Reflective practice

Facilitating Multilingual Tutorials at the University of the Free State

Theuns du Buisson[*]

Abstract

Conducting undergraduate studies in the English language, while only a small minority of students speak English at home, poses many problems to learning in the South African context. This article explores how restrictive language policies may influence proper learning and impact negatively on the self-understanding of students. It also explores how multilingualism could help to reduce the continued reliance on English, without doing away with English in its entirety. This is especially relevant in light of English and other colonial languages still being perceived as "languages of power" (Stroud & Kerfoot, 2013, p. 403). Therefore, attention is given to the link between language and power, especially in light of languages often being used to implement, display and preserve power. Language use in the classroom, especially with regard to codeswitching (also called translanguaging), is discussed. Finally, it explores the success that was achieved during multilingual tutorial sessions. In the tutorials, students were encouraged to explore the course work in their native languages, thereby internalising it and getting a better understanding thereof.

Keywords

tutoring; multilingualism; higher education; codeswitching

Introduction

In 2016, with the language policy committee reviewing the University of the Free State's language policy, some of us in the Philosophy Department decided to conduct the tutorials for philosophy by means of a multilingual approach. This was done in preparation for what seemed to be the future language policy. Our expectations were realised in the new language policy (University of the Free State, 2016). Rather than having separate tutorials for English and Afrikaans language speakers as in the past, we brought all students together in one class. They were then allowed to form smaller groups, according to their mother tongues, or language preferences. The motivation was that we were of the opinion that a high proportion of learning problems stem from students' lack of English comprehension and usage.

---

*   Theuns du Buisson is Academic Facilitator in the Philosophy Department, University of the Free State, South Africa. Email: DuBuissonTH@ufs.ac.za

The aim of this article, therefore, is to assess the impact of language policies on students' learning experiences. Special attention is given to multilingual policies. Challenges to such policies are discussed, in conjunction with the challenges faced by second-language students. Finally, the multilingual tutorials themselves are discussed in a reflective manner.

Discussion

Multilingualism in language policies across the world and in South Africa

Even though the European Union and the Council of Europe are encouraging multilingualism, it is rarely seen in official language policies. In Austria, for example, Slovene is neglected in favour of German. This is because having everyone speak German is thought to be good for social cohesion (Purkarthofer & Mossakowski, 2011, p. 554). In Portugal, a similar situation occurs, with the difference being that second-language speakers are usually immigrants (Faneca, Sa & Melo-Pfeifer, 2016, p. 45). As part of nation building, many countries opt for a monolingual policy, aiming towards single-language societies. This frequently alienates speakers of minority languages from influential positions. Even if national languages are local, they still put students who are speakers of other languages at a disadvantage (Tupas, 2015, p. 114). Bilingualism and multilingualism are often seen as enemies of national unity. They are therefore portrayed in purely negative terms. According to Skutnabb-Kangas and Garcia (1995, p. 223) it is especially common for people in the United States of America to view bilingualism and multilingualism as factors leading to "ghettoization", "ethnic unrest" or "separatism". Bilingualism then stands in stark contrast to nation-building and assimilation (Asfaha, 2015, p. 138; Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia, 1995, p. 223).

Nation building is not the only political consideration that plagues multilingualism. Many developmental agencies, such as the Association of South-East Asian Nations opt for single-language policies in order to integrate geographical economic communities. English is generally the choice of such organisations, as it opens trade between the region and the rest of the world (Tupas, 2015, p. 113). Many Arabic countries opt for purely Arabic policies to ensure that the dominant group retains its position of power (Bahous, Bachab & Nabhani, 2014, p. 355). National governments use language as a means to attain and expand power in both economic and political domains. According to Van der Walt and Wolhuter (2016, p. 1024), a language becomes a language of power, when those in favour of it also wield economic, political and military power.

The question with regard to policy is usually in terms of the role of other languages in relation to English. English language proficiency then becomes a gatekeeper in deciding who has access to university and who does not (Dafouz & Smith, 2016, p. 404). In India, many universities decided to teach in the majority language of the region, with English as a supplementary language. This simultaneously prevents language from becoming a gatekeeper, but also ensures that everything does not succumb to the English melting-pot (Makalela & McCabe, 2014, p. 408). This can easily be the case, as English is seen as a language of power.

