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Language and Changing Contexts: Sociolinguistic Perspectives

Guest Editors
Malini Ramsay-Brijball and Priya Narismulu

ARTICLES

Acknowledgement of Reviewers

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Priya Narismulu

The Swiss linguist, Ferdinand de Saussure (1916) said '[t]ime changes all things, there is no reason why language should escape this universal law' (cited in Aitchison 1983:1). If language change is as natural as the rising or setting of the sun, it may be said that a sociolinguist will never find him/herself idle given that any communicative context is a context for analysis either from a synchronic (at a given point in time) or a diachronic (across time) perspective. In this special sociolinguistics issue, our primary aim is to present the naturalness of linguistic change and variation sociolinguistically.

In the *Concise Encyclopedia of Sociolinguistics*, Mesthrie (2001:1) traces the term, Sociolinguistics to Haver Currie in 1952 who 'noted the general absence of any consideration of the social in the linguistic research of his day'. He defines Sociolinguistics as 'the study of language in relation to society' and, together with other researchers (e.g. Hymes 1971; Fishman 1971; Labov 1972; Hudson 1980), compares this to the sociology of language, the focus of which is 'the study of society in relation to language'.

For many researchers (e.g. Hudson 1980), the distinction is irrelevant. However, there are others (e.g. Labov 1972; Trudgill 1978) who categorize Sociolinguistics as a domain with clear linguistic objectives, 'aimed ultimately at improving linguistic theory and at developing our understanding of the nature of language' (Trudgill 1978:11). In view of the above definitions, this issue brings together a range of articles, of which some may be regarded as fundamentally more sociolinguistic than others.

With regard to a few articles that deal more with the sociology of language, our decision to include them is based on our intention to raise an awareness of critical issues and areas that need to be addressed further in linguistic and inter-disciplinary research.

In this special sociolinguistics issue, we recognize the need to contribute to a database of sociolinguistic research occurring locally, regionally and internationally. We aim to provide a resource for new scholarship in Sociolinguistics; to strengthen an existing body of knowledge in this discipline by reporting on current and critical language/language-related matters, to identify areas needing research and to contribute to establishing and reflecting inter-disciplinary scholarship by bringing together researchers from various academic backgrounds.

This issue allows experienced researchers to extend the boundaries of their research theoretically, methodologically and analytically. It has also created room for younger researchers wanting to enter the field of scholarship and publishing. The contributors allow the readers to make the connection between theory and practice. In this regard, we have tried to adopt a writing style that is both academically sound and accessible.

The issue covers various sub-areas of Sociolinguistics and the articles are thematically arranged. Studies on language policy, planning and rights constitute the first category in the issue. On writing about a linguistic renaissance for an African renaissance, Kamwangamalu (2001:134) contends that there is a serious anomaly in this debate as 'African languages have as yet to play a role in the African Renaissance'. He states that if the goal is to transform people's lives, 'then language and the indigenous languages in particular must become one of the foci of the African Renaissance debate'. The articles in this category respond to this call by critically evaluating language policy and planning in the South African context.

In the opening article on South Africa's national language policy, Russel Kaschula reflects the critical tone of the articles that follow. Lawrie Barnes considers the socio-historical development of South Africa's language-in-education policy with the intention of seeking a strategy to overcome the negative perceptions many South African parents have adopted towards mother tongue education. Rama Pillay's article presents an empirical study of the perceptions of learners and explores reasons for their

negative attitudes towards isiZulu. While Stephanie Rudwick's study does not directly address language policy and planning, she critically explores the theoretical concept of ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles *et al.* 1977) in relation to the sociolinguistic situation in KwaZulu-Natal, with the focus on the numerically most dominant group in the province, namely, isiZulu mother-tongue (L1) speakers. Her findings indicate that despite the prevailing hegemony of the English language and a rather diglossic relationship between English as high (H) and isiZulu as low (L) variety, the ethnolinguistic vitality of isiZulu appears strong and robust. In their articles, Mbulungeni Madiba and Nobuhle Ndimande review the language planning situation in higher education and make recommendations for how policy can become practice. Johan Lubbe's article on linguistic rights litigation follows logically from these articles, raising awareness of one's language rights as a basic human right and explores the role of litigation as an instrument of language rights activism.

Code-switching research is another growing area in sociolinguistic research. In their critique of current trends in code-switching research, Meeuwis and Blommaert (1994:417) state

> analyses of code-switching should start, not from an (often misguided) assumption of commonness or universality (based on the observation that code-switching appears in many communities in similar ways), but on an assumption of *variability* (e.i.o).

This category comprises studies by Malini Ramsay-Brijball and Ondene van Dulm that challenge the theoretical landscape of code-switching research. While Ramsay-Brijball focuses on theorizing identity construction as a function of code-switching using a poststructuralist framework, van Dulm explores the applicability of the minimalist framework in the analysis of the form of code-switching. The other two articles in this category, by Eda *Üstünel* and by Vis Moodley and Nkonko Kamwangamalu, consider the pedagogical implications of code-switching in an English second language (ESL) classroom. Moodley and Kamwangamalu locate their research in the South African context by focusing on Zulu first language (L1) speakers while *Üstünel* considers Turkish learners in an ESL classroom. Both articles highlight code-switching as an effective communicative resource that aids the teaching and learning processes.

As South Africa grapples with a language policy that is at the cutting edge of multilingual development, the development of the indigenous African languages rightfully takes centre-stage. Studies by Marianne Visser and Edith Venter on the one hand and Somikazi Mlonyeni and Jacobus Naude, on the other hand, focus on the development of isiXhosa, the second most widely spoken indigenous language in South Africa (Statistics South Africa 2001). Visser and Venter focus on the development of isiXhosa for specific purposes in local government. They explain how current theoretical research on communicative language teaching and focus-on-form research can inform and determine the features of course design in terms of pedagogic norms (Valdman 1989). In their study of *The Prisoner of Zenda* as the source text, Mlonyeni and Naude raise an awareness of the complexity involved in translations, explaining and elaborating on the reasons for social and material transfer of cultural aspects from the English source text to the target text in isiXhosa.

Studies on language change and variation also contribute to this special sociolinguistics issue. According to Labov (1994:9):

> the fact of language change is a given; it is too obvious to be recorded or even listed among the assumptions of our research. Yet, this fact alone – the existence of language change – is among the most stubborn and difficult to assimilate when we try to come to grips with the nature of language in general as it is reflected in the history of a language.

In this category, Usha Desai and Malini Ramsay-Brijball focus on the philological and sociolinguistic development of the Indo-Aryan language, Gujarati. They trace the history of the development of this language from the root language, Sanskrit to its present dialects as spoken here in South Africa and in India. In his study on the lexicalization of Sheng, a non-standard, mixed variety used mostly by the youth in Kenya, Nathan Ogechi's analysis shows that although the Sheng speakers coin, manipulate and use Sheng lexemes in ways that are often unintentional, there is a high degree of logic involved in the process of lexicalization. Studies by Vivian de Klerk and Richard Antrobus as well as Luanga Kasanga offer new avenues to study emerging speech patterns among Black South African English speakers and young White South African English speakers respectively. Kasanga, in particular, challenges traditional linguistic theory by analyzing these new patterns not as error but as creativity.

Language ideologies are addressed in a range of ways in the research presented by Mompoloki Bagwasi, Felicity Horne, Rita Ribbens, Thabisile Buthelezi, Aquilina Mawadza, Shakila Reddy, and Priya Narismulu. These papers examine the practices and texts in which different languages are represented and many attend to how understandings of language may be challenged, while some also consider how alternatives are being created (Cameron 2003:448). Gender studies is one of fastest growing areas in postgraduate research and this may be attributed to the interdisciplinary nature of the subject and the deep crises that are experienced in the areas of masculinity, HIV/AIDS, and interpersonal violence.

Studies on language and gender by Buthelezi and Mawadza draw on a wealth of knowledge of the Zulu and Shona languages respectively to map sexist and stereotypical discourses of gender (Pauwels 2003), at the same time embodying and recording the challenge of the other of patriarchy that has been silenced for so long (Davies 1995). Other studies refer to stereotyping, that is, overgeneralizations that are factually inaccurate but nevertheless persistent (Apte 2001). Mawadza examines Shona language usage and the gendered manner in which this language is used to stigmatize HIV/AIDS sufferers. Reddy and Narismulu consider questions of gender in the discourses of different youth subcultures in the Durban area. Felicity Horne examines more public statements about HIV/AIDS in post-apartheid South Africa. There is much in this paper that is valuable for understanding the impact of gender, such as the exposition of the military linguistic model that underpins many descriptions of HIV/AIDS.

Frantz Fanon argued that '[t]o speak means to be in a position to use a certain syntax, to grasp the morphology of this or that language but it means above all to assume a culture' (1968:13). While the psychiatrist could not have anticipated the pathological silence that accompanied the devastation of HIV/AIDS, his analysis sums up the direction of the research done in the papers by Mawadza, Horne, Reddy and Narismulu. HIV/AIDS exemplifies the importance of the connection between knowledge and power, not just in the service of social goals but also in the achievement of disciplinary value as the President of the World Federation of Modern

Language Associations argued at the twenty-first World Congress (Cunningham 2003).

Areas for Further Research

This issue addresses emerging challenges in sociolinguistic research. Language and gender is one area that needs to be developed much further, given the interdisciplinary nature of the subject and the dearth of information in society. There has been a focus on language and gender in the *Journal of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* 20,3 (2002). More research is unquestionably needed to understand how and why women and men speak the way they do. Exploring such patterns of gendered language usage will also enable us to understand how they perpetuate stereotypical notions of gender associated with the HIV/Aids pandemic.

More attention needs to be paid to race, mapping and analyzing the language used in the discourses of race, which is not going to go away and which sociolinguists need to address substantively, especially from the vantage point of postcolonial states that are dealing with neoliberal globalisation. As with gender, writing about race is not to be confused with hegemonic and reactionary positions on the subject. Talking about race is as important as talking about gender if the oppressive discourses of racism and sexism are to be exposed and challenged. This will not happen through silence. Such a project may well begin with race as an analytical category as indicated in the groundbreaking and paradigm-expanding work of the population geneticists (Cavalli-Sforza, Menozzi & Piazza 1994).

Research addressing the indigenous African languages and how these operate in relation to the established languages of instruction in any educational institution is urgently needed. The substantial number of contributions that address the disparities between language policy and practice bears testimony to the importance of this subject area. Of importance are the recommendations offered by the contributors. It is now time to test the ways in which these may be best implemented and to report on the findings. Linguistic redress is long overdue, as language planning workshops in KwaZulu-Natal have indicated (Geyser, Narismulu & Ramsay-Brijball 2000; Ndimande, Desai & Ramsay-Brijball 2002).

Identifying and researching variation within the newly emerging speech varieties is another area for further research. As the linguistic mosaic

of countries evolves, the emergence of new varieties and linguistic strategies become a reality. The urgency to understand how people construct identity in multilingual contexts through the deliberate or unintentional use of these varieties is becoming increasingly necessary. According to the Pan South African Language Board, Tsotsitaal, for instance, was listed by an unexpected large number of speakers in the 2001 census, indicating the widespread use of emerging non-standard, mixed varieties. In order to address the linguistic renaissance mentioned earlier with any sense of responsibility, sociolinguists are urged to probe further into the rapid growth of these varieties by documenting their pragmatic as well as the structural features.

As the National Research Foundation focuses on how the boundaries of research may be extended, sociolinguists and other researchers need to strengthen existing work and open up new directions.

School of Language, Literature and Linguistics
University of KwaZulu-Natal

School of Literary Studies, Media and Creative Arts
University of KwaZulu-Natal

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South Africa's National Language Policy Revisited: The Challenge of Implementation

Russell H. Kaschula

Introduction

Has South Africa's language policy achieved its goals as set out in Section 6 of the Constitution, 1996 (Act No. 108 of 1996)? The answer to this question is a complex one. On the one hand, the policy has raised awareness around people's language and cultural rights. It has also encouraged the concept of what Bishop Tutu refers to as 'unity in diversity' and has created an awareness of respect for fellow individual South Africans. This has allowed for a renewed sense of pride and identity. On the other hand, ten years on from independence, the policy has yet to manifest in a practical way in the real world of economics, education and so on. Even from a political point of view, the movement has been towards the greater use of English. Heugh (1999:70) paints a bleak picture when she states that although multilingualism is entrenched in the constitution '... the promise of a vibrant and linguistically diverse country looks disappointing'.

This article will daringly take a more optimistic tone, although I would agree with Heugh that in the last ten years of democracy, the implementation of multilingualism has been largely unsuccessful. It is also now recognized that for a nation such as South Africa to exist, much like that of Switzerland, for example, one does not need linguistic and cultural hegemony. Traveling though Switzerland one can hear varieties of French, Swiss-German, Romansh and Italian freely spoken, yet there is a sense of Swiss unity and identity which overrides these linguistic differences. Neville Alexander (2002:88) makes this point clear when he states that

... 'community of language' is not an 'essential attribute' of the nation. In other words, the crucial issue is the capacity of the citizens to communicate with one another effortlessly, regardless of the language in which they do so.

If one extrapolates from this, then one must assume that South Africans do not communicate with one another without effort. On the one hand, many South Africans do not have a good working knowledge of English, yet English has become entrenched as the language of politics, economy and trade. On the other hand, those who control the economy do so through the medium of English. This is indeed a dangerous situation which could lead to ethnic mobilization in the future. Language needs to be used in order to create greater 'intersection' between communities and thereby, greater economic parity between South Africans. (cf. Alexander 2002:88).

Chimhundu (1997:7), a Zimbabwean scholar, poses the following pertinent questions as far as language policy in Africa is concerned. It is these very questions which the government's new Implementation Plan, discussed in this article, seeks to address:

How can you guarantee democracy where the law of the country is not understood in the language of the people? How do you abide by what you do not know? How can you use information to which you only have limited access? How can you fully participate in anything, or compete, or learn effectively or be creative in a language you are not fully proficient or literate? Above all, how can a country develop its human resource base to full potential without the languages of the people?

Mutasa (2000:218) responds as follows to the above questions:

One asks such questions because it is no longer the time to preach about decolonising the mind, national consciousness and identity. These are givens. This epoch emphasis or focus should be placed on development and nation building which can only be achieved through access to information, grassroots participation and grassroots leadership.

Much lip service has been paid to the implementation of language processes in Africa. Perhaps with the exception of the development of Swahili and Afrikaans, Bamgbose (1991:111) rightly observed that no matter how good language policies are in Africa, they are characterized by, *inter alia*, '... declaration without implementation'. It is quite true that over the past decade, this has also been the case in South Africa. Indeed, this is true of the whole of Africa, where exoglossic languages have become the languages of power, with the exception of Tanzania where Swahili has been developed as a national language (cf. Kaschula, 1999). With sufficient political will, the new South African Implementation Plan may yet prove previous critics incorrect.

In line with the pledge made by the previous Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Minister Ben Ngubane, on the 30th March, 2004, the Department of Arts and Culture hosted the 'Advancing Multilingualism in a Democratic South Africa' conference. Dare one assume that the country stands at the threshold of a linguistic revolution, ten years after our first democratic elections which ensured the culmination of a political revolution?

This conference launched a series of language development initiatives, including a National Bursary Scheme for languages. This scheme is meant to encourage the study of indigenous languages, thereby opening up more career opportunities. A human language technology program was also established in order to ensure the technological advancement of our languages in such fields as law, commerce, science, politics and education. Finally, language research and development centers were established in order to ensure the equitable use of indigenous languages throughout the country, thereby opening up further career opportunities. In my opinion, these could be the beginnings of the cornerstones of implementation. However, one should add a cautionary note, in that the country held its third democratic elections on 14 April 2004. Language issues have always been given an emotive and political angle in South Africa. One can only hope that the language issue is not again being used as a political football. The current Minister of Arts and Culture, Dr Pallo Jordan, will need to give his support to the process of linguistic affirmation.

According to Stats in Brief 2002, Statistics South Africa, the percentages of mother tongue speakers of South Africa's languages are represented in descending order of their speakers: IsiZulu: 24%, IsiXhosa: 18%, Afrikaans: 14%, Sepedi: 9%, English: 9%, Setswana: 8%, Sesotho: 8%, Xitsonga: 4%, Siswati: 2%, Tshivenda: 2%, IsiNdebele: 1%, Other: 1%. The 'other' category includes unspecified languages such as Portuguese, German, Hindi, Gujarati, Tamil, Greek, Italian, Urdu, Dutch, French, Telugu and Chinese. (Implementation Plan, 2003:8).

These statistics mean that '... approximately 70 percent of all South Africans have an indigenous language as their mother tongue (MT), whereas 25 percent have English or Afrikaans as their MT ...' (Kaschula 1999:64). Logically, it would seem that the onus would be on the 25% of the population to acquire an indigenous language in order to enhance mutual intelligibility when it comes to language use and communication issues. However, with limited exceptions, the reverse seems to be true.

In November 2002, the previous Minister of Arts and Culture released the final draft of the National Language Policy Framework. This framework again outlined the historical context of language planning in South Africa, the key elements of the new policy, as well as the necessity to build human capacity through language. This framework also briefly set the scene as far as implementation strategies are concerned. These implementation strategies and structures have been further developed in the Implementation Plan, which is the focus of this article.

Let us now briefly look at the language structures which have been put in place over the last decade, and more especially over the last three years, in order to try and support what is outlined in Section 6 of the Constitution, namely, that all eleven of South Africa's official languages should enjoy equal rights and privileges. Furthermore, in view of the sense of exclusion between the languages, what is being done to create a politics of mutualisation in order to encourage a sense of social harmony between the peoples of South Africa? The successful implementation of the policy largely depends, in my opinion, on the structures and how they will operate, collaborate and be overseen.

This article then is not so concerned with the sociolinguistics of language policy and planning, and the now proven relationship between language, culture and thought, as discussed in my earlier works (see Kaschula and Anthonissen 1995; Kaschula 1999). Instead, it takes the debate one step further by discussing the problems and challenges facing the

implementation of the South African language policy. The existing policy has already allowed for structures to be created in order to ensure the implementation of multilingualism and the protection of individual language rights.

Current Language Structures

Let us now look at the Constitution as a language structure in itself. The Constitution emphasizes that all official languages '... must enjoy parity of esteem ...' and be treated equitably, thereby enhancing the status and use of indigenous languages, with government taking '... legislative and other measures ...' to regulate and monitor the use of disadvantaged indigenous languages.

Section 6 (2) requires mechanisms to be put in place to develop the indigenous languages. Section 6 (3) and (4) contain language-related provisions for national and provincial governments, whereby government departments must use at least two of the official languages. Other relevant provisions pertaining to language matters are made elsewhere in the Constitution. Section 9 (3) protects against unfair discrimination on the grounds of language, whilst sections 30 and 31 (1) refer to people's rights in terms of cultural, religious, and linguistic participation and enjoyment. Section 35 (3) and (4) refer to the language rights of the arrested, detained and accused persons, with a particular emphasis on the right to a fair trial with proceedings conducted or interpreted into the language of that individual's choice.

