Ideologies and Contextual Cues in Multilingual Interactions: Language Choice and Code-Switching in European Union Institutions. *Language in Society* Vol 41. pp157-186.

Woodrow, L. (2015) Researching Motivation. In Paltridge, B., and Phakiti, A. (eds.) *Research Methods in Applied Linguistics.* London: Bloomsbury. pp403-420.

World Bank (2018) *World Bank Open Data.* Available at: https://data.worldbank.org/. Last accessed: September 2018.

Yang, R. (2002) University Internationalisation: Its Meanings, Rationales and Implications. *Intercultural Education*. Vol 13 (1). pp81-95.

Yogi, M. (2017) Kiswahili or English: A Policy Analysis of Language Instruction in Tanzania. *Capstone Collection 2995*.

Zeitlyn, B., Lewin, K., & Chimombo, J., & Meke, E. (2015) Inside private secondary schools in Malawi: Access or exclusion?. *International Journal of Educational Development*. Vol 43. pp109-117.

Zsiga, E. C., Boyer, O.T., and Kramer, R. (eds.) (2014) *Languages in Africa: Multilingualism, Language Policy, and Education*. Georgetown: Georgetown University Press.

Zuckermann, G. (2013) Historical and Moral Arguments for Language Reclamation. *History and Philosophy of the Language Sciences*. Available at: https://hiphilangsci.net/2013/06/26/historical-and-moral-arguments-for-language-reclamation. Last accessed: September 2018.