In South Africa, power also played a decisive role in developing language policies. This was often the case when white people formed policies in such a way that their interests were advanced, often at the cost of black people and their indigenous languages. Today, universities are expected to aid students by providing assistance and lectures in African languages, as the majority of students are not proficient in English or Afrikaans (Aziakpono & Bekker, 2010, p. 39). Later in this text, however, it becomes clear that this is seldom done. Even though in 1994, South Africa was in the position to implement fully multilingual policies in higher education, this did not happen. There was hope for a fully inclusive policy that would have put African languages at the same level as English, making South Africa a leader in the advancement of African language interests. Because no decisive action was taken, meaning that language policies were almost in a state of non-existence, proponents of African language instruction have been disappointed overall. The result is that most universities became monolingual English institutions (Makalela & McCabe, 2014, p. 407).

Despite some universities, mainly previously Afrikaans universities, becoming bilingual (by including English) and officially mentioning African languages in their policies, we are yet to see real advances being made with regard to African languages as languages of teaching and learning (Makalela & McCabe, 2014, p. 407). Although African languages are mentioned in policies, it seems clear that none of the universities plan to use them as a medium of instruction soon. African languages should not be seen as having an inferior vocabulary. When Afrikaans was first used, it did not have an extended vocabulary either, but consisted of words used by its "agrarian original speakers" (King & Chetty, 2014, pp. 46–47). Afrikaans did, however, become a fully-fledged language of commerce, science and education (King & Chetty, 2014, pp. 46–47). For a language to be regarded as a language of power, it is a prerequisite that it be used in these fields, as Afrikaans came to do. Therefore, using a lack of vocabulary as a reason to exclude African languages is illogical, as languages develop through use, and should be used "in their current form as primary or auxiliary media of instruction" (Madiba, 2013, p. 387).

The University of Limpopo also opted for teaching in English only. Despite their expectation of students being proficient in English, this was seldom the case. The majority of students have only the most basic grasp of English, meaning that they struggle to finish their degrees within the required time (Makalela & McCabe, 2014, p. 409). With a graduation rate of 15%, which is mostly ascribed to English deficiency, it is almost unfathomable that English is still the only language of teaching and learning at UL. This "gravitation towards unilingualism" threatens other languages and the cultural value that they carry within them (Makalela & McCabe, 2014, p. 411).

The Council for Higher Education (CHE) lists several reasons for the poor academic performance of undergraduate students. These include, but are not limited to, material and socio-economic factors related to the inequalities that stem from apartheid, the lack of academic support and underpreparedness for university studies (CHE, 2013, pp. 54–57). According to the CHE-report, this underpreparedness, or insufficient academic literacy, is mainly linguistic in nature. Almost all of the requirements for being academically literate, as listed in the report, have to do with reading and writing (CHE, 2013, p. 58). "The academic

problems are familiar – a severe articulation gap, difficulties with the medium of instruction for the majority of students for whom English is a second, third or sometimes fourth language, and mainstream curricula that have not adjusted to these realities…" (CHE, 2013, p. 83). By providing students with the opportunity to have academic discourses in their mother tongues, we aim to take steps in order to adjust to this reality.

By following resource-based, rather than rights-based approaches, the academic registers of many languages could be built up simultaneously. What this would entail is that actual resources are spent on the development of different languages. In most current language policies, language diversity is displayed by means of having building names in multiple languages or handing out pamphlets in multiple languages. A resource-based approach, rather than a rights-based approach, would mean that actual work is being done in terms of developing different languages (Stroud & Kerfoot, 2013, p. 399). This could then bridge the gaps between African and Western knowledge systems. In this way, a higher education system in which only about 5% of the population succeeds can be radically transformed (Stroud & Kerfoot, 2013, p. 403). Transformation, however, seldom refers to language when it is used in university policies, visions and goal statements. With the emphasis on a vague thing called "transformation," many students may feel that they are "already transformed". The obvious next step is then to learn the so-called "languages of power", meaning that English is the only language option that makes sense (Stroud & Kerfoot, 2013, p. 403). Not only do restrictive language policies lead to low academic achievement in the short term, but also to a negative self-perception in the long term (Fredricks & Warriner, 2016, p. 319). It is, of course, not just students who must transform. A joint effort by students and faculty staff should be undertaken to ensure transformation from superficial language rights, to the actual granting thereof.