Section 6 (5) established The Pan South African Language Board (panSALB) in order to promote linguistic diversity further. One of its functions is to promote the use of South Africa's language resources. It has also been mandated to oversee the development and use, not only of the official languages, but also the Khoe, Nama, and San languages, as well as South African Sign Language. panSALB is to also cultivate respect for the heritage languages spoken by some sections of our community, and for those languages that are used for religious purposes.

This controversial Board has acted as a 'language watch-dog'. There have often been criticisms leveled at this board, for example, that it is not doing enough to help implement the language policy and that it is a waste of tax-payers money. Nevertheless, in recent years, the Board has taken strides to become more visible, providing financial support for a number of projects aimed at increasing the visibility of African language usage in South Africa. An example would be when the previous Minister of Justice, Penuell Maduna, supported by four judges, suggested that only English be used within the Justice system. This suggestion was vigorously opposed by panSALB and together with public outcry, the proposal was withdrawn.

However, Heugh (1999:68-69) notes that the Board does not enjoy sufficient autonomy and independence in order to fulfill its functions. It also falls under the financial control of the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC). Nevertheless, I would argue that it is now the DAC which is driving the Implementation Plan. It remains to be seen whether there will be successful collaboration between panSALB and the DAC. The real concern now is how successful implementation can be achieved rather than a discussion as to which angle it should come from.

Government's New Implementation Plan

Ten years after our democratic elections, structures have been put forward in order to implement language policy at government level. The Implementation Plan was approved on 12 February 2003, by Cabinet, at the highest level of politics. Three bodies have been outlined in the implementation plan, namely, Language Units, a National Language Forum as well as the South African Language Practitioners' Council.

It is further recognised that '... successful implementation will depend largely on collaboration with all national and provincial structures, as well as panSALB' (Implementation Plan, 2003:12). panSALB will remain a strategic partner of the Department of Arts and Culture, more particularly, the National Language Service unit (NLS) of the DAC, and that collaboration will be necessary in order to deal with language matters. These two bodies will facilitate the establishment of the required structures and play a coordinating role with regard to the identified mechanisms. One can only hope that successful and practical collaboration will in fact take place.

It is Government's responsibility to drive the implementation policy. In other words, once provincial and national government departments begin implementing the policy, then it is hoped that the private sector, e.g. the

banking sector and so on will follow this route. It is, however, a difficult task to get all politicians to buy into this process. The Western Cape Province has already established a multilingualism week. As part of this week, at a public ceremony attended by the media, each Minister of Education and Culture (MEC) was called upon to come forward and sign a pledge committing his or her department to the concept of multilingualism.

As mentioned earlier, the National Implementation Plan has already been approved at the highest level. It remains to be seen however, whether provincial members of Parliament, provincial legislatures and government departments will implement and buy into the policy Implementation Plan. According to the Director-General of Arts and culture, Dr RM Adam, in his foreword to the Implementation Plan:

> Taking into account that the challenge for us, as Government, is to ensure delivery of an efficient service responsive to the needs of our citizens, and that language is the means through which we communicate with them, it is imperative that the Language Policy be implemented with urgency... in order to ensure that this vital Implementation Plan makes multilingualism a practical reality for all South African citizens. (2003:3)

This process has been devolved to the nine provinces in South Africa. It is expected that each province will have its own Provincial Language Committee (PLC) which will oversee language matters that affect specific provinces. They will advise on issues relating to language policy legislation, including the language policy, practices and legislation of the province and of the local authorities in that province. Furthermore, these Language Committees must oversee language in education, translation, interpreting, development, the promotion of the literature of the previously marginalized languages, language rights and mediation, lexicography and terminology development as well as coordinating and funding language research projects. (Implementation Plan, 2003:12-13). In my opinion, it is really at this level that changes can be made which will impact on the every-day lives of South Africans.

The national lexicography units will develop dictionaries in the official languages. In order to do so they will work with the National Language Bodies. This relationship is not firmly established or defined as yet. These National Language Bodies are to consist of mother tongue speakers of the various languages and they are to advise panSALB on matters related to standardization, lexicography, terminology and literature.

The most exciting aspect of the implementation of language policy, both nationally, but more especially provincially, is that it will result in a substantial increase in the demand for language services, especially translation, editing and terminology development. Taking into account the rapidly declining enrolments in the indigenous language departments, this will also result in a dramatic increase in language students at tertiary level as language will become directly linked to jobs and the work-place. The National Bursary Scheme that has already been mentioned will serve a supportive role in this regard.

All national and provincial government departments will need to have properly staffed language units, overseen by the Language Committees. In my opinion, implementation will take place at the level of the language units. They will need to entrench the language policy in the department(s) and the province. They will need to raise awareness of the language policy, manage and facilitate translation and editing services, proof-read and edit documents in the official languages, facilitate the use of interpreting services, manage and facilitate training programs for new recruits in translation, editing and terminology development, as well as second language programs in the official languages of each province for the various employees. They will also need to develop terminology in collaboration with the DAC and the PLC's, act as intermediaries between the department/province and the DAC/panSALB.

All the language units required by the policy are to be established by the end of 2005. Each language unit will consist of competent staff either to translate or to out-source and check the quality of translation in the eleven official languages in national government departments, as well as the chosen official languages of the specific provinces. Outsourcing will be done via a tender process which will take place every two years.

Another feature of the implementation process is the establishment of a National Language Forum '... to monitor the implementation process, scrutinize and prioritize projects, and to drive advocacy campaigns'. (Implementation Plan, 2003:16). The Forum will also collaborate and

network when it comes to matters concerning the implementation of Language Policy. The main function of the Forum will be terminology development and language projects in order to prevent any duplication of efforts. In my opinion, this remains a major challenge for the present and outlined language structures. If not carefully monitored, the entire process could become bureaucratically bound, with one structure working against the other, rather than collaboratively. There will need to be mature and careful leadership, for example within the Forum and panSALB in order to ensure that efforts are not duplicated, but rather that they complement each other.

It is further proposed that a South African Language Practitioner's Council be established. This Council is to be made up of experts in translation, interpreting, lexicography, terminology, language editing and law. This will be a statutory body established through an Act of Parliament and members will hold office for a period of five years. This Council will

> ... manage the training, accreditation, and registration of language practitioners in an effort to raise the status of the language profession and the quality of language products by setting and maintaining standards (Implementation Plan, 2003:17).

This Council will further cooperate with the National Qualifications Framework (NQF) training programs and the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA), both of which are already in existence, and which ensure that qualifications are uniform and are of an equal standard.

Mechanisms for Implementation

Mechanisms for implementation include the development of an on-line computerized National Termbank, which is already underway. This will again require the collaboration of all the structures mentioned above. The infrastructure surrounding interpreting, translation and editing skills will be developed in collaboration with the language units. Resources will need to be made available, e.g. simultaneous translation services, as well as training courses for translators, and a translation and editing policy will need to be put in place. Training programs will be developed by the DAC and the panSALB, in conjunction with accredited providers. Scholarships will be

offered to new recruits. Training programs will include short courses, in-service training and full-time training programs. The requirements of the NQF will be adhered to in developing training programs.

Public servants will also be required to develop proficiency in languages other than their mother tongue. Incentives will be developed by the DAC, in cooperation with panSALB, the Department of Education and the Department of Public Service and Administration, to encourage public servants to become multilingual by learning and maintaining additional languages. Accurate information must be provided to customers in the language they understand best and the customer should at no point be marginalised or disadvantaged through the use of languages. The Minister is to publish regulations regarding this code of conduct in the *Gazette* by the end of 2005.

Indigenous languages are also to be supported by new development strategies using new technologies. The DAC is committed to providing information technology infrastructure and building capacity. Computer software such as word processing programs, terminology management systems and translation software should be compatible to encourage the exchange of terminology and other information between all language units and collaborators such as the national Lexicography Units.

A directory of language services will also be created. It will contain the names of relevant agencies/companies/language units, translation, editing, and terminology services. Copies of this directory will be distributed to national and provincial government structures, and to language associations as well as universities. It will also be available on the DAC web-site and updated on a regular basis. There will also be a quarterly newsletter to promote the exchange of information. Language audits will also be conducted in collaboration with panSALB and research and development institutions in order to assist government to make informed decisions on Language Policy implementation. panSALB and the DAC will also run on-going language awareness campaigns to arouse public interest in language matters. This includes encouraging people to make use of their own languages, and to inform business and the private sector of the bottom-line benefits that can be derived from implementing multilingual policies. The first two years however, will focus on policy implementation in government departments and amongst public servants.

The DAC is also responsible for creating a telephone interpreting service. This is particularly suited to the complex multilingual environment in South Africa. It eliminates geographical distances and allows for access to an interpreter at short notice in emergency situations and at customer service points such as clinics and police stations. The service is already being tested at some seventy police stations and at local government level in some eleven clinics and eight customer service counters belonging to the Tshwane Metropolitan Council. (Implementation Plan, 2003:20).

Financial Implications of Policy Implementation

The costing exercise conducted by the National Treasury and presented to the Implementation Conference in 2003 demonstrated that the costs of implementing functional multilingualism are sustainable with minor adjustments to planned budgets. The use of six languages at national level, in line with the National Language Policy Framework, will not exceed an addition of 2% to planned budgets. Over a three year implementation period it is estimated that the total cost for all national government departments will amount to R 379 349 732. This amount includes setting up the infrastructure for a language unit in each department/province; recruiting and training, salaries and benefits of unit staff, work program of the unit to drive implementation, outsourcing translation services, publications for each department, as well as ongoing training of unit staff.

Whereas provinces and local governments will be led by their unique linguistic demographics, national government departments will have to make official documents available in Afrikaans, English, Xitsonga, Tshivenda, at least one of from the Nguni group (isiZulu, isiXhosa, isiNdebele or siSwati) and one from the Sotho group (Sesotho, Setswana or Sepedi). This implies a principle of rotation for the Nguni and the Sotho languages. This could become a contentious issue. In fact, it may amount to a stumbling block in the entire process of implementation at national level. Since 42% of the population speak Zulu and Xhosa as their mother tongue, the question then would be: why should they rotate with siSwati and isiNdebele, which is spoken by only 3% of the population collectively? In effect, linguistic nationalism may yet stand in the way of effective implementation of this policy.

Towards an Econo-language Plan

The language implementation plan appears elaborate and ambitious, if not somewhat clumsy. One may well ask: what is the benefit of this plan going to be in relation to the bigger picture, that is, the South African nation? It has become clear to me that national language policy needs to act in co-operation with the national vision of where we are going as a country in terms of the economy, education and so on. This has yet to be clearly articulated at national government level. One should not lose sight of the fact that economics takes place within a global society where languages such as English, French and Spanish take precedence. However, for many South Africans, this concept of globalization remains a myth. It is relegated to the world of Kentucky Fried Chicken and Coca-cola. It is a world in which many South Africans do not exist.

One cannot, however, doubt the importance of English at a macro-economic level in South Africa. Economists tend to agree that the macro-economic plan which government has put in place is a good one. However it has been at the expense of the micro-economy and job creation, thereby exacerbating what President Mbeki has referred to as 'the second economy' i.e. the 60% of our population who have been marginalized from the macro-economy primarily as a result of a lack of education and skills.

It is therefore at a micro-level of economics that the Language Implementation Plan could have real benefits, allowing South Africans to experience life through their mother tongues at all levels of society. Dare one assume that an emerging farmer could soon apply for a Land Bank loan, in order to purchase farm land, in the language of his or her choice, or should he be forced to apply in a language that he does not necessarily understand, thereby excluding himself from the main stream economy? What benefits could this new policy have in relation to the micro-economy? The answer to this question seems rather obvious. The social and economic costs of not implementing it would be far higher than the costs of implementation, in a society where English still remains a language spoken by the minority. A national sociolinguistic survey commissioned by panSALB in 2000 shows that more than 40% of the people in South Africa often do not understand what is being communicated in English. (Implementation Plan, 2003:9).

The trickle down effect of the National Language Policy is already been felt, for example, at tertiary institutions and within the media.

Universities are presently re-assessing their internal language policies. At the University of Cape Town, for example, a language Task Team (of which I was a member) has been established. The recommendation to Senate is that English be recognized as language of instruction. However, the creation of tri-lingual glossaries in isiXhosa, English and Afrikaans is being considered for key terms in various disciplines such as engineering law and commerce, and the intention is to develop multilingual awareness among the university community.

There are other positive developments which are taking place on the ground although these are not overtly stated in the policy document. The medical faculty has now also opted for a tri-lingual approach. All doctors must be proficient in English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa in order to graduate. On site clinical examinations are conducted with patients in the language which the patient understands best. The students are then graded according to their ability to conduct a clinical examination as well as their language abilities. Language instruction takes place alongside clinical skills in an integrated approach and is taught from the second year onwards. This is a major shift in the education process, which directly impacts on the doctor's abilities in the outside world.

As far as the media is concerned, there are now programs on television which represent the eleven official languages. News bulletins are presented in all our languages, the most recent additions being Xitsonga and Tshivenda in 2003. E-tv, an independent and free channel, as well as SABC 3 offer a sign language interpreter in the corner of the screen, primarily during news bulletins. Radio remains an extremely important medium in South Africa and one can tune into stations in all eleven languages. Advertising, especially on radio, therefore takes place using all the official languages, directly fueling the economy and also showing that there is a need for such advertising.

These are tangible results which emanate from the present language policy. If we are to assume that government is now placing its political will behind the implementation of policy, then it is clear that there will be further trickle down effects which will impact the national economy. In this regard, Heugh (1999:79) states:

The private sector may independently discover that English is not

the only language of international trade, and that small to medium size exporters to neighbouring countries may discover the advantage of using the languages of target markets.

Naturally, this argument could also be applied within the country where target markets do not speak English.

Heugh (1995:23) also argues that South Africa needs to begin accommodating the economic reality of its trading partners, especially since these major trading partners are not English L1 nations. Such partners include Japan, Germany and China. Furthermore, she argues that South Africa needs to be looking toward the necessity of being able to trade in languages such as French, Swahili, Portuguese and Arabic. This is especially true if, in terms of NEPAD (New Partnership for African Development), South Africa is to become the engine of development in sub-Saharan Africa. There is a need for an on-going debate regarding the appropriateness of what I have termed 'econo-languages' for South Africa, and for Africa as a whole (cf. Kaschula, 1999:71)

The fact that English is largely seen as an alternative to Afrikaans in the South African context and that it has essentially only been pitted against Afrikaans in the past may ensure that English will fare well in the future in the corporate world, especially with the on-going emergence of an urban middle class drawn from linguistically and culturally diverse backgrounds. This is increasingly becoming an English-speaking middle class that is linguistically homogenous. I would agree with Alexander (2002) that this is creating complicated divisions between those who are part of the economic mainstream and those who are not, creating divides which could become dangerous chasms in the long term, chasms which could fuel political manipulation and conflict.

Hartshorne (1995:317) argues that as far as English is concerned, '[i]t has to become an inclusive language, accessible to all, if it is not to continue as part of the 'screening out' process'. The point is, that ten years after independence, English has not become accessible to all. I would therefore disagree with Mike Nicol who argues, in his *Sunday Times* article (February 29, 2004) entitled 'Death of the mother tongue', that many young people are forsaking their mother tongue for English. He quotes a Xhosa student attending a previously model C school as saying that she doesn't want to learn her mother tongue (MT) as she only needs to learn English.

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She is learning her language only because her mother is forcing her to go to the township for extra lessons.

While this may be true of a certain class of citizens, the reality is that the vast majority of South African children are not attending these elitist schools. They attend schools in the townships and rural areas where the emphasis is still on communication in the MT. Even English as a subject is often taught incorporating the MT in the medium of instruction. What Nicol is reflecting is the emerging division between that minority percentage of our population who have functional competence in English and the rest of the population who are dysfunctional in terms of English competence. The irony of this situation is that the very people that were excluded under colonialism and apartheid are again being excluded from the main-stream economy and society. Furthermore, we are relegating our country to a permanent state of mediocrity if people cannot be creative and spontaneous in their MT. This is so because a language policy and/or practice that perpetuates English hegemony does not allow for self-confidence to take route through the use of a first language. It is this very situation which the government's language implementation plan rightly wishes to address. It would seem that the virtues of multilingualism have now been recognized, ten years after democracy.

Conclusion

There appears to be a definite movement by government to implement South Africa's Language Policy now. However, it will take time before one can assess the effectiveness of this implementation. Furthermore, it will take time before the trickle-down effect of governmental implementation takes route firmly in the private sector. For this plan to succeed it is clear that there will need to be effective collaboration between the various role-players such as the DAC, panSALB as well as all the other structures which have been put in place. Most importantly, there has to be sufficient political will in order to drive the entire process. This still remains the real challenge of implementation. The role of government is to be the 'voice' of the people, a voice that the majority of the people can understand. This is true democracy at work.

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Department of Linguistics and SA Languages
University of Cape Town
Russell@humanities.uct.ac.za

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'Treading where angels fear most': The South African Government's New Language Policy for Higher Education and its Implications

Mbulungeni Madiba

Introduction

Since the dismantling of apartheid, higher education in South Africa has undergone changes, including changes in language policy as proclaimed in Section 27 (2) of the Higher Education Act (1997). This act requires higher education to be in line with the national language policy and the multilingual reality of the country. The Language Policy for Higher Education was adopted in November 2002 to ensure that all official languages are equitably used and developed as academic/ scientific languages of higher education.

The aim of this paper is to discuss the Language Policy for Higher Education and its implications for the general restructuring of tertiary education. The paper begins with an overview of the national language policy as contained in the Constitution and then discusses the objectives and provisions of the Language Policy for Higher Education. The paper concludes with a discussion of prospects for the implementation of this policy. It is hoped that this article will shed light on the language planning challenges facing higher education in multilingual learning environments.

The National Language Policy on Higher Education

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa recognises eleven official languages. Table 1 outlines the eleven languages as well as the number of L1 speakers for each.

Language	No. of Speakers	% of Speakers
IsiZulu	10.7m	23.8%
IsiXhosa	7.9m	17.9%
Afrikaans	6.0m	13.3%
Sepedi	4.2m	9.4%
English	3.7m	8.2%
Setswana	3.7m	8.2%
Sesotho	3.6m	7.9%
Xitsonga	2.0m	4.4%
SiSwati	1.1m	2.7%
Tshivenda	1.0m	2.3%
IsiNdebele	0.7m	1.6%

Table 1: Eleven Major Languages of South Africa (2001 Census data)

The Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) further provides for the use and development of the official languages, and in particular the African languages, as follows:

> Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages (Section 6.2)
>
> The national government and provincial government by legislative and other measures, must regulate and monitor their use of official languages. Without detracting from provisions of subsection (2), all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably (Section 6.4).
>
> A Pan South African Language Board established by national legislation must:
>
> (a) promote and create conditions for the development and use of-

(i)   all official languages;
(ii) the Khoi, Nama and San languages; and
(iii) Sign Language (Section 6.5).