Even though English is currently the language of "business and trade," languages and their roles are not static. The role of the English language could easily be taken over by other languages in the future (Dafouz & Smith, 2016, p. 411). One country that realises this in its policy-making is Eritrea. Even though it went through a lot of political turmoil, with each regime favouring their chosen languages, primary education is currently offered in nine languages. English enjoys a prominent position, without infringing on the grounds of other languages (Asfaha, 2015, pp. 137–138). It is well known that people learn to read better when taught in a language that they already know and speak (Trudell & Schroeder, 2007, p. 165). Therefore, access to the languages of power, or the languages of those in power, can only be granted once people are literate. Like in the case of Eritrea, mother tongue-based multilingual education is the best way to attain that.

Language, power, culture and identity

Language policies can have vast impacts on the behaviour of people in certain settings, in response to their own language use. The state of Arizona implemented an "English only" policy in their public schools. This has led to people policing themselves and others, and even making people reflect negatively on their own languages. Languages other than English are often portrayed in the vilest ways imaginable (Fredricks & Warriner, 2016,

p. 309). People in general also associate English with modernity, while vernacular languages are seen as backward. This is especially the case in many societies that were previously colonised (Tupas, 2015, p. 120).

One should be wary of alienating particular cultures in favour of an Anglocentric model. Just because English is used, the language need not control the culture of discourses (Dafouz & Smith, 2016, pp. 405–406). Often, if attention is only given to the language of teaching and learning, heritage languages are stripped of their power. They become associated with inferiority (Faneca et al., 2016, p. 49). One of the ultimate contradictions in such a scenario is that native speakers of minority languages are discouraged from speaking it. Non-native speakers, on the other hand, are encouraged to learn minority languages (Fredricks & Warriner, 2016, p. 312).

A school usually has language hierarchies that are closely linked to power relations (Purkarthofer & Mossakowski, 2011, pp. 557–558). Inequalities and unequal power structures that are shaped by language use can only be uprooted by confronting them, by means of mother tongue-based multilingual education. Unfortunately, many ideological misconceptions hinder such policies from being embraced (Tupas, 2015, pp. 115–117).

Often, socio-economic factors can be aligned with language and the prestige of the relevant languages. If speakers of a certain language are generally poor, they may associate certain other languages with power and progress. This makes them hesitant when they are expected to choose their own language as a subject, or receive instruction in it (Aziakpono & Bekker, 2010, p. 41). This is one of the reasons why using African languages in education is often criticised, even though such criticism runs contrary to most theories of education, which state that mother tongue-based education is by far the most effective. Other possible reasons may be the argument that the apartheid government advocated teaching in African languages, to keep black people out of the "languages of power". (King & Chetty, 2014, p. 47). English, and to some extent Afrikaans, is still regarded as such today, even though many people, including native speakers thereof, are wary of Afrikaans, due to its connotation with apartheid (King & Chetty, 2014, p. 47).

Some governments may have a vested interest in keeping certain groups, and their languages from attaining power. As there is a proven link between thought, culture and language, oppressing a certain language may prevent the speakers thereof from uplifting themselves by means of autonomous thought. The best, if not the only, way to prevent this lack of autonomy, and encourage free thought, is by means of instruction in the first language of those being taught (Van der Walt & Wolhuter, 2016, p. 1027).

Different dialects could also be deemed as belonging to different power positions. Ferguson (1959), as cited by (Bahous et al., 2014, p. 356) identifies "diglossic" languages as different dialects that are used in the same region. This refers to a "higher" variation that is mostly used in education and official documentation, and a "lower" register that is used in colloquial settings. Codeswitching and diglossia are both often used as means to establish and show off power. Studies in the Philippines show that this also happens when external "power languages" are acquired. Even though most people in the Philippines choose to be schooled in English, inequality is so great that poor students end up learning a type of English that is "deemed undesirable by society" (Tupas, 2015, p. 119).

When learning languages in order to escape certain socio-economic conditions, one must remember that the languages of power are not stagnant. Just as languages can lose value, they can also gain value through seemingly unrelated causes. As political instability in Lebanon came to be the norm, English and French achieved an even higher status. It became a way out, through which students could further their studies overseas (Bahous et al., 2014, p. 355).