Everyone has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public educational institutions where that education is reasonably practicable (Section 29.2).

Everyone has the right to use the language and participate in the cultural life of their choice, but no one exercising these rights may do so in a manner inconsistent with any provision of the Bill of Rights (Section 30).

Home Language	Univer-sities	Techni-kons	Total	% of Total Enrol-ments
Afrikaans	71,979	27,363	99,342	16
English	136,957	55,509	192,466	32
IsiNdebele	2,641	637	3,278	1
IsiXhosa	38,247	28,396	66,643	11
IsiZulu	39,363	28,509	67,872	11
Sesotho	22,176	15,597	37,773	6
Sepedi	20,818	10,332	31,150	5
Setswana	19,661	15,542	35,203	6
SiSwati	4,236	2,242	6,478	1
Tshivenda	9,239	5,547	14,786	2
Xitsonga	9,239	5,547	14,786	2
Other language	21,319	4,070	25,389	4
Language unknown	6,294	4,805	11,099	2
TOTAL	**402,129**	**203,366**	**605,495**	**100**

Table 2: Home languages of students registered in public universities and technikons in 2000 (Higher Education Management Information Systems 2000)

To ensure the practical implementation of this national language policy, Cabinet has approved the *South African Languages Bill* to be enacted soon. This Bill provides a more practical way of implementing the eleven official languages by providing a six language formula according to which each government departments should use at least six languages in written communication. These languages are English, Afrikaans, Tshivenda, Xitsonga one Nguni and one Sotho. The Nguni languages (SiSwati, isiNdebele, isiXhosa, isiZulu) on the one hand, and Sotho languages (SeTswana, SeSotho, SePedi) on the other hand will be used on rotational basis.

The Language Policy for Higher Education should also be seen as an effort by government to recognise the multilingual reality of the country which is also reflected in higher education. The South African student population in higher education is linguistically diverse, and it is not uncommon to find a variety of home languages represented in the student body of a single institution. Table 2 above provides a breakdown of the home languages of students registered in public universities and technikons in 2000.

Objectives and Provisions of the National Language Policy for Higher Education

The National Language Policy for Higher Education has the following goals.

Nation building

In its preamble, based on President Mbeki=s speech (1999), the Language Policy emphasises the role of all South African languages to nation building:

> the building blocks of (the) nation...unique idiomatic expressions that reveal the inner meanings of our experiences. ...the foundations on which our common dream of nationhood should be built.

According to Mbeki (1999 cited in the National Language Policy for Higher Education 2002:6) South Africans should learn each other's languages for the purpose of nation building. He has the following to say in this regard:

In sharing one's language with another, one does not lose possession of one's words, but agrees to share these words so as to enrich the lives of others. For it is when the borderline between one language and another is erased, when the social barriers between the speaker of one language and another are broken, that a bridge is built, connecting what were previously two separate sites into one big space for human interaction, and, out of this, a new world emerges and a new nation is born.

The multilingual approach to nation building is also supported by scholars such as Alexander (1995), Bamgbose (1991) and Webb (1996) and is contrary to the commonly accepted view which regards multilingualism as a barrier to nation building. In this latter view, a nation is said to be characterized with one national language, and its people should share a common history and territory. This approach to nation-building was predominant in the creation of nation-states in Europe during the early Modern period (Madiba 1999). But as several studies indicate, there seems to be a growing consensus, especially in developing countries of Africa, that multilingualism is a reality that cannot be wished away (Bokamba 1995; Bamgbose 1994, 1998). Some European scholars (e.g. Kelman 1971:34) argue that in a multilingual country, a common national language is not a necessary condition for national unity and that two or more languages can co-exist with minimal conflict between them.

In multilingual countries such as South Africa, universities are faced with the challenge of finding practical ways of using multilingualism to promote nation building.

Transformation
Transformation must be the inevitable outcome of seeking to live out the values and shared aspirations of a democratic South Africa, as enshrined in the Constitution of 1996. An essential part of accomplishing the transformation envisaged in the Constitution is to rid of the legacy of apartheid and colonialism by urgently addressing the deep patterns of inequality that scar society. Some of these inequalities and injustices were perpetrated by virtue of language policy for higher education which was used during apartheid era to prevent most black South Africans from gaining access to higher education as either students or workers (Dlamini 1996). A partial address of this situation was only achieved after the establishment of homeland universities, or of what are commonly known today as historically black universities. Unfortunately though, the policy of 'separate development' resulted in the privileging of English and Afrikaans as the official languages in higher education and, by the same token, in the marginalisation and underdevelopment of African languages. Thus the language policy was used as an instrument to control, oppress and exploit the majority of the people of South Africa (Hartshorne 1987; Marivate 1992; Reagan 1985, 1990).

Transformation in South Africa is therefore required in the sense that the legacy of apartheid as reflected in the under-development of the African languages must be eliminated. The new language policy and plan goes a long way towards achieving this objective. It seeks to redress the imbalances and injustices of the past, whilst mapping the way forward for the promotion and development of the indigenous languages. Whereas the apartheid language policies marginalised the use of indigenous languages in higher education, the new language policy on higher education seeks to promote their use as academic and scientific languages and media of institutional discourse.

Democratisation
The promotion of multilingualism in higher education is also aimed at creating an environment in which all languages work together to promote the values of democracy and social justice enshrined in the Constitution. The centrality of language in the democratisation process, especially in plural societies such as South Africa, has been widely acknowledged in the language planning literature (Alexander 1995, Madiba 1999, Mazrui & Mazrui 1998, Webb 1995). Accordingly, multilingualism is regarded as a resource for democratisation since it enables easier entry into and thus participation in the national system for the masses. According to Kashoki (1993:150),

> where multilingualism is consciously built into the country's language policy as the dominant principle, it has the likely

consequence of broadening opportunities for more citizens to participate in national affairs (cf. Madiba 1999).

The need for the democratisation of higher education in South Africa should be understood against the undemocratic language policies of the apartheid, which prevented the majority of the population from participating in higher education, especially at the so-called historically white universities (Dlamini 1996). Thus, democracy in higher education cannot be fully realised without the democratisation of language use with a view to concretizing and safeguarding values such as human dignity, the achievement of equality and the advancement of human rights and basic freedoms entrenched in the Constitution (Madiba 1999).

Protection and Promotion of Linguistic Human Rights

As indicated, the Constitution, guarantees linguistic human rights in education. According to the Bill of Rights:

> Everyone has the right to use the language and to participate in the cultural life of their choice, but no one exercising these rights may do so in a manner inconsistent with any provision of the Bill of Rights (Section 30 of the Constitution).

As indicated earlier, in education everyone has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public educational institutions where the education is reasonably practicable. In order to ensure the effective access to, and implementation of, this right, the state must consider all reasonable educational alternatives, including single medium institutions, taking into account:

> (a) equity;
> (b) practicability; and
> (c) the need to redress the results of past racially discriminatory laws and practices@ (Section 29 (2) of the Constitution).

The Language Policy for Higher Education is specifically aimed at protecting and promoting the rights as quoted above, but always with due regard for considerations of equity and redress in the context of the values that underpin our shared aspirations as a nation.

Development of African Languages

The Ministry agrees with the Council for Higher Education that consideration should be given to the development of South African languages other than Afrikaans and English for instruction purposes as part of a medium-to long-term strategy to promote multilingualism. In this regard, the Ministry will give urgent attention to the establishment of a task team to advise on the development of an appropriate implementation plan, including costing and time-frames. The specific recommendation of the Council for Higher Education with respect to the development of South African languages other than Afrikaans and English will be considered as part of this investigation.

Challenges and Recommendations

The challenges facing the implementation of the National Language Policy for Higher Education in tertiary institutions may be viewed from two perspectives: the student's perspective and the institutional perspective. With respect to the student equity perspective, one challenging issue with regard to students in South Africa is that of selecting appropriate media. Debate around this issue has intensified in multilingual contexts. A recent UNESCO document (2003) also addressed this issue and ended with a recommendation that a multilingual approach to teaching and learning should be adopted in multilingual contexts. In most African countries colonial languages such as English, French and Portuguese are used as exclusive media of instruction in higher education (Heine 1992, Bokamba 1995). At present, not a single African language is used as a medium of instruction for disciplines other than African language departments in Africa. Afrikaans is the only language that has succeeded in becoming a medium of instruction in higher education. During the apartheid era, several universities used Afrikaans as the exclusive medium of instruction.

The main challenge facing South Africa and perhaps the rest of the continent is the introduction of indigenous languages as media of instruction. Although the use of the learner's first language is recommended by

international organisations like UNESCO, in South Africa the use of such languages is rejected for politico-historical reasons. The use of African languages is seen to promote and entrench apartheid policies of 'divide' and 'rule' (Reagan 1985, 1990). Paradoxically, research has shown that most of the students admitted to South African universities have low proficiency in English although it is used as the exclusive medium of instruction at most institutions of learning. The result is high drop -out and failure rates at such institutions.

In Section 15(1) of the Language Policy for Higher Education, the Ministry acknowledges the current position of English and Afrikaans as the dominant languages of instruction in higher education and concludes that in the light of practical and other considerations it will be necessary to work within the confines of the status quo. The Policy, however, requires that consideration be given to the development of other South African languages for use in instruction as part of a medium to long-term strategy to promote multilingualism.

In this regard, the Ministry gives urgent attention to the establishment of a Task Team to advise on the development of an appropriate framework and implementation plan, including costing and time-frames. The specific recommendation of the Higher Education Council with respect to the development of other South African languages will be considered a part of this investigation (Section15.2). Accordingly, in 2002 the then National Minister of Education, Professor Kader Asmal, appointed a Task Team to advise him on the intellectualisation and use of the indigenous African languages as media of instruction in higher education. The Ministry of Education has further committed itself to making resources available for the intellectualisation of these languages.

Universities, as centres of learning and research, should establish creative ways of enhancing multilingualism in their programmes. A more balanced approach is needed to use both English and African languages as media of instruction. One approach that has been recommended by several scholars (cf. Bamgbose 2000b, Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1986) is the 'Complementary Language Use Approach' which proceeds from the premise of using the African languages as auxiliary media of instruction in the non-language disciplines with the long-term goal to use them as primary if not exclusive media of instruction in certain disciplines according to the realities

of the society concerned (Bokamba and Tlou 1980:54). According to Dua (1994:132),

> the development of the balanced complementarity of English with the indigenous languages in all the Third World countries is necessary for viable language education, growth of multilingualism and development of indigenous languages.

As Bamgbose (2000b:207) further indicates, in multilingual and multicultural context, there is need to go beyond 'linguistic imperialism, linguicism and language rights to stress the interdependent relationship between English and the indigenous languages'. Thus there should be no conflict between the promotion of English and the recognition of its interdependence with other languages. In this regard, South Africa faces several problems. The first problem is the selection from the nine indigenous languages since the cost of using all of them would be prohibitive. A practicable option would be to select first a few languages in a particular area according to what is spoken in that area. For example, the University of the Witwatersrand, among others has indicated that it will adopt seSotho to be a recommended medium of instruction upon development. Universities in other provinces can also adopt the main African languages of the provinces and develop them as media of instruction.

The second difficulty is that African languages have not been developed to a level where they can be used to teach disciplines such as science and technology at tertiary level. This problem is being addressed through several initiatives, including a Task Team appointed by the Ministry of Education to develop strategies to promote the intellectualisation of African languages. The pan South African Language Board (panSALB) also has several bodies, such as the National Lexicography Units and the National Language Bodies, that are involved with the development of African languages. Institutions of higher learning are also involved in many ways in creating language resources such as corpora, and in researching useful language development strategies (Madiba 2000).

With respect to an institutional discourse perspective, language management in multilingual institutions of higher education also poses a serious challenge (cf. Kaplan and Baldauf 1997). According to Jernudd

(2002:299) although there is a huge international literature that deals with the postcolonial development of language policies of newly independent states, there are very few publications that deal specifically with the universities' postcolonial transition. Thus, the first challenge facing universities in South Africa is the formulation of language policies that entrenches multilingualism in institutional discourse.

All institutions of higher education are encouraged to promote multilingualism for social, cultural, intellectual and economic development. These policies could include changes to events such as graduation ceremonies to acknowledge and accommodate diversity in the constituency body, requiring proficiency in an African language as a requisite for a range of academic fields of study and offering short courses in African languages as part of staff development strategies. In addition, institutions could consider the allocation of preferential weighting to accommodate applicants who have matriculation passes in indigenous languages. Clearly, change in the diversity of student and staff profiles, initiatives such as student support, mentorship and counseling, and the creation of a receptive institutional culture which embraces linguistic diversity are other crucial ways of promoting a climate where all people feel affirmed and empowered to realise their full potential. Finally, the policies should be responsive to the needs of the disabled, for example, the need to develop competencies and capacity in Sign Language.

Guidelines for Drawing-up a University Language Policy

The challenges discussed above require a policy solution. As already indicated, each university was required by the Language Policy on Higher Education to develop its own language policy and submit it to the Ministry by 31 March 2003. The Ministry of Education has thus requested panSALB to work out guidelines to help tertiary institutions to develop language policies. In its document entitled *Guidelines on the layout of a language policy document for institutions of higher education* (February 2003), panSALB provides the following guidelines:

Preamble
Each policy should have a preamble that indicates the institution's constitutional obligations with respect to language and its commitment to recognising and accepting diversity, and to the promotion of equal language rights. It should also state the aims and objectives of the language policy.

Contextualisation
The policy should also give the contextual information regarding the institution's current language practice, the need for change, benefits of promoting multilingualism, language preferences of staff and students, and plans for making optimal use of the linguistic resources available within the institution.

Aspects of the Language Policy
The policy should specify the following:

Language(s) of Instruction and Research
Whereas Section 15 of the Language Policy for Higher Education allows the use of English and Afrikaans as the media of instruction, at least one official African language of the province concerned should also be introduced as a language of instruction, if only as the culmination of a long-term strategy. The institution should indicate how introduction of such a language will be supported by terminology development, translation and development of study materials used in examinations, theses and assignments.

Language of Administration
The policy should indicate which language(s) will be used for internal communication (oral and written) and external communication (oral and written). Internal spoken communication includes Council and Senate meetings, departmental meetings, faculty meetings, enquiries and requests made by students. With regard to external spoken communication, the policy should address the language to be used for communication emanating from the institution, including the dissemination of information to the public.

Labour Relations
The policy should indicate which language(s) will be used in communicating conditions of service, in conducting job interviews

and disciplinary hearings, and in formulating performance agreements and health and safety requirements.

Social Events
Institutions of higher education should also indicate in their language policy which language(s) will be used in social events such as graduation ceremonies, rag and sport events.

Workplace Training and Capacity Development
Institutions should also indicate what language acquisition programmes will be put in place for all employees to increase basic competencies in dealing with African language(s) as media of instruction and administration.

Translation and Interpreting Services
The policy should also indicate what translation and interpreting services and training will be put in place to support both internal and external communication.

Monitoring and Evaluation Mechanisms
The policy should make provision for the establishment of a language committee to monitor and evaluate the implementation of the language policy.

Cost-benefit Analysis
The institution should provide a clear annual budget for the implementation of the language policy.

These guidelines compare well with the categories given by Jernudd (2002:299) for designing a language policy for a bilingual university. These categories include

teaching acts between students and teachers, study acts by students, administrative acts between students, members of faculties and administrator representatives of university departments and administrative offices, research acts, writing and other presentation acts, service acts by members of faculties in communication with many audiences, governance acts between representatives of the university and representatives of government offices and the public.

To Comply or not to Comply?
The crucial challenge facing the Language Policy for Higher Education is whether institutions of higher education will comply with the requirements and the guidelines set out by panSALB. Already several universities have started to express fear and concern about government interference with the autonomy of their institutions. In fact. the Higher Education Act has been criticised for delegating excessive powers that could be misused to achieve political goals.

However, several universities have already responded by drafting language policies that have been submitted to the Ministry of Education, who in turn, has asked panSALB to evaluate the policies. Clearly, most universities prefer monolingual policy with either English as the dominant language, or Afrikaans, as is the case of traditional Afrikaans universities. Accordingly, panSALB has referred such policies back to their institutions for revision so as to render them compliant with the policy guidelines and the requirements of the National Language Policy for Higher Education.

Conclusion
It is evident that the context in which South African universities have operated during the past one hundred and thirty years has completely changed. The democratic elections of 1994 ushered in a dispensation based on the recognition of language and cultural diversity whereby all universities were required in terms of the National Language Policy on Higher Education to formulate language policies that foster multilingualism and ensure simultaneous development of all the official languages as academic/scientific languages. However, the Ministry acknowledges the current position of English and Afrikaans as the dominant languages of instruction in higher education and believes that in the light of practical and other considerations it will be necessary to work within the confines of the status quo until such time as other South African languages have been

developed to a level where they may be used in all higher education functions. The use of these languages should not serve as a barrier to access and success. The policy further requires that consideration be given to the development of other South African languages for use in instruction, as part of a medium to long term strategy to promote multilingualism.

The National Language Policy on Higher Education should be viewed as an opportunity to create new institutional identities, cultures and missions by embracing and accommodating the rich diversity of cultures and languages in South Africa (cf. Asmal 2003:4). A multilingual approach to learning and teaching in South African universities will furthermore create an environment that promotes freedom of thought and speech to produce cadres who are self-motivated and responsible thinkers. The 'complementarity' approach proposed in this paper will enable students to use local languages to participate meaningfully in the creation, dissemination and application of knowledge. Such knowledge can then be globalised through the use of languages of wider communication, such as English. And again the local languages may be used to customise the global knowledge for use by the general public as is the case in countries such as Japan.

Furthermore, the use of indigenous languages, either as auxiliary or primary media of instruction and learning, has the potential to increase performance rates in general. As the Language Policy on Higher Education indicates, the language-medium factor cannot be isolated as the only factor contributing to poor academic performance at most institutions. While the problem is multifarious, there is little doubt that language is a critical factor.

Although the implementation of this Policy is in its infancy, it provides some insight into and sheds light on language problems facing higher education in multilingual contexts and how such problems can be addressed by means of a clear language policy and implementation plan. The guidelines provided for drawing up language policies for tertiary institutions are significant since there is still a dearth of literature that deals with this subject.

Department of African Languages
University of South Africa
madibmr@unisa.ac.za

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Additive Bilingualism in the South African Language-in-Education Policy: Is there Proof of the Pudding?

Lawrie Barnes

Historical Perspectives

After the transition to full democracy in 1994 a new South African language-in-education policy was formulated to meet the needs of a society in transformation (Department of Education 1997). The policy was designed to allow freedom of choice, while adhering to the underlying principles of equity, practicability, and the need to redress the results of the past discriminatory laws and practices. The new policy has been described as one of the most progressive in the world (Probyn *et al.* 2002:29). Critics, however, believe that the implementation of the policy leaves much to be desired. In order to appraise the policy, it is necessary to understand the sociohistorical factors that have impacted on the formation of current policies and approaches to multilingualism in South Africa (Bekker 1999:99; St. Clair 1982:164). This paper will therefore begin with a brief sketch of the historical background against which the current language-in-education policy can be analysed and evaluated.

In keeping with the *Zeitgeist* of seventeenth century colonialism, the early colonial history of South Africa was characterised by a general disregard for the indigenous languages of the Cape Colony. Ultimately, after two centuries of contact with the Dutch settlers, the Khoesan languages are close to extinction (Alexander 1989: 12-15; Crawhall 1993:6; Steyn1980:106). There are only a few varieties that are still spoken in Namibia and in Botswana and these are also severely threatened (Traill 2002:44). After the second and final British occupation of the Cape in 1806,

a language struggle began between Dutch (later to become Afrikaans) and English, which was destined to dominate the linguistic history of South Africa for the next two centuries. The struggle was in reaction to the language policy of the new colonial masters, one that focused on replacing 'Dutch with English as the dominant language in public life in the colony' (Reagan 1986:2).

At the same time the colonists were coming into contact increasingly with the speakers of the Bantu languages and there was considerable missionary activity. As was the case in other parts of Africa, the missionaries played a major role in the codification of the indigenous languages and in the education of the local population. According to Alexander (1989:20), the language-in-education policy of the time, while allowing rudimentary education through the mother tongue, was aimed at cultivating an Anglocentric elite among the local population:

> British colonial language policy was one of tolerating basic (primary-level) schooling in the relevant indigenous languages (i.e. for the small percentage of black children who actually went to school) and promoting English-medium instruction in a classically Anglocentric curriculum for the tiny mission elite.

A consequence of this policy was the emergence of positive attitudes among many members of the local population towards the English culture and language at the expense of their own cultures and languages. A command of English was seen as a *sine qua non* for improving their socio-economic and socio-cultural status. This positive attitude towards English *vis-à-vis* the local languages was also exhibited by members of the early resistance movement in South Africa which was made up mainly of members of the black middle class. According to Alexander (1989:28) this group 'plumped for English and adopted an elitist and patronising attitude towards the languages of the people'. Nevertheless, there were attempts during this period to extend the use and status of the indigenous languages in education. For instance, isiZulu was introduced as a subject in the Natal (now KwaZulu-Natal) schools in 1885 (Hartshorne 1987:86) and by 1922, a vernacular was a compulsory primary school subject in black schools in all the provinces.

After the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) and the subsequent formation of the Union of South Africa, the earlier struggle between the colonial languages took on a new dimension. Fearing the crushing effect of British hegemony, there were many descendants of the Dutch colonists who felt compelled to continue the struggle for the rights of the Afrikaner. Hand in hand with the political battle went a struggle for language rights. Although South Africa was officially a bilingual country with equal rights for the two official languages, Dutch and English, firmly entrenched in the constitution, Standard Dutch was not really spoken in South Africa. The local variety of Dutch was different from the Dutch spoken in the Netherlands and the official variety supported by the Constitution. This local variety that became known as Afrikaans turned out to be the symbol of a people seeking their own identity and their freedom from British hegemony and concomitantly, English. The struggle for the establishment and recognition of Afrikaans as an autonomous language came to fruition in 1925 when it became one of the official languages of South Africa. In the mid thirties, Afrikaans was introduced into Bantu education. In the Free State schools a dual-medium approach (i.e. the use of both English and Afrikaans as media of instruction) was adopted and by 1938 Afrikaans had become a compulsory subject in black schools throughout the country (Hartshorne 1987:87).

In 1948, when the National Party (NP) came to power, Afrikaans became linked to the ruling political party. It is worth noting that in contrast to the NP whose political struggle was essentially linked to the language rights of Afrikaans speakers, the political struggle of the African National Congress (ANC), who sought to empower the black people of South Africa, was not linked to the struggle for language rights. The ANC, seeking to unite people from various linguistic backgrounds, chose English as a 'neutral' language that would link the nation with the outside world.

The main thrust of the NP's language policy was the promotion of mother-tongue education. In white education school children were compelled by law to receive education in their mother tongues (either English or Afrikaans) and all forms of bilingual or dual medium education were discouraged. In black education mother-tongue education (in the indigenous Bantu languages) was compulsory for the first four years, and thereafter one of the two official languages had to be used. The NP's policy

of mother-tongue education was an integral part of this party's policy of separate development (*apartheid*). It was rationalised as an attempt to preserve the diverse cultures of the indigenous populations, but essentially, was 'a divide and rule' tactic (Marivate 1992:91; Robertson 1973:165). According to Robertson (1973:ii-iii) the primary aim of this ethnocentric education system was racial and social segregation:

> one of the prime functions of education in South Africa is to prepare each child to occupy a niche in a highly segregated, hierarchical and static society, with the relative position of each individual in that hierarchy being determined by the sole criterion of skin colour.

The architects of apartheid claimed that the separate development of the different racial groups would be in their best interest as the groups would be free from the domination by other groups. However, speeches of NP Members of Parliament during the period just preceding the implementation of the Bantu Education Act, as exemplified in the following extract from a speech by J.N. le Roux (Minister of Agriculture), quoted in Marivate (1992:98-102), belie these sentiments:

> We should not give the natives an academic education, as some people are prone to do. If we do this we shall later be burdened with a number of academically trained Europeans and Non-Europeans, and who is going to do the labour in the country? I am in thorough agreement with the view that we should so conduct our schools that the native who attends those schools will know that to a great extent he must be the labourer in the country.

It is not surprising that the Bantu Education Act of 1953 was perceived as promoting an inferior form of education and that the NP's policies were rejected by many black people. Ironically, the Bantu Education Act of 1953 was passed at the same time that the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) adopted the mother-tongue principal in education (Crawhall 1993:7).

The Achilles heel of the NP policy was the introduction of a dual language medium of instruction policy. Once the mother-tongue instruction

period was completed, black children were compelled to learn some subjects through the medium of English and others through the medium of Afrikaans (Hartshorne 1987:91). There was immediate resistance to the Act in the form of demands for the use of only one medium of instruction i.e. English. In 1954-55 the African National Congress (ANC) organised a boycott of Bantu Education schools and in 1955 they adopted the Freedom Charter, roundly condemning Bantu Education. The Freedom Charter recognised equal language rights and the right for all people to develop their cultures. Superficially, this seemed similar to the apartheid policy. The fundamental difference between these viewpoints, however, was that the ANC recognised this as a right and a measure of accommodation and not as an enforcement that characterised the restrictive nature of the NP policy.

Despite the opposition, the Bantu Education Department remained intransigent on its dual-medium position (Hartshorne 1987:93). The situation came to a head when the Department decided to make black scholars write high school entrance examinations a year earlier after seven years of schooling instead of eight i.e. at the end of Std 5 (Grade 7) instead of Std 6 (Grade 8). Some of the subjects had to be written in English and others in Afrikaans, which was an added burden for the learners (Hartshorne 1987:95). On 17 May 1976 students in Soweto began to boycott classes on a wholesale basis. 16 June 1976 is historically marked as the day on which violent confrontation erupted between students and the police, an event that claimed at least 176 lives (Hartshorne 1987:96-97; Thompson 1995:212-13; Marivate 1992:135-142). This resistance brought to an end the dual medium policy of the NP government (Alexander 1989:25 and Marivate 1992:142) and by 1978 the vast majority of African pupils were being taught in English only at secondary level (Hartshorne 1987:97). In 1983 regulations were passed legislating the use of English as medium of instruction from Std 3 (Grade 5) onwards (Hartshorne 1987:98).

The main consequence of the enforcement of the Bantu Education Act of 1953 was the creation of negative attitudes towards Afrikaans as well as distrust towards the Department of Bantu Education (Hartshorne 1987:99). Another devastating consequence was the discrediting of mother-tongue education among the black population. In addition there was a move towards English as the language of liberation. Crawhall (1993:7) notes:

> the liberation movement ... stigmatised both Afrikaans and the vernacular languages ... leading the progressive rank and file to join their leaders in a reactionary ... endorsement of English as the language of liberation.

The government's attempt to force the use of Afrikaans in black schools had caused language to become a major issue resulting in the 1976 Soweto riots. The symbolic significance of the two languages in the early twentieth century was now reversed: Afrikaans became the language of the oppressor, while English was seen as the language of liberation. Interestingly, the position of English as an ex-colonial language rather than as the language of liberation, primarily characterised the language debate in the period preceding the democratic elections of 1994, especially among the black intelligentsia. This concern is expressed in Crawhall (1993:9):

> English has been a double-edged sword for the liberation movement ... it has been a powerful instrument of liberation ... on the other hand ... it provides its speakers with an entry point into the capitalist class system thus potentially co-opting the leaders ... and alienating the rank and file ... it is a vehicle for a hegemony that may undermine participatory democracy.

The position of English *vis-à-vis* the African languages and the future status of Afrikaans were of central concern to those involved in the language policy debates and other negotiations preceding the endorsement of an interim Constitution in November 1993 (see Crawhall 1993). The Constitution, on ratification, stipulated that South Africa would have eleven official languages: English, Afrikaans, isiNdebele, Sesotho sa Leboa, Sesotho, siSwati, Xitsonga, Setswana, Tshivenda, isiXhosa, and isiZulu (Thompson 1995:250). This provision was retained in the final Constitution of 1996. (It should be noted that Sesotho sa Leboa is also referred to as Sepedi or North Sotho in later revisions of the Constitution).

It is against this historical background that in 1995 the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST) established the Language Plan Task Group (LANGTAG) in order to provide the Minister with a National Language Plan for South Africa (LANGTAG 1996:7) and

the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) was established in 1996 as a body which would monitor the observance of the Constitutional provisions and principles relating to the use of languages, as well as language policy matters. One of the recommendations of LANGTAG (1996:3) was the promotion of African languages as languages of learning and teaching (LoLTs) in high status domains such as tertiary education i.e. at universities and technikons.

The Language-in-Education Policy

The new language-in-education policy was conceived as an integral part of the new government's strategy to build a non-racial nation in South Africa. It is meant to facilitate communication across the barriers of colour and language, while fostering an environment in which respect for all languages used in the country would be encouraged. In line with the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, cultural and linguistic diversity is recognized as a national asset.

As discussed above, the inherited language-in-education policy in South Africa was underpinned by racial and linguistic discrimination. These key factors severely affected access to the education system and the academic success of learners. Today, only 25% of black South Africans are functionally literate in English, the main language for access to education and more lucrative jobs in South Africa (Webb & Kembo-Sure 2000:6). To redress the effects of these policies is one of the major challenges facing educators in South Africa.

The architects of the policy recognize that both societal and individual multilingualism are the global norm today, especially on the African continent. The policy states that the learning of more than one language should be general practice and principle in South African society and that 'being multilingual should be a defining characteristic of being South African' (Department of Education 1997: no. 4.1.4).

The core characteristics of the policy are: flexibility, freedom of choice, equity and practicability. These characteristics are manifested in the main aims of the policy as stated in Department of Education (1997). These are:

1. To promote full participation in society and the economy to equitable and meaningful access to education.
2. To pursue the language policy most supportive of general conceptual growth amongst learners, and hence to establish additive multilingualism as an approach to language in education;
3. To promote and develop all the official languages;
4. To support the teaching and learning of all other languages required by learners or used by communities in South Africa, including languages used for religious purposes, languages which are important for international trade and communication, and South African Sign Language, as well as Alternative and Augmentative communication;
5. To counter disadvantages resulting from different kinds of mismatches between home languages ['mother tongues'] and languages of learning and teaching;
6. To develop programmes for the redress of previously disadvantaged languages.

The underlying principle of the policy is the maintenance of the mother tongue (or home language) whilst providing access to and the effective acquisition of additional languages. In other words, the Department of Education supports the system of additive bilingualism. Basically, this means that the learners should be allowed access to their mother tongues as the language of learning and teaching (LoLT), but should they be required to make a transition to another LoLT, this should not be done at the expense of their mother-tongue. At the same time the policy clearly states that 'the right to choose the language of learning and teaching is vested in the individual' ((Department of Education 1997: no. 4.1.6). This means that learners or their parents have the right to choose a LoLT which can be their mother-tongue or not.

Mother-tongue Education

Table 1 shows the number of mother-tongue speakers of the 11 official languages of South Africa as taken from Mesthrie (2002:13).

Table 1: Mother-tongue Speakers of the Official Languages of South Africa in 1996

Language	Number of Speakers	% of Population
Ndebele	586,961	1.5
Swati	1,013,193	2.5
Xhosa	67,196,118	17.9
Zulu	9,200,144	22,9
North Sotho	3,695,846	9.2
South Sotho	3,104,197	7.7
Tswana	3,301,774	8.2
Tsonga	1,176,105	4.4
Venda	876,409	2.2
Afrikaans	15,811,547	14.4
English	3,457,467	8.6

It is evident that the vast majority of South Africans (more than 70%) are mother-tongue speakers of an African language. As the LoLT in most South African schools above the lower primary level is generally English (and to a lesser extent Afrikaans), it is clear that most South Africans learn through a language that is not their mother-tongue. For speakers of African languages the question of additive bilingualism is a crucial issue, as their access to education is dependent on it.

In the additive-bilingualism approach the learner gains competence in the second language while maintaining the first language. This has positive social and cognitive benefits (Harmers and Blanc 1989:56; Lambert 1970:117). Subtractive bilingualism occurs when the second language is learnt at the expense of the first, gradually replacing it. This may hinder cognitive and social development. Heugh (2000:4) maintains:

> In a multilingual society where a language such as English is highly prized, there is only one viable option and this is bilingual education where adequate linguistic development is foregrounded in the mother tongue whilst the second language is systematically added. If the mother tongue is replaced, the second language will not be adequately learned and the linguistic proficiency in both languages will be compromised.

Proponents of an additive bilingualism approach argue that speakers of African languages should be allowed the use of their mother tongues as LoLTS until they have reached the cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) level (Cummins 1979), while learning English as a second language. This would permit effective transition to English as the LoLT. However, it does not seem to be happening. De Klerk (2002b:15) warns that 'the state of language education in South Africa presents signs of a growing crisis'. Her study of learners in the Eastern Cape schools supports other studies (Rossouw 1999; de Wet 2002; Lemmer 1995; Moyo 2001; Ward 2003) that the new language-in-education policy has been ignored and that parents are opting for a straight-for-English approach.

Why is mother-tongue education not effective in South Africa? Obanya (1999) identifies a number of reasons why African languages are generally not used in African education: These include: the multiplicity of languages within the borders of most African countries, multi-ethnic populations in urban areas, the official status of indigenous languages in most African countries, the level of technical development of African languages, the hostility of Africans to the study of their own languages, the lack of personnel and appropriate materials, the high cost of educating in the indigenous languages and, the long term ill-effects of educating learners in the mother-tongue. The above-mentioned reasons provide the basis for our examination of the implementation of mother-tongue education in South Africa.

With regard to multiplicity of languages, there is no denying that the multiplicity of languages within South Africa makes it more difficult to implement mother-tongue instruction in the schools. There are nine official, standardized African languages in South Africa. Furthermore, there is often considerable dialectal variation within these speech communities. It would certainly be easier to promote the African languages as LoLTs if we had a situation where one African language was used as a lingua franca, as in the case of Swahili in Tanzania. Theoretically this is possible in South Africa as seven of the nine languages may be categorized into two genetically related groups, viz. the Sotho and the Nguni groups. Proposals (Nhlapho 1945; Alexander 1991) for harmonizing the varieties within these groups to create two major standard African languages in South Africa, however, have not been met with much enthusiasm. Linguistic traditions as well as cultural and

political differences pose hindrances. For instance, the speakers of the two major Nguni languages, Zulu and Xhosa, have different and strongly opposing political affiliations.

The situation is far more complex in urban areas. Multi-ethnic populations exist in the major cities and townships in Gauteng, in particular. In addition to this, a number of urban, mixed varieties such as Pretoria-Sotho, Flaaitaal and other koines, are spoken in the townships, especially amongst the youth (Schuring 1985; Mfusi 1992; Molamu 1993; Makhudu 1995). Schools segregated along ethnolinguistic lines would be neither practicable nor in accordance with government policy.

The level of technical development of the African languages in South Africa is often cited as a reason why they cannot function effectively as LoLTs. Although language boards were put in place during the apartheid era to develop terminology in the African languages, the issue of term creation in African languages has been fraught with problems. In a study on the standardization of Zulu, van Huyssteen (1993:6-7) identifies several difficulties. These include: inconsistencies in the application of rules in relation to orthographies and terminology, lack of standardization in the word-formation patterns in Zulu, inadequate cultural and sociolinguistic sensitivity by terminologists, and inadequate research on the use of oral and written corpora in term creation as well as the lack of consideration of the extent to which existing standardized terms have been accepted and used by the Zulu- speaking community.

The level of technical development or degree of elaboration of a language is also related to the matter of status. Languages that are 'underdeveloped' tend to be perceived as having low status. The African languages have only enjoyed official status for a decade. This has not been long enough for the effects of the past discrimination to be counteracted. The prejudices of the past cannot simply be wiped out overnight by an entry in the statute book. These languages may have *de jure* status but they do not yet enjoy *de facto* status.

Although all these factors undoubtedly have played a role in determining the use of African languages (or lack thereof) as LoLTs, the reason that appears to be cited the most for their lack of use is the speakers' attitudes towards the use of their own languages as LoLTs. This complex issue needs to be examined carefully. A number of studies claim that

speakers of African languages generally prefer English as the LoLT and have a lower regard for bilingual or vernacular education (cf. Young et al. 1991, de Klerk & Bosch 1993, 1994; de Klerk 1996; Mutasa 1999; Mokhahlane 2000; de Klerk 2002a).

In a recent study on the attitudes of South African parents towards the language-in-education policy, Ward (2003) examined three schools: (a) a suburban state primary school (formerly a model C white school), (b) a township state primary school and (c) a suburban independent primary school (private school). The findings of the survey showed an overwhelming support for English as the LoLT. In all three schools over 90 percent of the respondents were in favour of English as the LoLT. It is worth noting that only 7% of the respondents in the township school were in favour of mother-tongue instruction. Some of the more commonly cited reasons were: English allows one to get better jobs, English is used internationally, one must master English to succeed in life, English is important for further study, English is the language of business, and that most of the technical scientific words are in English. Ward (2003:174) deduced that respondents were largely unaware of the benefits to be derived from bilingual education and were either ignorant of or ill informed about the process of transfer from L1 to L2.

Bekker (2002:158) warns against simplistic interpretation of results of attitudinal studies. He sees the positive attitudes of African-language speakers towards English as a matter of instrumental rather than integrative motivation. His findings reveal that English is generally seen as a way to individual socio-economic advancement. It has also been viewed as a vehicle of African liberation, for advancing the socio-economic and political status of the African population rather than as a resource for mass social mobility integration into the white group. African languages play a vital role as markers of social group identity and thus promote the early cognitive and affective development of the child.