Languages are not spoken in isolation, but often form part of many other social functions. Therefore, languages also have certain values or prestige attached to them. Usually, languages of learning and higher orders have "overt prestige", while vernacular languages have "covert prestige". This means that they are valued, but not as much in public as in private (Aziakpono & Bekker, 2010, p. 40). It is therefore of the utmost importance to understand students' relationships with their heritage languages. As language and culture are often intertwined, one must be cognisant of the "real or imaginary language practices in the various contexts in which they move" (Faneca et al., 2016, pp. 49–50). Even though language may not be a defining cultural marker for everyone, as with religion, class or ethnicity for some people, it always contributes. Users of language may feel different affinities to the languages that they know. Some languages may be simply a tool, while others may be at the heart of their being (Van der Walt, 2013, pp. 164–165).

Teaching and learning subject language

If students cannot cope with the language in which they are learning, they are set back for as long as it takes to become proficient in the language (Gibbons, 1995, p. 104). One of the prominent parts of learning a particular subject is the technical language terms thereof, as each field of study comes with words that are endemic to it. For students who are still learning the language of teaching and learning, this poses many problems (Gablasova, 2015, p. 62). Second-language students often use a blend of technical English and common English, which is not suited to their particular fields (Winberg, Van der Geest, Lehman & Nduna, 2010, p. 299). Even though more South African students claim English as their first language, compared to in the past, it is clear that the type of English that they refer to is often far removed from the English required for university studies. This is being addressed by means of Academic Literacy programmes, in which students are taught how to write in the academic style and register (CHE, 2013, p. 71). Our tutorial programme also aims to serve as a partial remedy. Students' reference to English as a home language may also be mistaken, as many of their homes are bilingual or multilingual. Such students seldom come into contact with academic registers in any context (Stroud & Kerfoot, 2013, p. 398).

Native speakers often have trouble with new words, or subject-specific words. While non-native speakers would then guess at wrong meanings, native speakers would guess at correct, but incomplete meanings for such words. If other words in a sentence are unknown to a student, the chances are slim that they would understand the technical terms (Gablasova, 2015, p. 69). Such learning not only concerns learning new concepts, but also erroneous information that is often included in mental definitions of words (Gablasova, 2015, p. 70).

Studying the acquisition of technical terms for non-native speakers is difficult as they often do not distinguish between new words that are known to native speakers and actual technical words. Non-native learners are often able to grasp technical concepts, but with a much narrower scope of the meaning thereof (Gablasova, 2015, p. 69). Where words exist in students' native languages, the translation could provide a reference point from which understanding can follow. Simply appplying a label to a concept could be meaningless if the student has no way of recognising it in his/her own frame of reference (King & Chetty, 2014, p. 46).

Students who write in their own languages tend to grasp their audience better, as compared to when they write in English. Certain fields are seen to "belong" to English, and therefore, in the students' view, the focus, when writing, should fall on how it is presented, rather than on explaining content (Winberg et al., 2010, p. 302). Plagiarism often occurs, because students struggle to integrate different sources. Melles (2015), quoted by Winberg et al. (2010, p. 301) coined the term "plagiphrasing" which refers to students who "plagiarise entire phrases as a compensatory strategy".

Language use within the classroom

Even though mother-tongue learning is by far the best type of instruction, it must be acknowledged that learners are not only confined by language. Their languages form but part of one of many systems that help them to either exert control, or to be controlled by others (Tupas, 2015, p. 121). Students who are not proficient in the English language usually come from schools where they also faced other challenges. It would be an oversimplification to only refer to "English-medium teaching" in the same way across countries, as not all have the same language demography. In multilingual settings, multilingual students and lecturers work together to construct knowledge, by means of their respective linguistic backgrounds and resources (Dafouz & Smith, 2016, p. 400). Second-language learners not only differ in their competency of the language of learning, but they also differ in the richness of the language that they bring with them. This is often undervalued, with minor exceptions when it comes to common second languages. If students' home languages are to be used in a productive way, they cannot be placed into strict confines like "languages of origin", pitted against the "target language" (Purkarthofer & Mossakowski, 2011, pp. 555–556).

Students who only understand English on a very basic level when being accepted to study at English-medium universities, is not only a South African problem. During a Lebanese study, many lecturers complained that students were using a mix of Arabic and English in class. This is probably due to them being at the "minimum level required" to be accepted to university (Bahous et al., 2014, p. 354).

One should take into account that very few languages are homogenous throughout. In most cases, the language spoken at home is a completely different dialect than that spoken in academia. Therefore, insisting on the use of pure standardised languages, even mother-tongue, would be just as foreign to students as the current English-only approach (Madiba, 2013, p. 390). One way to address this is by making use of, often subconscious, codeswitching.