The strongest and most obvious reasons for the positive attitudes towards English are its value for economic empowerment, its status as an international language and its utility as a basis for cross-cultural communication. These factors, together with the support given to English by the black elite and the negative perceptions of mother-tongue education (as a result of its strong associations in the past with Bantu Education) are the

main cause of the negative attitudes towards mother-tongue education in South Africa.

Some researchers (de Wet 2002:119; Lemmer 1995:92; Moyo 2001:111; Rossouw 1999:10) believe that the lack of suitable textbooks and materials in the various African languages contributes to the lack of their use as LoLTs. There is undoubtedly a need for more texts to be produced in order to meet the specialised language needs of the speakers of African languages. If there was a will to produce the material, a way would be found. The case of Afrikaans is often brought up in arguments of this nature: a full range of school text books and a high degree of advanced technical literature exist in Afrikaans. It must be borne in mind, however, that the struggle for Afrikaans was strongly motivated and supported by a political ideology. In the case of the African languages, it not supported in this way. The cost of producing the material may be a factor but it is difficult to determine if this is a genuine obstacle in implementing effective bilingual education in South Africa as no significant studies have been conducted in this area that could support the argument.

Another factor which lacks any substantial proof is the idea that there are long term ill-effects resulting from mother-tongue education. Research on bilingualism over the past four decades (summarized in Barnes 1990) has disproved this idea. There is sufficient counter-evidence available in this regard. For instance, many Afrikaans-speaking South Africans have successfully completed courses through English at tertiary level, having only studied the LoLT as a second language at school. It is important to note that in the case of these learners, the CALP level of their mother tongue had been well established before they entered tertiary education. Although one could probably disregard the myth of the negative effects of the long term use of the mother tongue as LoLT as a non-issue in the debate, it is a popular misconception in the minds of some sectors of the population. If people believe that mother-tongue education is harmful, the myth may become a stumbling block to the implementation of bilingual education.

The Way Ahead

What is the way ahead in South African education? Mother-tongue instruction continues to be perceived negatively by the black community and

we continue to reap the legacy of apartheid. If the language-in-education policy is to be implemented successfully, some radical changes will have to be made. We are faced with a paradox. On the one hand, the language-in-education policy states that the individual has the right to choose the LoLT. On the other hand, the policy states that is necessary to promote and develop the previously disadvantaged and neglected indigenous South African languages. In exercising their democratic rights parents often fail to consider the impact of their choices. As stated previously, parents are still ignorant of their rights, are not informed of the numerous benefits of learning through the mother tongue, are still caught up in the chains of our sociohistorical past and therefore, still view mother-tongue education negatively. On the whole they follow old habits or current trends uncritically. What is urgently needed is the dissemination of information. Parents, teachers, the school boards and the learners themselves should be made aware of the options. They also need to be made aware of the research findings on the advantages of additive bilingualism. The issue of choosing a LoLT is often confused with that of mastering the language. There is a popular belief that adopting English as a LoLT automatically improves one's knowledge of English. A straight for English approach can be disastrous in the context of a rural school.

Many factors need to be considered when deciding on a language policy in a school. The issue of literacy is one factor that is often neglected. The policy talks about bilingualism. However, to be more precise, it is biliteracy that is our real concern. Specials skills need to be developed in acquiring literacy. A well established level of literacy in the mother-tongue is the best foundation for developing literacy in the L2. Matjila and Pretorius (2004) have found alarmingly low levels of literacy in both the L1 and L2 of many African language-speaking learners. Their research findings support other studies which have proved that the learner should learn to think and function in the L1 up to CALP level before the learner can transfer the skills to the L2 successfully. The process of learning through another language can be a traumatic experience. It can take the learner seven years to acquire the necessary CALP skills in the L2. An inadequate transfer of skills may significantly delay and sometimes permanently impair the learners' academic development.

The situation can be improved by research, dissemination of research findings to all stakeholders, consultation between experts and

relevant parent and governing bodies, adequate training of teachers and the production of suitable materials. Many challenges do lie ahead and these are not impossible. When we 'realize' that there can also be strength in diversity, then there is hope for a successful implementation of the South African language-in-education policy.

Department of Linguistics
University of South Africa
barnela@unisa.ac.za

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Language and Identity:
The Case of African Languages in
S.A. Higher Education

Nobuhle Ndimande

Introduction

This article explores, among other things, the relationship between language and identity. It focuses particularly on the role of the indigenous African languages in higher education. The findings discussed here are based on an empirical study that investigated the status of isiZulu at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Westville campus. This paper explores the problem of the existing stigma attached to indigenous African languages by their own speakers, particularly the isiZulu and isiXhosa speakers. Firstly, an attempt is made to understand the reasons why these speakers look down upon their languages. Secondly, the article outlines how these speakers construct their identities through language usage. Finally, in view of the expected transformation in higher education and the draft language policy of the said institution, recommendations are made on ways to promote the use of the indigenous African languages in higher education.

Several scholars (e.g. Edwards 1985, Tabouret-Keller 1998, Thornborrow 1999, Kroskrit 2000 and Hermansson 2003) have explored the relationship between language and identity, each with his/her own definition of 'identity'. Kroskrit (2000:111-114) defines identity as the linguistic construct of membership in one or more social groups or categories. Although other non-linguistic criteria may also be significant, language is important and sometimes crucial to the way members define their group as well as the way the group defines them and most importantly, the way they define themselves. Identity is the set of characteristics that somebody recognizes as belonging uniquely to him/herself and constituting his/her individual personality for life. Various categories constitute identity, namely, national, ethnic, cultural, social, linguistic, sexual and gender identity.

Theoretical Framework

One of the theories that guides the discussion in this article is Giles, Mulac, Bradac and Johnson's (1987) speech accommodation model, a model that was first proposed by Giles in 1973. According to these theorists, the key concepts in this model are convergence and divergence. Basically, convergence focuses on strategies that an individual may employ in order to adapt to other's communicative behaviour. Divergence, on the other hand, refers to the ways in which speakers accentuate speech and non-verbal differences between themselves and others. According to Giles and Coupland (1991:73) the degree of convergence that a speaker alludes to depends on his/her need for gaining another's social approval. They further state that acculturation is a product of the convergence process when one seeks the same economic and social rewards as others in the same group. Power is a key variable in this model.

Another influential concept that is relevant to this article is Antonio Gramsci's (1871) concept of hegemony. According to Gramsci (1871), cited by Pluddemann in Bourne and Reid (2003:283), hegemony is:

> The 'spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is 'historically' caused by the prestige (consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production (Gramsci 1871:12).

Strinati (1995:165), while placing less emphasis on the historical component, explains hegemony as follows:

> ...Dominant groups in society, including fundamentally but not exclusively the ruling class, maintain their dominance by securing the 'spontaneous consent' of subordinate groups, including the

working class, through the negotiated construction of a political and ideological consensus, which incorporates both dominant and dominated groups.

The concept of hegemony presupposes a consent given by the majority of a population to a certain direction suggested by those in power. This concept is exposed in many ways by Africans who do not want to have anything to do with African languages. The hegemony of English in education is a reality in South Africa and in former British colonies in Africa. According to Alexander (2004) people are suffering from what he describes as a 'static maintenance programme' where people think that their African languages cannot be further developed, citing historical and economic reasons, among others, for preferring English over an African language as a language of instruction. One of the reasons given was 'we do not want to go back to Bantu education'.

Barkhuizen (2001) has conducted research on the attitudes towards isiXhosa as a matric subject among home-language speakers in the Western and Eastern Cape Provinces. His findings reveal:

> Respondents believe that it is important to study Xhosa as a school subject, but the reasons for its importance can be located in informal domains, such as community and culture, rather than in domains that are often associated with progress and success, such as further study and job opportunities (Barkhuizen 2001:12).

In his study of the status of isiZulu at former House of Delegates high schools in the greater Durban area, Pillay (2003:100) asked learners about the language they would like educators to use in the classroom. The findings reveal that the majority of isiZulu L1 speakers (80,2%) prefer their educators to communicate with them in English. A possible explanation that Pillay offers for this trend is that learners are influenced by instrumental motives based on the knowledge that English is seen as a passport to success in South African society. The learners' response is conditioned by two further factors: The first factor is that parents send children to Indian schools to enable them to become fluent in English (children reflect parents attitudes). The second factor is that Indian teachers would address African language speakers in

Fanakalo rather than isiZulu, a variety that is stigmatized and considered humiliating by Zulu L1 speakers.

Arguably, Gramsci's theory suggests that subordinate groups accept the ideas, values and leadership of the dominant group not because they are physically or mentally induced to do so, nor because they are ideologically indoctrinated, but because they have reasons of their own. (Strinati 1995:165).

Research Methodology
Data for my study was collected using a questionnaire and interviews. The questionnaire was used to determine the status of isiZulu and to assess students' views about the role of isiZulu as an African language in higher education. Fifty copies of a questionnaire were distributed to isiZulu L1 students enrolled for modules in the isiZulu programme at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Westville campus. The questionnaire was available in two languages, namely, English and isiZulu. Interviews were held with twenty students with the intention of probing further their views about the role of isiZulu in higher education. I have also provided a reflective and a critical exposé on transformation in South African higher education as well as on language policy.

The Bantu Education Act of 1953
The *Bantu* Education Act (No. 47) of 1953 decreed that blacks should be provided with separate educational facilities under the control of the Ministry of Native Affairs, rather than the Ministry of Education. The pupils in the schools would be taught their *Bantu* cultural heritage and, in the words of Hendrik F. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs, 'the black people were going to be trained in accordance with their opportunities in life', which were 'below the level of certain forms of labour'. Verwoerd stated that the aim of *Bantu* education was to prevent Africans from receiving an education that would lead them to aspire to positions they would not be allowed to hold in society (Sookrajh 1990:9). Instead Africans were to serve their own people in the homelands or perform manual labour work under whites. Black schools no longer studied the same syllabus as non-black schools, but followed a new *Bantu* Education syllabus based on officially recognized

Bantu languages. English, which had been the most common medium of instruction in mission schools, was discontinued in primary schools and only introduced as medium of instruction in grades 6 to 8 in secondary schools.

In 1948 there were less than 1000 black students in tertiary education institutions. The Bantu Education Act was followed by the Extension of University Act (Act 45 of 1959), the purpose of which was to extend its control over tertiary education (Sookrajh 1990:10). This act made provision for a number of tribal colleges for Blacks. As a result of this act, the University of the North was established for Sotho, Tswana and Venda speakers; the University of Durban-Westville for Indian students; the University of Zululand for isiZulu and siSwati speakers and the University of the Western Cape for those classified as 'coloured'. Fort Hare was turned into a tribal college for Xhosa speakers. Later, other similar Universities i.e. Transkei, Venda, Bophuthatswana and Vista were created according to the apartheid design.

Tertiary institutions were strictly segregated on ethno-linguistic bases, and controlled with Verwoedian philosophy. Prior to this time before Bantu education came to be the so-called, the Smuts Education Act of 1907 had been passed making the teaching of English obligatory and stipulating that every child had to learn English at school. Free English schools were established to promote the English language and culture. The thought of an African language becoming an official language was non-existent (Cele 2001:182). Since this thought has now become a reality, it is expected that the South African government would be fully engaged in the promotion and development of African languages. This, however, is not the case. The South African government has been sluggish in implementing its programmes to adequately develop the indigenous African languages.

One may summarize the situation on the ground by saying that African languages are enjoying political liberation without economic power. The effects of this situation are also being felt in education. Learners need to understand that educational liberation and empowerment is possible through language and that language is a necessity for sustainable human development. In the process of promoting African languages we need to think of sustainable human development that regenerates the intellectual and moral environment rather that which destroys it. It ought to empower people rather than marginalize them (Tyolwana 2003:178).

According to Marivate (1993:91) the mother-tongue principle in African education has always met with strong resistance from most sectors in the country, particularly from the African community. Even though the current multilingual language policy is in place, it does not necessarily address the problem of stigmatization of the African languages. The concern of graduating students at tertiary level, in particular African language-speaking students, is access to the work arena and the need to be financially independent. For those that study with African languages as media of instruction, the questions that arise are: will these students be employable upon completion of their studies, what jobs will they be able to access, will these positions enable them to become financially secure, etc.? It is clearly evident that language choices play an important role in the construction of one's identity. This is outlined in the next section.

Language and Identity in South Africa

During the apartheid era, proficiency in English was an emblem of educational and social status. It socially and economically positioned those with English proficiency on far better level than those with limited or no proficiency at all (Cele 2001:182). This situation continues to exist among African communities despite the fact that African languages have now achieved official status in South Africa. It is this social construction of English hegemony in the market place that has contributed to revising existing identities.

African language-speaking students at tertiary level may be divided into those who attended multiracial schools and those who attended government schools. Those that attended multiracial schools display a greater degree of fluency in English than those who attended previously disadvantaged schools. When enrolling at tertiary institutions, learners from multiracial schools tend to identify those who attended government schools as inferior to them. These learners prefer using English at the expense of their home language(s). They tend to discriminate against those who are not fluent in English thereby creating an unfriendly relationship. They look down upon students who choose to study African languages at tertiary level. Ramsay-Brijball (1999:170) states:

...the past and present economic and political climate of the country has caused Zulu L1 speakers [as well as other African language speakers] to also embrace English substantially. For many of these speakers, English still remains the language of power and the medium through which they hope to achieve upward social mobility.

Other researchers (e.g. Moyo 1996 and Zungu 1998) have also attempted to understand African language speakers' preference for English over their own home languages. In my opinion, the insistence on mother tongue education during the apartheid period created a suspicion that this was a strategy to delay access to English, a language still commonly viewed as the 'gateway to modernity' (Mahlalela-Thusi & Heugh 2002:244).

Nowadays, students discriminate against one another on the basis of varying levels of English proficiency with those having higher levels of proficiency not wanting to accommodate others who have lower levels of proficiency. Students from government schools feel inferior about their identity as African people. Students, who choose to speak their languages using the monolingual varieties and who prefer not to code-switch are assumed to be less proficient in English. An issue for interrogation is the relationship between language choice and identity construction. With respect to this relationship, Le Page and Tabouret Keller (1985:315) state that the language spoken by a person and his or her identity as a speaker of the language are inseparable. For these researchers 'language acts are acts of identity'.

In the same way that students discriminate against one another, academic staff in African language departments/programmes are looked down upon by those from other departments. This has had a negative bearing on their psyches to the point that some have decided to abandon advancing their qualifications and research in the African languages in favour of pursuing studies and research in other disciplines such as tourism and business administration, among others. Although not overtly stated, I believe that these staff members choose such alternatives to remove themselves from the stigma that is attached to African languages. In their opinions, such alternatives enable them access to domains that will guarantee them social and economic success.

The hegemony of English continues to perpetuate the low utilization of African languages. Colonialism, among other things, has created a situation in African countries where the European languages (English, Portuguese and French) are valorized and therefore preside as the basic languages of communication among African language speakers. This has created a sense of moral and cultural inferiority among African people wittingly or unwittingly turning them against their own cultural identity and social development (Cele 2001:186).

Section two of the South African constitution clearly states that language is a basic human right and it is not any less important than any other right. Taking this into account, it is difficult to believe that tertiary students enrolled for isiZulu or isiXhosa are not respected by their fellow African peers. Students that matriculate at Model C schools are reluctant to choose an African language as a subject of study and question who will employ them once they graduate.

Ramsay-Brijball (2003) has studied Zulu-English code-switching among Zulu L1 speakers at the Westville campus. Her study indicates that many Zulu L1 students on the Westville campus resort to code-switching in place of using a monolingual variety of an African language to avoid the stigma of being considered 'old fashioned' by their peers. Given that speech is to be seen 'as an identity adjustment made to increase group status and favourability' (Edwards 1985:152), we could argue that speech divergence may be an important strategy for distinguishing oneself from members of other groups in situations where group membership has to be emphasized and supported.

According to Zungu (1998:45), speakers want to express a 'mixed identity' and therefore choose to use two or more languages concurrently. IsiZulu is often employed to mark ethnicity when the speaker is interacting with other linguistic and ethnic groups in the Southern African context. Students currently enrolled in the isiZulu programme find themselves in a difficult situation of being associated with the Inkatha Freedom Party, a political organization in South Africa, and particularly in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. This has created a scenario where students do not want any association with isiZulu and its development due to political reasons. This situation is a clear violation of human rights, and more especially language rights. For Giles and St. Clair (1979:147), language is a critical dimension of identity.

In the questionnaire a question was asked in relation to the love of the language and the willingness to use it as a language of teaching and learning. 90% of the students maintained that they love isiZulu as it is their mother tongue: they understand it best and express themselves better in it. Swain (1982) claims that the mother tongue medium enhances the importance of local languages and identity. According to Wolff (1999:39) 'we need an Africa that provides the environment for the promotion and preservation of an African identity as well as the cultivation of a proud and confident African personality to face the challenges of this century'.

IsiZulu L1 students responded that African languages as subjects of study at tertiary institutions in South Africa are not receiving adequate support. Escalating international initiatives by foreign universities to teach and research African languages outside of Africa bears testimony to the fact that there is inadequate support locally. For instance, at Wisconsin Madison University in the United States, there is a National African Language Resource Center (NALRC), funded by the US Department of Education and established in 1999 under the leadership of its first director, Dr. Folarin Schleicher (Bokamba 2002:31). The purpose of the Center is to improve the accessibility of African languages in the United States. The development of resources for the teaching, learning and research in African languages is a major activity of NALRC. It also develops curriculum activities for African language instructors nationally and internationally.

The respondents also expressed African language-speaking learners in the primary and secondary level of education need to be encouraged to enroll for an African language at tertiary level. Some of the reasons they cited include: they are the languages of their ancestors; they are symbols of their identity; they are becoming languages of the economy; they are now creating employment opportunities in areas such as translation and interpreting. In interviews with the subjects, many remarked that they are not ashamed of their identity as isiZulu L1 speakers. However, they become concerned when isiZulu speakers who study courses in other faculties through the medium of English question them about their preference of isiZulu primarily on the basis that English is the preferred language when entering to job market.

During its university-wide curriculum restructuring, the university decided to offer a module called English Language Development to equip African language speakers in particular with adequate proficiency in English to cope with English as the medium of instruction. Evaluation of the first-entry student's English proficiency occurred through the use of an English Language Placement Test. While this endeavor may be viewed positively as African language speakers become bilingually proficient, there is no corresponding system in place to promote the learning of African languages by other language groups at the university. Only recently, the Faculty of Humanities has approved that isiZulu be offered as a university-wide module at the university. This certainly is a step towards addressing the imbalances of the past, towards achieve equity and, in a way, to promoting multilingualism in KwaZulu-Natal.

In my opinion, there is still a need to augment the language requirements in the structure of the degrees offered at the university. This is a good opportunity to develop African languages and concomitantly, to promote additive bilingualism, whereby speakers of any language are introduced to a second language in addition to the continued educational use of the primary language as the language of learning. With additive bilingualism, the second language is never intended to replace the primary language but is rather seen as complementary to it (Heugh *et al* 1995:iv).

The Role of African Languages as Media of Instruction in Education

South Africa is a multilingual country with 11 official languages. IsiZulu speakers constitute the largest language group i.e. 24% of the national population, and 80% of the population in KwaZulu-Natal. According to the constitution all South Africans enjoy equal rights. The questions that arise are: (i)how many South Africans know their language rights? (ii) How many African language speakers have the courage to demand their mother tongue as a medium of instruction? (iii) Do our African languages humiliate us? (iv) Are our languages actually inferior or are we the ones who are making our African languages inferior? With respect to Kikuyu as an African language in Kenya, Ngugi (1986:28) states:

> I believe that my writing in Kikuyu language, a Kenyan language, an African language, is part and parcel of the anti-imperialist

struggles of Kenyan people and African peoples. In schools and universities our Kenyan languages, that is the languages of many nationalities which make up Kenya, were associated with negative qualities of backwardness, underdevelopment, humiliation and punishment.

Are we still associating the African languages with underdevelopment and humiliation and if yes, why is this so? In my opinion, our languages are a gateway to defining our African identity, to freedom, to empowerment and to a truly democratic South Africa. In view of this, Ngugi (1986:4) further states:

> The choice of language and the use to which language is put is central to a people's definition of themselves in relation to their natural and social environment, indeed in relation to the entire universe.

In South Africa, a situation exists where our children are deprived of a basic human right, that is, their right to receive education through their mother tongue. How can we, as a nation, call ourselves democratic and free when a basic human right, that is, one's language right, cannot be exercised? In view of this argument, 'empowering the nation' becomes a cliché to some extent. Wolff (1999:129) argues that the problems of African languages can be defined as a complex set of interlocking problems which link patterns of language use with underdevelopment in general, and educational crises in Africa in particular. For example, in trying to develop isiZulu in KwaZulu-Natal, negative attitudes towards the language by L1 speakers as well as speakers of other languages impinge negatively on the use of isiZulu as a medium of instruction. Any discussion on the issue is based on the misguided assumption that the aim of developing isiZulu or any other African language is to abolish English. The ever-increasing role of English as an international language must be acknowledged and given its rightful place. However, this should not be at the expense of the indigenous African languages in South African education. Much caution needs to be exercised with the development of the indigenous African languages. There are those who dissuade African language speakers from using their languages on the basis that they cannot be modernized or developed. Such statements fuel the problem of stigmatization of the African languages.

Language is a thorny issue, but we need to understand the centrality of language in human society. Mateene (1999:165) states:

> That nobody takes an attitude of neutrality or of abstention when the question of 'which language in education' is raised. The acquisition of language, which coincides with one's early childhood, makes the relationship between life and language very understandable. To silence somebody can mean killing him. And people would sacrifice their own life to defend their language.

In celebrating ten years of democracy in South Africa, our President, Thabo Mbeki, took his oath in six official languages, namely, siSwati, seSotho, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, English and Afrikaans. In so doing, he demonstrated the importance of our languages before the nation and the entire world. Repeated gestures such as this might help alter people's attitudes towards African languages. Sociohistorically, we have had time to deal with post-colonial traumas and with clashes of cultures and mixed identities. It is now time to focus on and develop the African languages.

Transformation in South African Higher Education

According to Cloete (2002:88) the 1994-1999 era was characterized by efforts to formulate a new policy and legislative framework higher education. The post-1999 phase was declared a period of implementation. The National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE) was formed in 1995 and submitted its first report in 1996. This report was then converted into a White Paper (1997) and became the new Higher Education Act of 1997. The new government policy is based on the following principles: equity and redress; democratization; effectiveness and efficiency; development; quality; academic freedom; institutional autonomy and public accountability. The NCHE report was strongly criticized by a group of black intellectuals who complained that it did not sufficiently locate higher education within an African context. In their opinion, higher education has not addressed equity and redress especially with regard to the development

and use of African languages as Languages of Tuition (LoT). The Council of Higher Education (CHE) bears testimony to this.

> ...Of the universities that returned the questionnaire on which the survey was based, hardly any can be said to be promoting the use of any African language as a Language of Tuition (except, in most cases, in the relevant language taught as subject). Only at five universities does there appear to be some informal use of an African language in a limited number of tutorials. As at the end of April 2000, not a single university was officially exploring the possibility of using African languages as language of tuition (CHE 2001:4).

Language Policy

On 23 August 2001 the Sociolinguistics team in the school of Languages and Literature at the Westville campus of the university hosted a workshop on language planning. The workshop was attended by representatives from all the tertiary institutions in KwaZulu-Natal including Technikons. The hegemony of English as the medium of instruction, assessment and administration was reported in all the participating institutions of higher education. Except for two disciplines, namely, isiZulu and Afrikaans, in which cases the selfsame languages are used as media of instruction in studying these languages, English is used as the designated medium in all other cases. Most institutions indicated a will to promote multilingualism and to set tangible goals towards ensuring implementation (Geyser, Narismulu & Ramsay-Brijball 2001).

On 18 September 2002 the Sociolinguistics team hosted the second language planning workshop. Its purpose was to examine the progress of multilingual development policies at tertiary institutions in the KwaZulu-Natal region. The key objective of this workshop was to map out practical strategies for promoting multilingualism in KZN with a specific focus on the education sector. As an outcome of the workshop, language awareness campaigns needed to be launched. In this regard, the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Language Committee was tasked to secure funding from the Pan South African Language Board (panSALB). It is pleasing to note that panSALB has now started these campaigns in KwaZulu-Natal. They have thus far visited the areas of Mpangeni, Durban, Pietermaritzburg and Port Shepstone, educating the communities about language rights. Another outcome of the workshop was a suggestion that a letter be written to the Provincial Minister of Education questioning the implementation of the Language in Education Policy (LiEP). In order to implement the LiEP, a need to generate a greater production of isiZulu L1 and L2 teachers were identified. Other practical strategies for promoting multilingualism emerged from the workshop (cf. Ndimande, Desai and Ramsay-Brijball 2003). One of the strategies worth mentioning here was a basic isiZulu course for all non-Nguni speaking students. As mentioned earlier, this has come to fruition since 2004 on the Westville campus of the university as such a module is now compulsory for all non-Nguni language-speaking students in the Faculty of Humanities.

The newly established University of KwaZulu-Natal espouses to become a prominent centre of African scholarship in its mission statement. In a paper presented in absentia at a conference of the International Education Association of South Africa (IEASA) in August 2003, Mthembu (2003) questioned the concept of a so-called African University in the modern era:

> Is it about mere geographical location, or about a distinct belief, conceptual and intellectual system? Does it exist as a unique entity, with universal or non-universal elements? What are its foundations, philosophy, values, conceptual system and epistemology? How different are these from those of modern universities in Europe or Asia, for instance?

In his view, a university located in Africa should qualify to be called an African university on the basis of its attempt to conform to the following:

> Relevance, engagement and service to Africa's environment and socio-economic conditions and needs were to be its foundation. Knowledge, in all its manifestations of formation, content, structure, transmission and acquisition, posits a necessary and sufficient condition for uniqueness of a way of knowing as could be exemplified by the modern African University, if it exists as a distinct entity.

Mthembu (2003) has further mentioned that some universities could claim to be doing all of the above. However, they might not be holistic, coordinated and focused – structurally and programmatically. The University of KwaZulu-Natal must be vigilant in constructing its identity as the premier university of African scholarship. One positive step in establishing its new identity is the creation of a separate School of isiZulu Studies at the university.

In view of curriculum development, little has been done to promote multilingualism in higher education. It is worth noting that the University of the North has established a BA degree in Contemporary English Language Studies (CELS) and Multilingual Studies (MUST). The Council of Higher Education (CHE) and the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) have approved the latter programme use an African language (Sesotho sa Leboa, to start with) as the medium of instruction in one of the newly endorsed BA degrees being offered by the School of Languages and Communication Studies. This degree began in 2002. Its aim is to develop students into bilingual specialists who will be able to compete effectively for careers and jobs in South Africa's multilingual society. The University of the North has set a precedent that African languages can be developed and used as medium of instruction, assessment and examination at tertiary institutions. The School of IsiZulu Studies at the University of KwaZulu-Natal also needs to be recognized for its contribution. This School offers modules in translation, interpreting, lexicography, language planning and editing since 2000 and isiZulu is successfully used as the language of instruction.

These two universities are among four other universities that have been identified by the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) for funding purposes. DAC has a bursary scheme for postgraduate students in African languages. This bursary scheme started in 2004 and is part of an implementation plan of the National Language Policy Framework (NLPF) that gives effect to the provisions on language as set out in section 6 of the 1996 Constitution (Act No 108 of 1996). In the phasing in of the language policy it is proposed that multilingual publications should be phased in over a period of three years according to department's publications programmes. For example in the first year 30%, in the second year 60% and in the third year 100% of their publications should be multilingual.

In the Western Cape there are three universities: Cape Town (UCT), Western Cape (UWC) and Stellenbosch (US). According to Bourne and Reid (2003:291), in these institutions African languages have never been used as languages of instruction, examination or administration. These institutions are, however, trying to change by virtue of their commitment to multilingualism at least on a rhetoric level. At UCT students are compelled to possess academic literacy in English. When it comes to admissions policy, first entry applicants must have achieved a pass of 40% or more for English on the higher grade at senior certificate level. In the Faculty of Humanities, students who have English as a second or third language, or as a first language with a matric result of E or lower, have to write the placement test in English for educational purposes. Those who do poorly in this test but are admitted to the institution, have to take the English for Academic Purposes course which is credit bearing (De Witte 1998:17).

At UWC, unlike UCT, prospective undergraduate students who meet the minimum entry requirements do not have to write a language proficiency test or a placement test. In terms of African languages, it appears that there was a working group on language policy that proposed a shift away from the bilingual policy (English & Afrikaans) towards multilingualism. Through this process other languages, such as isiXhosa, should be developed and used as a medium of teaching, learning and assessment. As is the case of UCT, not much progress has been made in promoting multilingualism at UWC. IsiXhosa, the prevalent African language in the Western Cape, is not used at all. There is no proposal to incorporate it in this institution in spite of the fact that the policy of Western Cape provincial administration promotes the use of three official languages, i.e., English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa, Afrikaans remains the sole medium of instruction at UWC. De Witte (1998:21) confirmed that the 'proposed language policies in the three universities have not been implemented in practice' for reasons of weak internal communication, lack of interest in the debate on the part of African languages and literature departments, a lack of genuine commitment to promoting multilingualism, the absence of an active and central language debate, and possibly the historical hegemony of Afrikaans at US and UWC.

Monolingualism continues to prevail. Does it mean that 'the role of African languages in education' has not been given necessary attention in the recent discussions? Bamgbose (2000) argues that the strongest cases that can

be made for an African medium of instruction are those linked with development. I am not talking about any kind of development but development in which focus is on people rather than on physical structures. This development is stated very clearly in the UNESCO document. prepared for the International Conference on Education:

> Since human development is recognized as being the prime goal of all development, such development should be geared to increasing and enhancing human capabilities, affording people access not only to material benefits ...but to such intangible benefits as knowledge and the right to play full part in the life of the community ... UNESCO 1992b: 7)

Language development is part of human development, as it leads to knowledge. The human development paradigm is defined by United Nations Development Program (UNDP) (1990:9-10) as a process of widening people's choices and the level of achieved well-being. UNDP identify two principal components of human development: the formation of human capabilities such as improved health or knowledge and the use that people make of their acquired capabilities, for work or leisure. This development flows from the notion that the objective of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives, to be educated and to enjoy a decent standard of living. UNDP's human development places emphasis on human beings as the ends of human development, not as means, and also as active participants in the development process, not as passive recipients (UNDP 1990:10). If students are to develop their human capabilities through education, this is more effectively achieved through the language they understand best, that is, their mother tongue. This concept should force us to promote African languages as media of instruction at all educational levels. Such a policy would eventually result in using them as languages of the economy.

Higher education institutions are targeted as stakeholders in the promotion of multilingualism. It is evident, however, that not all languages are instantly capable of dealing with concepts that are peculiar to different cultures. For example, English cannot deal with the large number of nouns used in isiZulu to describe the colour of cattle. A language may be fully developed in one area but under-developed in another due to cultural reasons. Ideally, a developed language has a viable orthography and a substantial body of literature; it is used in domains such as education, broadcasting, the print media, administration and law. An 'underdeveloped' language shows deficiencies in one or more of the above-mentioned fields. It may lack vocabulary for specific phenomena (e.g., will a pigmy from the Equatorial Forest be able to talk about snow?) and/or there may be a total absence of reading materials. For African languages to be used in a wide range of domains, they may need to expand their vocabulary and to develop a rich and adequate literature. Development of a language will be limited if there is no need to use it in various contexts such as government, education, industry and in the private sector, among others. Furthermore, language use must be continuous and consistent. Without language use all implementation measures will fail (UNESCO 1997:13). The new fields of development must be dealt with at all levels of education.

Some people argue that African languages do not possess the relevant terminology and thus cannot be used as languages of instruction in, for example, subjects in the area of science. The answer evidently resides in the effort to develop such terminology by using the languages creatively. A proper knowledge of a given subject area should enable an intellectual/linguist to explain the concepts under study using any of the African languages. As long as we rely on foreign scientists to teach us science, our languages will never be fully developed. Rather than blaming the language, we should blame ourselves for not developing it. It is a shame that there are still people who teach African languages through English medium to speakers of African languages. These people justify their use of English to accommodate model C students who did not study an African language at school. However, they omit to consider the implications of their actions on the larger population of L1 African language speakers. The post-1994 education in South Africa has produced students who are illiterate in African languages because they did not learn them in model C schools. Mateene in Wolff (1999:143) argues that:

> Some people would justify interrupting the use of a language and replacing it by a new one, on the pretext that the first is not developed for secondary education. Ironically, it is such

interruption, which stops the scientific development of that language. It is indeed, the practice of a language in a classroom that makes it develop; and in this, both the teacher and the students become used to expressing scientific ideas in their own language.

We need to deal with people's attitudes toward African languages if we want to address the issue of development, and more especially, of African languages as a media of instruction in South African Higher Education. Our language is our identity. If our current generation is becoming illiterate in isiZulu, what hope do we have for the coming generation?

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is critical that all South African schools and tertiary institutions earnestly engage in the process of empowering African languages. This is the only legitimate response to the National Language-in-education Policy (1997). The first step is to remove the stigma often attached to the study of an African language. This can be achieved if teachers and lecturers are enthusiastic about their subject, and ingeniously inventive in their teaching methods and teaching aids. Furthermore, bilingual education should be exercised at all levels.

This proposal is supported by an empirical research by Martin (1996), where he investigated children's perceptions of being bilingual in Zulu and English throughout South Africa. The key findings of the research were that isiZulu as an African language is not given the necessary support to develop as a language of teaching and learning in higher education institutions. Emphasis continues to be on English. Bantu education has had a huge impact on the minds of students. There is a tendency of looking down upon students who are studying African languages and this situation perpetuates inferiority complex.

The government is willing to develop African languages as media of instruction and to also promote multilingualism as this is the cornerstone of the national language policy. Bilingualism should then be seen as the catalyst to reach these goals. The Department of Arts and Culture is certainly being active in this process by providing bursary schemes for students to study African languages, especially in the areas of language planning, interpreting, translation, lexicography and human language technology. The department of Education (DoE) must monitor and evaluate the process of language policy developments for tertiary institutions so that transformation could take place. The DoE must also provide job opportunities for teachers to teach African languages in multiracial schools, especially isiZulu in KwaZulu-Natal, a province where 80% of the population speaks isiZulu. The DoE must also fund institutions intending to develop teaching and learning resources for African languages. Language technology, i.e. the use of computers, must be incorporated into the university curricula of African languages with the intention of devising spellcheckers and other essential tools. It is imperative to have a spellchecker before engaging in computer-assisted translations. Finally, the African Renaissance will remain an impossible dream if African languages are not given their rightful place in society, in education and in Africa as a whole.

School of IsiZulu Studies
University of KwaZulu-Natal
ndimanden@ukzn.ac.za

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A Sociolinguistic Investigation of the Status of isiZulu at Former House of Delegates High Schools in Phoenix

Rama Pillay

Introduction

This study examines the language policy of high schools in Phoenix. Since 1990 these schools have undergone transformation only in terms of learner demographics. There has been an influx of isiZulu L1 learners (isiZulu first language speakers) at these schools from surrounding townships such as KwaMashu, Ntuzuma and New Town as well as peri-urban areas such as Inanda, Amaoti and Bambayi.

Three democratic elections have come and gone yet the curriculum and especially that of the languages still reflect our country's past because English and Afrikaans are the only two languages that are offered as first and second languages respectively at many high schools in Phoenix. This adversely affects IsiZulu L1 learners because they are forced to learn English as a first language and Afrikaans as a second language. Furthermore, these languages are compulsory for promotion purposes. This anomaly goes against the spirit of the new constitution which grants equal status to eleven languages namely Afrikaans, English isiNdebele, isiZulu, Sepedi, Sesotho, Siswati, Setswana, Tshivenda and Xitsonga. In fact 23,8% of South Africa's population speak isiZulu as a first language (Census 2001:16). IsiZulu is therefore the most widely spoken language in the country and in KwaZulu-Natal (80,9%). In spite of this, many learners are not given a chance to pursue isiZulu as a subject of study.

The Language-in-Education Policy

In July 1997, the National Department of Education unveiled its Language in

Education Policy, hereafter (LiEP). LiEP was intended to facilitate communication across the barriers of colour, language and region while at the same time creating an environment in which respect for languages other than one's own would be encouraged. LiEP identifies the eleven official languages of the Constitution. The nine marginalised African languages now have the same status as Afrikaans and English. This language policy stipulates that all eleven languages should be equally promoted. It also states that people have the right to receive education in any of the official languages. The policy further states that there ought to be mother tongue and bilingual education in terms of an approach called additive bilingualism[11]. The justification for this approach is fundamental to learning theory.

LiEP attempts to address the linguistic inequalities of the past but there are limitations. It would appear that learners are under no obligation to choose a historically ignored language because the choices of languages at schools are voluntary. Under the present policy the choice of language medium rests with the individual parent or guardian in primary and secondary schools. In the current system of education, school governing bodies have to determine the language policy of their schools. It is worth noting however, that the status quo has remained because Afrikaans and English are still compulsory languages of study at many high schools in Phoenix.

According to the previous National Education Minister, Professor Kader Asmal (*Daily News* 8 May 2001:1), LiEP is theoretically sound but it has not really worked well on the ground. According to the Minister, mother tongue teaching and learning had worked for English L1 and Afrikaans L1 learners but not for African L1 learners. The Minister further stated that in some schools governing bodies together with their management staff coerced parents of African L1 learners to select the only language on offer namely English, thus compromising learners' cognitive development. Some school

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[1] Additive bilingualism is realised in an educational situation in which speakers of a language are introduced to a second language, in addition to the continued educational use of the first language as a language of learning. The second language is never intended to replace the first language. Rather, it is seen as complementary to the first language (Heugh 1995:vi).

governing bodies refuse to comply with all the provisions of LiEP perhaps because they are unfamiliar with the details of LiEP. A possible reason for this could be that governing bodies have not been work shopped on LiEP by the National and Provincial departments of education.