King & Chetty (2014, p. 40) "loosely" define codeswitching as "the use of two or more languages, varieties, or even dialects within a single language turn". This is in no way confined to classrooms. Codeswitching often happens because students are not competent enough in the target language. Many studies, specifically around language learning, have found that using the local pidgin forms of the language could be helpful in learning the "proper" form thereof (Bahous et al., 2014, p. 357). Codeswitching is often used to shift power from the teacher to students. In this way, a question may seem less intimidating when asked in the student's native language, rather than in English, which carries its own imperatives (King & Chetty, 2014, p. 43). Students often code-switch to clarify meaning or to confirm their understanding of certain concepts. The majority agree that they form a better understanding when teachers use both English and their native languages (Aziakpano & Bekker, 2010, p. 47; Bahous et al., 2014, p. 360; Stroud & Kerfoot, 2013, p. 400). Codeswitching often occurs so as to ensure that students understand the English concepts that they are being taught (King & Chetty, 2014, p. 41).

Because it may be seen as a failure of adapting to the university setup, many students and teachers deny ever codeswitching in a classroom situation. This may be because they act in contravention of the language policy, or because it would be a confession to not being fully proficient in English (Bahous et al., 2014, p. 631). Another possible reason, especially in the South African context, for not affirming the use of codeswitching, could be the internalised links between language and racial or ethnic purity (King & Chetty, 2014, p. 44).

Studies of English-medium education in multilingual settings are not only concerned with the language that is spoken in class, but also with how English is used elsewhere. It is not only the language of teaching and learning, but also the common language between professions and trade (Dafouz & Smith, 2016, p. 399).

Facilitating tutorials

Research has shown that peer tutoring helps students to better understand academic work, while also improving the throughput thereof (Bowman-Perry, Burke, Zhang & Zaini, 2014, p. 261). Reciprocal peer tutoring motivates students to constantly monitor their own understanding of the work that they are studying (De Backer et al., 2015, p. 482). In this model of tutoring, students constantly switch from being tutors to students, and vice versa, within their groups. Academic achievement leads to more academic engagement (Bowman-Perry et al., 2014). Because peer tutoring increases both, it could start a positive cycle, resulting in greater academic gains.

Increasing student numbers, compared to relatively low increases in teaching staff, constantly forces universities to rethink the ways in which they encourage and support students. One such way is Reciprocal Peer Tutoring (De Backer et al., 2015, pp. 484–485). One major advantage of having tutors is that individual feedback can be received from students, without increasing the workload of the instructor (Lee, Hong & Choi, 2017, p. 43).

Students often report that they are scared or shy to ask questions, or to actively take part in tutorials. This is usually the result of their poor language skills in English. For this

reason, many students requested that isiXhosa tutorials be offered as an option during the first academic year at Rhodes University (Aziakpono & Bekker, 2010, p. 47). Similarly, this request has been made in our department at the University of the Free State for SeSotho and isiZulu tutorials.

Academic staff, especially tutors, should use classroom interactions to measure proficiency in academic discourse. These discourses generate new meaning, by means of students and lecturers engaging their respective cultures in these discourses. The English language is merely the lingua franca, a tool through which these discourses happen (Dafouz & Smith, 2016, p. 407). Some of the tutors' roles have to do with facilitating discussions and having discussions with students. This is an important tool that should be used to measure how students are progressing (Lee et al., 2017, p. 154). Students have shown that they are more inclined to take ownership of their learning when they are allowed to converse about coursework in the languages of their choice (Purkarthofer & Mossakowski, 2011, p. 558). Monitoring of academic progress could then happen when feedback is given, or through actively listening to student discussions. These discussions are not just for monitoring student progress, but also so that guidance can be given when students are struggling.

Reflection on philosophy tutorials at the University of the Free State

Tutorials were held once a week to supplement the weekly lectures. Both were two hours in duration. Students were required to read a philosophical text in preparation for the weekly lectures and tutorials. During lectures, a member or the instructional staff explained the week's reading fully. I, as facilitator, was tasked with supplementing these lectures by means of tutorials. During these tutorials, the aim was not merely to repeat the lecture in a different format, but to equip students with the necessary skills to interpret such lectures by themselves.

I usually split up the two-hour tutorial session into two parts. During the first part, I conducted an informal discussion with the class. This part usually lasted a maximum of 45 minutes. During this time, I went through some key words and phrases in order to ensure that everybody shared certain levels of understanding. This process reinforced the acquisition of subject-specific terms.