Although LiEP embraces mother tongue education it is not being implemented for isiZulu L1 learners at schools. LiEP appears to be excellent on paper and has been well received throughout the world but it has not been implemented effectively at most schools. There has been no paradigm shift with regard to the language of learning and teaching in isiZulu at many schools. Those affected by this bungling are the learners who are the future human resource of this country.

A major flaw of LiEP is that it errs on the side of allowing too much choice. The choice factor is exacerbated by the fact that people want to learn English because it is seen as an international language, which offers access to opportunities. However, if learners were acquiring English effectively, the problem would not be as great. Proficiency in English remains an unattainable goal for most learners (Desai 1999:46). According to Desai, this applies not only to English as a subject, but also as a language through which learners can access knowledge.

Language Planning Models

Like most African countries, South Africa does not have a history of successful language planning for African languages. Kamwangamalu (2000:59) argues vehemently that:

> Status planning for African languages seems to be at odds with the language practices in the country institution. He further contends that the lack of a bold political initiative to promote these languages together with vested interests and conflicting ideologies ensure that the African languages are associated only with their traditional role as vehicles for cultural heritage.

Several language-planning models have been mooted which attempt to promote and uplift African languages. For instance van den Berghe

(1968:223) suggested that English should be recognised as the national language to be taught in all schools, and used in the central legislature and in official documents. At the same time the other four main languages i.e. isiZulu, Afrikaans, isiXhosa and SeSotho should also have official recognition as regional languages. Thus, in the Western Cape, Afrikaans would be the second language; in the Eastern Cape, isiXhosa; in the Free State and Gauteng, SeSotho; and in KwaZulu-Natal, isiZulu. In any given area, two languages (one of them being English) would be used in schools and in government offices. Alexander's (1989) model is also similar to that of van den Berghe's model, Alexander also advocates English as the official language but unlike van den Berghe, Alexander argues that all other languages must be given official status on a regional basis. Such language planning models place our society at the cutting edge of transformation because they embrace the previously marginalised African indigenous languages.

There are various problems that underlie the language planning models outlined above. The common problem is they do not indicate how bilingualism and multilingualism ought to be implemented at grassroots level. Kamwangamalu (1997:58) suggests that one way of altering African languages from their passive role as official languages is to engage in 'reverse covert planning'. By this, he means that African languages need to be seen as marketable. This entails the recognition of these languages as tools by means of which its users can meet their material needs (Kamwangamalu 2000:58). These ideas are consistent with Cooper's (1989) and Bourdieu's (1991) language planning models, which propose that language management, is really a marketing problem. According to these scholars, English and Afrikaans L1 speakers need to be convinced of the instrumentive as well as the integrative value of African languages. African speakers should also be educated about the instrumentive and integrative value of their languages. This can be achieved if they are educated about their language rights, which are enshrined in the Constitution.

Empirical Investigation

The overall aim of the study was to investigate the status of isiZulu at former House of Delegates high schools in Phoenix. The status of isiZulu was examined from the perspective of English L1 and isiZulu L1 learners. Closed-ended and open-ended questions were used to collect data to determine the status of isiZulu at these schools.

The following are some of the important closed ended questions that were asked in this study:

o   What is your home language?
o   How proficient are you in speaking, reading, writing and understanding isiZulu?
o   Is isiZulu offered as a subject at your school?
o   Do you think that isiZulu should be taught to all learners?

The following open-ended questions were used for the study:
o   What is your attitude towards the study of isiZulu at your school?
o   What problems do isiZulu L1 learners experience at school?
o   What problems do English L1 learners experience at school?

Eight (8) high schools in Phoenix were selected for this research because this sample is representative of the high schools in this study. The following high schools were involved in the random sample: Northmead, Brookdale, Palmview, Grove-End, Earlington, Phoenix, Havenpark and Foresthaven. Copies of a questionnaire were given to six hundred (600) English L1 and isiZulu L1 learners at these schools.

Each school was given 75 copies of the questionnaire. 15 copies of the questionnaire were distributed randomly to isiZulu L1 and English L1 learners in grades eight, nine, ten, eleven and twelve. The questionnaire was presented in both English and isiZulu so that isiZulu L1 learners who did not understand English well could answer the isiZulu version of the questionnaire. Grade eight and grade nine learners were required to complete only thirteen closed ended questions by placing a cross in the appropriate box. Grade eleven and twelve learners were required to complete the same thirteen closed ended questions as well as five open ended questions.

Only seven out of eight schools in the sample returned their completed forms of the questionnaire. A total number of three hundred and seventy six copies (376) of the questionnaire were returned. Foresthaven Secondary did not return any copies of the questionnaire.

The Findings

	Frequency	Percentage
English	232	62.0
IsiZulu	144	38.0
Total	376	100

Table 1: Home language of learners

Table1 indicates that 62% of learners indicated English as their home language whereas 38% of learners indicated isiZulu as their home language. The fact that the majority of learners use English as their home language is not surprising because they are in the majority at schools in the sample.

	English L1 learners		IsiZulu L1 learners	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Speaking				
Very well	10	5.2	110	81.5
Fairly well	34	17.9	15	11.1
Not at all	146	76.9	10	7.4
Total	190	100	135	100
Did not respond	42		9	
Total	232		144	
Reading and Writing				
Very well	10	5.9	73	59.3
Fairly well	34	20.3	44	35.8
Not at all	124	73.8	6	4.9
Total	168	100	123	100
Did not respond	64		21	
Total	232		144	
Understanding				
Very well	2	1.2	95	79.8
Fairly well	22	13.3	17	14.3
Not at all	141	85.5	7	15.9
Total	165	100	119	100
Did not respond	67		25	
Total	232		144	

Table2: Learners' proficiency in isiZulu

From the table it can be seen that a very large percentage (76.9%) of English L1 learners have no oral skills in isiZulu. However a significant percentage (17.9%) of these learners indicated that they speak isiZulu fairly well. My observations indicate that these learners speak Fanakalo[2] and are under the impression that they speak the language fairly well. Amongst English L1 learners, isiZulu has a low status because many of these learners did not have any formal exposure to isiZulu in the primary schools. This has adversely affected their reading and writing skills as well as their ability to understand isiZulu. Therefore, 73.8% of these learners have no reading or writing skills in isiZulu. Also, 85.5% of these learners have no understanding of isiZulu.

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[2] Fanakalo consists of English and isiZulu words that are used as a resource of communication between non-mother and mother tongue isiZulu speakers.

With regard to isiZulu L1 learners' proficiency in the language we observe that 81.5% of isiZulu learners speak isiZulu very well, 11.1% of these learners speak the language fairly well and 7.4% do not speak isiZulu well. That a high percentage of learners speak isiZulu very well is not surprising as it is their home language. However, it is surprising to note that a significant percentage of these learners do not have adequate oral skills in isiZulu. It could be that these learners have been to schools where the medium of instruction is in English.

However a significantly lower percentage of isiZulu L1 learners (59.3%) read and write isiZulu very well. A possible explanation for this situation could be that some of the isiZulu L1 learners started their education at former House of Delegates schools (so-called Indian schools) or former House of Assembly schools (so-called white schools) where isiZulu was not offered as a subject of study. This has negatively affected their ability to read and write isiZulu.

In view of comprehension skills, 79.8% of isiZulu L1 learners understand isiZulu very well. However, it is surprising to note that a significant percentage of isiZulu learners have a problem understanding isiZulu. It could be that these learners are exposed to the non-standard varieties of isiZulu that are seen to be fashionable and trendy in the townships.

	English L1 learners		IsiZulu L1 learners	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	*143*	*21.5*	*30*	*25.4*
No	*157*	*78.5*	*88*	*74.6*
Total	*200*	*100*	*118*	*100*
Did not respond	*32*		*26*	
Total	*232*		*144*	

Table 3: Learners' indication as to whether isiZulu is offered as a subject of study at school

From the above table it is abundantly clear that the majority of the English L1 learners (78.5%) and isiZulu L1 learners (74.6%) indicated that isiZulu is not offered. A small percentage of English L1 learners (21.5%) and isiZulu L1 learners (25.4%) indicated that isiZulu is offered at their schools. One would have expected a higher percentage of English L1 and isiZulu L1 learners to indicate that isiZulu is not offered at their schools. This is because isiZulu is offered at only two schools. At the remaining five schools the status quo has remained with regard to languages as subjects of study.

These schools are implementing National Department Of Education Language policy, which states that learners must be offered two languages, one as a first language and one as a second language. At Phoenix Secondary, English is offered as a first language and learners have the option of choosing between Afrikaans and isiZulu as a second language. At Haven Park Secondary, English is offered as a first language, Afrikaans as a second language and isiZulu as a third language. At the remaining five schools, English is offered as a first language and Afrikaans as a second language. IsiZulu is not offered as a subject of study at these schools. This means that isiZulu is not taken seriously at these schools.

A study conducted by Chick and McKay (2001) at two former House of Assembly high schools (so-called white schools), two former House of Delegates high schools and two primary schools (one House of Assembly and one House of Delegates) in the Durban area reiterates similar findings. Their findings indicate that there is little evidence that any effort is being made to encourage isiZulu L1 learners to develop literacy in their home language. Furthermore, English L1 learners are not being encouraged

	English L1 learners		IsiZulu L1 learners	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	180	81.8	116	93.5
No	40	18.2	8	6.5
Total	220	100	124	100
Did not respond	12		20	
Total	232		144	

Table 4: Learners' preferences with regard to isiZulu as subject of study

to gain anything but a rudimentary level of proficiency in isiZulu. This illustrates that many so-called open schools are flouting the principle of language equity enshrined in our constitution.

It is not enough to have legislation in place that accords recognition and equal status to all the official languages. Language policy is more than a language clause in the Constitution. It is important to note that unless the loophole inherent in the current LiEP is closed, efforts to promote the marginalised indigenous languages will not come to fruition.

An examination of the table 4 illustrates that an overwhelming majority of English L1 learners (81.8%) and isiZulu L1 learners (93.5%) stated that isiZulu should be taught to all learners. 18.2% of the English L1 learners and 6.5% of the isiZulu L1 learners stated that isiZulu should not be offered. That the majority of learners stated that isiZulu ought to be offered as a subject of study augurs well for the future development of the language. Although the above statement may be an overly optimistic view of the future of languages, it does convey the enthusiasm of the English L1 learners. It is also important to note that the isiZulu L1 learners are still passionate about their language and their culture.

The results that are presented below were obtained from the open-ended questions. An analysis of learners' responses to the question: What is your attitude towards the study of isiZulu at your school? revealed that the majority of English L1 learners (69%) and isiZulu L1 learners (87%) have positive attitudes towards isiZulu. It is therefore important that governing bodies carry out language surveys to determine the language preferences of learners before determining the language policy of schools. Perhaps, if the language is introduced in primary schools it may well prepare English L1 and IsiZulu L1 learners to study isiZulu at high schools.

The following are some of the positive views articulated by English L1 and isiZulu L1 learners towards the study of isiZulu. Note that the responses that are given below are taken as the learners themselves wrote them.

English L1 Learners' Views:
- 'I would like to learn the mother tongue of South Africa, as I am a South African citizen I feel IsiZulu is much more usable language than Afrikaans in South Africa. Many IsiZulu learners at my school speak

IsiZulu and I would like to do so too. Afrikaans is a language which I know will never be used in my life'.
- 'I feel that it might be a very good experience because when we finish school and studying we have to get a job and work with many different races and we have to know the languages. People are hired mostly if they know many languages'.

The above quotations by English L1 learners illustrate the instrumentive importance of isiZulu.

IsiZulu L1 Learners' Views:
- 'Ngigakujabulela ukufundwa kwesizulu esikoleni sami ngoba ulimi engilwaziyo futhi engifuna ukufunda okuningi ngalo IsiZulu. Siyasisiza thina ukufunda kahle'.
  'I am happy to learn isiZulu at my school because it is a language that I know and I want to learn more through it. It helps us well'.
- 'Ngisithatha njengento enhle kumina ngoba IsiZulu ulimi lwami engalucela kumama wami futhi, ngiyaziqhenya ngolimi lwami'.
  'I take it as something good to me because it is my mother tongue and I am proud of my language'.

The first quotation illustrates that isiZulu is the language that the learner is comfortable with and he or she has no problems learning isiZulu. These second quotation indicates that isiZulu is the learner's mother tongue and she is proud of her home language. The above quotations illustrate that there are isiZulu L1 learners who are proud of their language.

Not all learners expressed positive views towards the study of isiZulu. Some learners also expressed negative views towards the study of isiZulu. The following are some of their views:

English L1 Learner's View
- 'I don't think that IsiZulu should be taught at schools because it's really unnecessary. Most of us cannot speak our own mother tongue, so why should we learn someone else's mother tongue. Everyone should be taught to speak and understand English'.

IsiZulu L1 Learner's View

- 'I don't think it's a good idea for most of the children who don't like it or don't understand it'.

The above responses support English as the only lingua franca[3] of the country. The main reason for this stance rests on the international position that English enjoys. According to Du Preez (*Daily News* August 2001:10),

> English will always be the common language we use in the urban economy and to communicate with the outside world. People should be able to speak, read and write English. But if we achieve that at the expense of our, own precious languages, it is a price too high to pay. Then three hundred years of colonialism would have been completely successful.

Learners' Perceptions of Language Related Problems

English L1 learners' Perception of the Problems Experienced by isiZulu L1 Learners
There were several opinions given by English L1 learners with regard to problems experienced by isiZulu L1 learners. Here are some of their views. 76% indicate isiZulu L1 learners do not understand English, 11% state that they do not understand Afrikaans, 3% state they had no problem, 2% views were not clear/ could not understand what the learners were saying and 8% did not respond.

It is clear from the above that the overwhelming majority (76%) of English L1 learners state that isiZulu L1 learners do not understand English. This indicates clearly that English L1 learners are aware of the immense communication problems that isiZulu L1 learners experience.

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[3] Lingua franca is a language, which is used habitually by people, whose mother tongues are different, in order to facilitate communication between them (UNESCO, 1953).

IsiZulu L1 Learner's Perceptions of the Problems Experienced by English L1 Learners
With regard to the problems encountered by English L1 learners, there was again a diversity of views. The following are some of the views expressed by IsiZulu L1 learners.32% indicate that they cannot communicate in isiZulu, 6% indicate that they do not understand Afrikaans, 13% state that they had no problems, 21% indicate that they did not understand isiZulu, 5% state that could not read and write isiZulu, 4% views were not clear and 18% did not respond probably because they found the answering of open ended questions long and tedious.

From the above paragraph, it is observed that 32% of English L1 learners cannot communicate in isiZulu. IsiZulu L1 learners are aware of the communication problems between them and their English L1 peers. This is because English L1 learners cannot speak isiZulu. From my experience of teaching at a school where the majority of the school population are isiZulu L1 learners I have noticed isiZulu L1 learners communicate amongst themselves in isiZulu. This results in English L1 learners not understanding what their isiZulu peers are saying. From the analysis of the problems encountered by both isiZulu L1 and English L1 learners, it would appear that they are acutely aware of the communication problems that exist between them.

There is a correlation between the high percentage of isiZulu L1 learners (93,5%) and English L1 learners (81,8%) who stated that isiZulu should be taught to all learners and the positive views expressed by isiZulu L1 learners (81%) and English L1 learners (69%). Also, 76% of English L1 learners stated that isiZulu L1 learners do not understand English. A significant percentage of isiZulu L1 learners (32%) stated that English L1 learners cannot communicate in isiZulu. This illustrates that isiZulu L1 learners and English L1 learners are aware of the communication problems that exist between them.

The study examined the status of isiZulu at high schools in Phoenix. The study found that although isiZulu is an official language and most widely spoken language in the country, it has not been accorded its rightful place at many schools in this study.

The positive attitude expressed by the majority of isiZulu L1 and English L1 learners bodes well for the future of isiZulu at high schools in

Phoenix. If learners are given a chance to pursue isiZulu as a subject of study, it will elevate the status of isiZulu at primary and high schools in the province. In this regard further research is necessary.

Recommendations

On the basis of the research findings, various recommendations are made. The government must enforce the implementation of the LiEP. The study has proven beyond doubt that the voluntary approach has failed to elevate the status of isiZulu at schools in this study. If isiZulu L1 learners receive instruction in their home language and if they are given a chance to study isiZulu as a first language and English as a second language, it will have immense instrumentive advantages for them. This will reduce the high failure rate amongst isiZulu L1 learners at schools in this study. On the other hand, if English L1 learners are given a chance to study isiZulu it will help them to integrate with their isiZulu L1 peers and improve race relations in general.

It is incumbent on the National Department of Education to be clear as to which official languages must be used in which province and for what purposes. The National government cannot afford to dither this time and they need to set aside funds to employ and train educators of African languages. This will ensure that transformation posts are created at schools in this study. It will also facilitate the transformation of the curriculum as well as of the staff at these schools.

The National Government must ensure that knowledge of African languages weighs heavily in the application for government jobs. This will ensure that African languages become marketable. This is a major problem with African languages at the moment. Kamwangamalu (2000:58) attests to this when he argues that the language consumer would not strive to acquire knowledge of African languages. This is because currently these languages are 'not marketable and have no cachet in the broader political and economic context'. If the National Government implements the strategy espoused by Kamwangamalu, it will demonstrate instumentive value to those who want to pursue careers in the public and private sectors.

South African writers, language academics and readers should make a concerted effort to work together to ensure the promotion of isiZulu as

defined by our Constitution is actually implemented to fast track the emancipation of isiZulu from its present status.

Conclusion

Since isiZulu is the most widely spoken language in this province, it is important that school governing bodies introduce the language as a subject of study. This will ensure that learner's language rights as enshrined in our constitution are actually respected. This will go a long way in enhancing language democracy in our schools, in the province and ultimately in our country. It is also vital that educators and learners learn the language in a multilingual society like ours because it would help build intercultural relationships.

School of IsiZulu Studies
University of KwaZulu-Natal
rama@savemail.co.za

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Ethnolinguistic Vitality in KwaZulu-Natal

Stephanie Rudwick

Introduction

In this paper, the framework of *ethnolinguistic vitality* (Giles, Bourhis & Taylor 1977) is applied to the sociolinguistic situation in contemporary KwaZulu-Natal, with the focus on the numerically most dominant ethnolinguistic group in the province, isiZulu mother-tongue (L_1) speakers. Howard Giles, one of the pioneers in research on the social-psychological aspects of language and ethnic identity, attempted with this framework *inter alia* to evaluate and systematize the factors that contribute to language contact phenomena such as *language shift, language maintenance* and *ethnolinguistic group behaviour* in multilingual settings[1]. Essentially it is argued that ethnolinguistic ingroup/outgroup strength has an effect on group cohesion and language maintenance. This strength is called *ethnolinguistic vitality* and has been defined as '… that what makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations' (Giles et al. 1977).