Students were often asked to paraphrase certain important passages from the text. They were given a specific amount of time to finish this. Afterwards, students were requested to send their anonymously written answers to me in the front of the class. I then read some of these aloud to the whole class, asking them to locate where improvements could be made. Not only did this help to attain academic literacy, but by doing such exercises, I hoped to equip students with the skills needed for them to act as peer-tutors for each other. This served as a basis from which the second part of the tutorial followed.

During the second part of the tutorial, students were asked to divide themselves into groups of no more than five students per group, according to their native languages, or the languages which they prefer. In this particular class, students tended to form English, Afrikaans, Sesotho and isiZulu groups.

Some questions were then displayed on the screen, which students were required to discuss within their groups. Students were then encouraged to speak the languages that they were most comfortable with in discussing the questions. The questions were displayed in English, Afrikaans, isiZulu and Sesotho. Thereafter, students gave feedback to the class in the English language.

At first, some students were hesitant to practise academic discourses in their native languages. Many students thought that they simply would not have the vocabulary in their languages to express philosophy as it is usually done by means of the English and Afrikaans languages. These fears were quickly replaced with confidence as students realised that questions on the screen made no use of words borrowed from other languages. Students were even more surprised to find that they knew many of these words already. Even though African languages are not regarded as languages of power, students were implicitly made aware that this lack of power stems from past politics. They could then come to the conclusion that languages are not innately inferior when they are not used as languages of instruction.

From about the second week of the course, it became apparent that students were prepared to get actively involved in the process. What was probably the most empowering was when they realised that their understanding really improved as they were able to internalise the concepts before conveying them in the English language again.

As the module was concerned with the contribution of the Founding Fathers of the Christian Church to Philosophy, it became apparent, especially to students of the Catholic faith, that they were more familiar with the vocabulary. Catholicism is a widely practised religion in South Africa, and especially Lesotho, where many of our students are from. This enabled most of the group members to function with a remarkable grasp of the content knowledge.

As mentioned earlier, many students were initially reluctant to speak in the class because they were scared of demonstrating their lack of English proficiency. By enabling dialogues in multiple languages in the course, this fear was quickly overcome such that when students were asked to give feedback in English, they were much less reluctant than before.

Conclusion

The use of language is an important part of learning. Many problems that students experience, when it comes to learning, emanate from their limited language capabilities. Even though language policies that support second-language learners should be implemented, this has not yet been done sufficiently. By offering multilingual tutorials, within an English language–centred coursework, lecturers and tutors can offer relevant support to students without stepping outside the institution's language policy.

The increase in confidence, paired with much better student engagement, serves to prove how effective multilingual subject learning could be. It empowers students to dig deeper into their personal experiences, which are seldom formed in the English language, in order to better enrich their understanding of content knowledge. Should it become possible to offer course materials in students' mother tongue, the expectation is that students will become even more involved with their own learning.

References

Asfaha, Y.M. (2015). Origin and development of multilingual education in Eritrea. *Journal of multilingual and multicultural development*, 36(2), 136–150. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2014.909440

Aziakpono, P. & Bekker, I. (2010). The attitudes of isiXhosa-speaking students toward language of learning and teaching issues at Rhodes University, South Africa: General trends. *South African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, 28(1), 39–60. https://doi.org/10.2989/16073614.2010.488442

Bahous, R.N., Nabhani, M.B. & Bachab, N.N. (2014). Code-switching in higher education in a multilingual environment: a Lebanese exploratory study. *Language Awareness*, 23(4), 353–368. https://doi.org/10.1080/09658416.2013.828735

Council on Higher Education (CHE). (2013). A proposal for undergraduate curriculum reform in South Africa: The case for a flexible curriculum structure.

Bowman-Perry, L., Burke, M.D., Zhang, N. & Zaini, S. (2014). Direct and Collateral Effects of Peer Tutoring on Social and Behavioural Outcomes: A Meta-Analysis of Single-Case Research. *School Psychology Review*, 43(3), 260–285.

Dafouz, E. & Smith, U. (2016). Towards a dynamic conceptual framework for English medium education in multilingual university settings. *Applied Linguistics*, 37(3), 397–415. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amu034

De Backer, L., Van Keer, H. & Valcke, M. (2015). Promoting university students' metacognitive regulation through peer learning: the potential of reciprocal peer tutoring. *Higher Education*, 70, 469–486. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10734-014-9849-3

Faneca, R.M., Sa, M.H.A. & Melo-Pfeifer, S. (2016). Is there a place for heritage languages in the promotion of an intercultural and multilingual education in the Portuguese schools. *Language and Intercultural Communication*, 16(1), 44–68. https://doi.org/10.1080/14708477.2015.1113751

Ferguson, C. (1959). Diglossia. *Word*, 15, 325–340. https://doi.org/10.1080/00437956.1959.11659702

Fredricks, D.E. & Warriner, D.S. (2016). "We speak English here and English only": Teacher and ELL youth perspectives on restrictive language education. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 39, 309–323. https://doi.org/10.1080/15235882.2016.1230565

Gablasova, D. (2015). Learning technical words through L1 and L2: Completeness and accuracy of word meanings. *English for Specific Purposes*, 39, 62–74. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.esp.2015.04.002

Gibbons, J. (1995). Multilingaulism for Australians? In: T. Skutnabb-Kangas (Ed.), *Multilingualism for All* (pp. 103–112). Lisse: Swets & Zeitlinger B.V.

King, J.R. & Chetty, R. (2014). Codeswitching: Linguistic and literacy understanding of teaching dilemmas in multilingual classrooms. *Linguistics and Education*, 25, 40–50. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.linged.2013.12.002

Lee, H.-J., Hong, Y. & Choi, H. (2017). Perceptions of tutoring roles and psychological distance among instructors, tutors and students at a Korean university. *Higher Education Research and Development*, 36(1), 143–157. https://doi.org/10.1080/07294360.2016.1177811

Madiba, M. (2013). Multilingual education in South African universities: Policies, pedagogy and practicality. *Linguistics and Education*, 24, 385–395. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.linged.2013.09.002

Makalela, L. & McCabe, R.-M. (2014). Monolingualism in a historically black South African university: A case of inheritance. *Linguistics and Education*, 24, 406–414. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.linged.2013.09.004

Melles, G. (2005). Familiarizing postgraduate ESL students with the literature review in a WAC/EAP engineering classroom. *Across the Disciplines*. Special Issue on the Linguistically diverse student: Challenges and possibilities across the curriculum. Retrieved 9 December 2010 from http://wac.colostate.edu/atd/lds/melles/cfm

Purkarthofer, J. & Mossakowski, J. (2011). Bilingual teaching for multilingual students? Innovative dual–medium models in Slovene-German schools in Austria. *International Review of Education*, 57, 551–565. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11159-011-9255-3

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. & Garcia, O. (1995). Multilingualism for all: General principles?. In: T. Skutnabb-Kangas (Ed.), *Multilingualism for All* (pp. 221–251). Lisse: Swets & Zeitlinger B.V.

Stroud, C. & Kerfoot, C. (2013). Towards rethinking multilingualism and language policy for academic literacies. *Linguistics and Education*, 24, 396–405. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.linged.2013.09.003

Tom, T.L. & Cronan, T.A. (1998). The effects of ethnic similarity on tutor-tutee relations. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 26(2), 119–129. https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1520-6629(199803)26:2<119::AID-JCOP2>3.0.CO;2-S

Trudell, B. & Schroeder, L. (2007). Reading methodologies for African Languages: Avoiding linguistic and pedagogical imperialism. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 20(3), 165–180. https://doi.org/10.2167/lcc333.0

Tupas, R. (2015). Inequalities of multilingualism: challenges to mother tongue-based multilingual education. *Language and Education*, 29(2), 112–124. https://doi.org/10.1080/09500782.2014.977295

University of the Free State. (2016). University of the Free State Language Policy. Retrieved from https://www.ufs.ac.za/docs/default-source/policy-institutional-documents/language-policy.pdf?sfvrsn=0

Van der Walt, C. (2013). *Multilingual Higher Education*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters/Channel View Publications.

Van der Walt, J.L. & Wolhuter, C.C. (2016). Eerste taal as onderrigmedium in hoër onderwys: 'n Internasionale perspektief. *Tydskryf vir Geesteswetenskappe*, 56(4), 1016–1033.

Winberg, C., Van der Geest, T., Lehman, B. & Nduna, J. (2010). Teaching technical writing in multilingual contexts: A meta-analysis. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, 28(3), 299–308. https://doi.org/10.2989/16073614.2010.545032