Despite some criticism (Husband & Khan 1982; Williams 1992), the concept found widespread recognition amongst scholars investigating specific aspects of sociolinguistic behaviour amongst ethnolinguistic groups

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[1] It has also been suggested that Giles' (1977) theoretical framework presented a milestone in narrowing and structuring the disparate schools in the Sociology of Language and Sociolinguistics, which is mainly due to the juxtaposition of group and language within the theory (McConnell 1997: 353).

in multilingual settings (cf. Ryan, Giles & Sebastian 1982; Giles & Johnson 1981, 1987; Landry & Allard 1994; Pierson 1994; Yagmur & Akinci 2003). In the South African context the framework has been employed by Louw-Potgieter and Giles (1987) and, more recently, by Barkhuizen and de Klerk (2000) and Bowerman (2000).

Notwithstanding this widespread use of *ethnolinguistic vitality* as a tool of sociolinguistic analysis, constructive criticism has been levelled against it (see most notably, Williams 1992; Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004). It is for this reason then, that one needs to be critical and cautious when employing the theory. A careful consideration of the limitations inherent in the framework will be exposed as I discuss the concept in the context of the sociolinguistic situation in post-apartheid KwaZulu-Natal.

For the purpose of this paper I use the isiZulu and English L_1-speaking group as two different collectives. IsiZulu-English bilingualism is currently common only amongst the members of the isiZulu-speaking group. This is because the vast majority of English L_1-speakers in KwaZulu-Natal speak Afrikaans as a second language (L_2), which is mostly, but not only[2], due to the history of apartheid. While I am mainly interested in analysing *isiZulu ethnolinguistic vitality,* the role played by English is vital and must enter the discussion. The hegemony of the English language in South Africa is all encompassing and not to refer to the language would fail to acknowledge the multifaceted, flexible and linguistically hybrid character of contemporary South African society. Certain urban isiZulu L_1-speakers may identify more strongly with the English language than with their 'original' mother-tongue. In view of the above, the purpose of this paper is twofold. Firstly, I am aiming to discuss isiZulu ethnolinguistic vitality in an English-dominated state, by the analysis of 'objective' data, as defined below, and, secondly, I intend to explore the extent to which the theoretical framework of ethnolinguistic vitality provides adequate data in order to undertake further investigation into the South African sociolinguistic landscape.

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[2] Although the white minority had little opportunity to learn the indigenous African languages during apartheid, there also seems to exist a general lack of interest and motivation to learn these varieties today.

Theoretical Background

An operative definition for 'objective ethnolinguistic vitality data' employed for the purpose of this paper is information which excludes the subjective perceptions of individuals who are members of the ethnolinguistic groups on focus here. In terms of Giles et al. (1977) conceptualisation, there are three socio-structural variables pertinent to the framework, which can be employed to circumscribe the potential of the vitality of the group's language. Firstly, there is the *status factor* (including economic, social, prestige and socio-historical aspects.), secondly, *demography* (such as absolute numbers, birth-rate, geographical concentration); and finally, the *institutional support* (such as recognition of the groups' language in the media, education and government).

The above mentioned present vital factors contributing to the vitality of a language and it is claimed, that the more status, the more institutional support and the more favourable demographic factors occur, the more vitality does an ethnolinguistic group have, and the more likely individuals are to behave as a member of a distinctive collective entity in intergroup situations (Giles et al. 1977). In this article it is primarily language that shall be investigated and, accordingly, the more linguistic vitality is embedded within an ethnolinguistic group, the more indications there are for short and long term language maintenance strategies amongst the members of the group.

From the short-term perspective it is likely for members of a 'high ethnolinguistic vitality' group to shift his/her *speech style* away from the other person's style in intergroup situations, a process described as *divergence* (Giles et al. 1977). For members of a 'low vitality group' in contrast, it is likely that a member accommodates the other's speech style. This process is called *convergence* (Giles et al. 1977). With regard to the long-term, high/low ethnolinguistic vitality may, from a macro-sociolinguistic perspective, be an indicator of *language maintenance, language shift*, or even *language death*.

For the purpose of this paper I shall focus on the analysis of 'objective ethnolinguistic vitality data' as defined above. It is, however, highly difficult to evaluate ethnolinguistic vitality exclusively by 'objective' data, as information on, for instance, the status of a language is not readily available and is dependent on subjective factors. It is for this reason that I

employ some of the findings of my own PhD research conducted in Umlazi, the largest township of KwaZulu-Natal[3].

The majority of research in the framework of ethnolinguistic vitality provides a combined analysis of 'objective' and 'subjective' data by means of an empirical investigation. It may be added that subjective and objective ethnolinguistic vitality do not always correlate. In order to provide a model to discuss issues such as ethnicity, bilingualism, or intergroup behaviour, a combined approach is desirable. I do not intend to make any major claims about the constitutive elements of ethnolinguistic identities, language shift or maintenance in this short paper. The analysis, however, points to some, albeit preliminary, findings with regards to the general sociolinguistic nature of *ethnolinguistic vitality* in KwaZulu-Natal.

Status

If a language carries a low status, socially as well as economically, its own speakers are likely, among other things, to abandon it for another 'high' status variety. The African languages in South Africa, for example, are often said to have a low status, but it appears that this low status is almost always economically, not emotionally grounded. I want to argue that the indigenous African languages, in particular isiZulu, carry a wide range of functions in the social and private domains.

The status of the isiZulu in South Africa, and in KwaZulu-Natal in particular, is significantly different to that of the other official African languages. Considering the complex South African linguistic landscape, isiZulu may indeed be regarded as a 'prestige' language in the context that minority language groups, such as Mpondo, Bhaca, Cele or Phuti-speakers are likely to specify isiZulu as home language in an official language census

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[3] The data collected in Umlazi was methodologically based on triangulation: questionnaires, interviews and 'participant observation' and stands in contrast to the conventional methods in this field of enquiry. In the context of *ethnolinguistic vitality* research methodology has generally been based on the *subjective vitality questionnaire (SVQ)*, introduced in order to measure a group's perception of the vitality of its language. Although widely employed, the SVQ has received enlightening criticism (Currie and Hogg 1994: 100).

(Donnelly 2003:35)[4]. IsiZulu furthermore serves as a lingua franca for a large section of the African population (Wood 1995:188). A PanSALB document (1998:4), in fact, states that 'isiZulu functions as a lingua franca for 70% of the country's population' whereas, 'English can, at present, only be used efficiently by 20% of the population'. Approximately three quarters of isiZulu L_1 speakers in South Africa live in KwaZulu-Natal and my own research suggests that a large number of Africans whose L_1 is one of the other eight official African languages and who reside in the province, have some proficiency in isiZulu. In addition to this, several of my Umlazi respondents explained that isiZulu speakers in KwaZulu-Natal expect and encourage African immigrants from other African countries who live in the province to learn isiZulu. This clearly indicates that the sociolinguistic situation in KwaZulu-Natal is significantly different to other provinces as, for instance Gauteng, where all of the official languages are spoken.

When measured against the other eight official African languages, isiZulu features dominantly. However, when measured against English, the status of isiZulu appears low. As is evident, isiZulu has never been awarded any economic value in the past. In South Africa one needs to be proficient in English in order to succeed professionally and economically. The exclusive knowledge of isiZulu neither gets one admission to any higher institution of learning, nor provides anyone with a job. Although certain job advertisements today call for proficiency in isiZulu, English proficiency still remains a prerequisite. Furthermore, isiZulu has only very little international projection, examples of which are very few universities in the United States and Europe where isiZulu is taught as a subject. Evidently, status is inextricably linked to prestige and power and a language that offers no economic benefits has little societal or global power.

Despite its inferiority in numerical terms, that is, the number of people who speak it as a L_1, English is clearly a majority language in terms of power, not only in KwaZulu-Natal, but in all parts of South Africa. Alongside the exclusive use of the language in all higher domains of life, English has remained unchallenged as the medium of instruction at virtually all secondary, and, clearly all tertiary institutions in the province, as is the case in the rest of the country. English in South Africa has been termed the

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[4] For more detail on the Phuti language, for instance, see Donnelly (1999).

'language of liberation', the 'language of unification', the 'language of upward mobility' and, in a recent article in the Mail and Guardian (3 October, 2003), the 'language of creativity in the new South Africa'. Not only local benefits are associated with this language variety. There is another aspect that gives English an exceptionally high status, i.e. the fact that English is the leading language in the world. It is *the* medium of global and international communication, *the* language of academic scholarship and *the* language with the greatest literary production. It is these super national factors that contribute to the extraordinary position of English in South Africa and this evidently has a major influence on isiZulu ethnolinguistic vitality.

The low sociohistorical status of isiZulu determines up until now what Giles and his associates describe as a 'sense of pride or shame' (1977:312). Due to apartheid, isiZulu speakers had an inferior status in the society and only very few had access to any of the higher domains of life. Nevertheless, isiZulu was 'extensively used for the high domains in their tribal communities' (Bowerman 2000:36) and the history of the isiZulu-speaking community has been glorified around a pre-European 'Shakan' past. Historically the use of isiZulu is significantly different from that of the other indigenous African languages in South Africa. While in most provinces African children were taught in English before the imposition of the Bantu Education Act, isiZulu speaking children in Natal were taught in their L_1 since 1885 (Hartshorne 1995:308). IsiZulu seems to enjoy a considerable social status as the vast majority of Africans in KwaZulu-Natal, see the language as the dominant medium of the home and culture. It is the most commonly spoken language amongst manual workers in South Africa and used as informal medium of communication in schools, shops and other public places. Notwithstanding this, many isiZulu speakers have ambivalent feeling when it comes to the status and the value of their mother-tongue (Ngcobo 2000). It remains questionable that the overall status factors of isiZulu are potent enough to counteract the slow language shift that has been taking place in urban environments.

Demography
The second domain of the ethnolinguistic vitality concept includes Demographic factors and, as such, is self-explanatory to a large extent. What

needs to be considered, however, is that Giles et al. (1977) did not take into account that a minority group in terms of numbers can be a majority group in terms of power, with the consequence that its vitality is low and the 'strength' measurement would be turned upside-down. This creates the 'danger of confusing the demographic concept of minority with the conceptualisation of minority in terms of power and dominance' (Williams 1992:210). When investigating into the South African sociolinguistic landscape, the ambiguity of the concept becomes even more evident. IsiZulu mother-tongue speakers blatantly outnumber every other language community in KwaZulu-Natal; the table below clearly testifies this.

Languages in KZN	Number of speakers
Afrikaans	140833
English	1285011
IsiNdebele	18570
IsiXhosa	219826
IsiZulu	7624284
Sepedi	10844
Sesotho	66925
Setswana	5195
SiSwati	12792
Tshivenda	1215
Xitsonga	3289
Other	37232

Source: Census Database 2001: http:www.statssa.gov.za

According to most recent census data (2001), nearly 80% of the KwaZulu-Natal population speaks isiZulu as a 'home language'. Despite this fact, the language was in the past, a minority language in terms of power. This is not to say, however, that the demographic factors do not contribute to the ethnolinguistic vitality of the group, I merely intend to outline the ambiguity of the concept as originally developed by Giles et al. (1977). It is argued that numerical strength and geographical distribution may indeed play a crucial role with regards to ethnolinguistic vitality (Liebkind 1999).

KwaZulu-Natal has traditionally been the territory of the ethnolinguistic group of isiZulu L_1 speakers in South Africa and is thus a reasonably homogenous province from a linguistic perspective. During apartheid Zululand was an independent homeland in which isiZulu was official language next to English. If one wants to believe the recent census data (2001), isiZulu L_1-speakers not only represent the greatest language community in South Africa, but the community has also continuously increased in the past few years. Empirical data collected in the course of my PhD research in Umlazi suggest that many young isiZulu speakers use their numeral superiority as an argument in language debates. With respect to the second structural variable of ethnolinguistic vitality, isiZulu appears to be indeed fortunately positioned and may carry a solid potential.

English, in contrast, is only spoken as a first language by approximately 12% of the population in KwaZulu-Natal and is thus clearly a minority language in terms of numbers. With regards to the rest of the country the demographic factors of English L_1-speakers are even less promising. English is spoken as a L_1 by only 8.2% of the entire population in South Africa (Census 2001). Estimates of English language proficiency in the country range between 32 – 61% of the entire South African population (Gough 1996). In most cases the level of proficiency directly correlates with the amount and quality of education. Recent research (Barkhuizen & De Klerk 2000; Kamwangamalu 2001b, 2003; Reagan 2001), however, indicates that there has been a continuous language shift from the indigenous African languages to English in urban environments. It appears that more and more parents who have the necessary financial means send their children to multiracial schools where the vast majority of teachers are English L_1-speakers and sufficient resources are provided in order to facilitate an adequate learning environment. A position most so-called 'Black' schools (ex-Department of Education and Training (DET)) cannot always claim for themselves. Nevertheless, it is the majority of African children who attend ex-DET schools and it remains difficult to estimate what influence the increasing multiracial schooling will have on isiZulu demography in the future.

Institutional Support

The third factor, *institutional support*, is a very multifaceted one in the context of this analysis. The factors are supposed to circumscribe what contributes to the public exposure and support one group's language receives in comparison to the high-status language. Giles et al. (1977) refer to domains such as the media, the government, the education system, the religious and cultural domains and industry. The language use in these spheres of life certainly have a major influence on the ethnolinguistic vitality of a language, but one has to keep in mind, however, that the institutional support factors do not adequately take into consideration the link between language and ideology (Williams 1992:210). It may be noted that 'official' institutional support is often at odds with the unofficial language practices. The original conceptualisation (Giles et al. 1977) would suggest that a language that has official status, should provide high ethnolinguistic vitality for the ethnic group that speaks this language as a mother-tongue. This, however, gives a rather simplistic picture of how state institutions influence language use and behaviour as will be seen in the next section of this paper.

IsiZulu has been accorded *official* status in South Africa for nearly ten years now. For an individual, who is predominantly occupied in one of the higher domains of life, however, the fact that South Africa has an eleven-official language policy is barely noticeable. Indeed the South African corporate world seemed to have dismissed the policy as utterly impracticable and further interpreted it as a call for English-only, as opposed to the previous Afrikaans-English bilingualism. Not only does the South African industry seems to lack a commitment to multilingualism, English clearly holds a hegemonic position in the mass media, the educational system and even government services such as Metro Water for instance. Little has happened practically with regards to multilingualism. As several scholars in South Africa (Maartens 1998; Bowerman 2000; Kamwangamalu 2001a) have pointed out: there exists a great mismatch between language policy and language practices. The present sociolinguistic reality in South Africa clearly suggests that isiZulu is not given the economic and instrumental value generally attached to an official language and its institutional support seems indeed questionable.

Notwithstanding this, isiZulu enjoys support by many of its speakers. Data collected in the Umlazi township suggest that the vast majority of Umlazi residents regard isiZulu as a cultural resource and maintain it to be used as the language of the home. Many parents who send

their children to multiracial schools seem to be particularly concerned about maintaining isiZulu for family interaction. With regards to the institutional support that is given to isiZulu at this point of South African history, it remains to be seen, as to whether the contemporary symbolic has any influence on the ethnolinguistic vitality of the language. The Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) attempts to take South Africa's commitment to multilingualism serious and is currently pressuring many higher domain institutions to engage in an approach that promotes multilingualism.

The language of parliament in the new South Africa is English, as opposed to the Afrikaans-English bilingualism that was common during apartheid. For practical reasons, only very few speeches are held in one of the indigenous African languages[5]. With regards to media, similar observations can be made. Although isiZulu has for a long time been catered for in radio broadcasting and the print media (e.g. *Ukhozi FM, Ilanga, Isolezwe)* it is only very marginally represented with regard to television. Kamwangamalu (2000:43) suggests that English takes up over 90% of airtime on the three national South African TV channels.

Religion, it may be argued, has potential to provide a strong basis for the maintenance of a language, and in rural and township areas, isiZulu seems to be the predominant medium in which church services and religious gatherings are conducted. The religious domain is without doubt one of the strongholds of isiZulu in the Umlazi township. In urban areas however, English is slowly entering the religious domain and an urban-rural dichotomy is becoming increasingly evident. Furthermore, extensive English-isiZulu code-switching is taking place in urban environments, such as university campuses (Ramsay-Brijball 2002).

The mismatch between language policy and practice, in education moreover, has become blatantly evident. Despite the fact that the

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[5] A reasonable budget, however, provides the translation of important governmental publications into the other official languages. Hansard, for instance, which is the Parliament's historical record of proceedings, published in both English and Afrikaans before the transition, is now published in English and additionally in one of the other ten official languages on a rotational basis (Kamwangamalu 2000:56).

Constitution proudly stipulates that 'every person shall be entitled to instruction in the language of his or her choice where this is reasonably practicable' (Constitution 1996, Section 32 [c]), English remains unchallenged as a medium of instruction. Most empirical investigations reveal that essentially, little developmental progress has been made with regards to language-in-education policies (Chick & McKay 2000). Multilingualism and/or additive bilingualism seems to remain a vague dream proposed by policy makers. Almost all secondary schools in the province use English as the only 'official' medium of instruction. The sociolinguistic reality, however, is significantly more complex than this. As mentioned, English-isiZulu code-switching appears so extensively in KwaZulu-Natal classrooms that an outsider-observer may not be able to determine whether the medium of instruction is English or isiZulu. Although code-switching can indeed be beneficial to the learning process (Adendorff 1996; Moodley 2001), it is clear that once the school chooses English as the sole medium of instruction, metric exams are supposed to be written in English with no code-switching allowed.

Conclusion

The analysis in this paper suggests that isiZulu ethnolinguistic vitality is mainly based on demographic factors and is thus vested in high numeric concentration in the province, but little formal institutional support. The status of isiZulu is ambiguous. On the one hand, the language is widely used in domestic settings and as such perceived to have a significant cultural value in the community, on the other hand, isiZulu has, despite its official status, very little economic value. This also conveys an ambiguous picture of isiZulu ethnolinguistic vitality and makes it dangerous to predict any future linguistic developments.

English ethnolinguistic vitality, in contrast, reflects the picture of a minority language in terms of number with high economic, sociohistorical and international status and a large amount of institutional support. Essentially, isiZulu is used extensively in all lower domains of life whereas English is the language of the higher domains. This situation clearly reflects diglossic potential, with isiZulu as the low (L)-variety and English as the high (H)-variety. It cannot be regarded, however, as a 'stable' isiZulu-

English diglossia, due to the extensive isiZulu-English code-switching patterns (Chick & Wade 1997)[6].

Although Giles et al (1977) did not specify the relative weights of the three domains. i.e. the *status, demography* and *institutional support*, with regards to ethnolinguistic group survival, the framework remains a useful tool of preliminary analysis in any sociolinguistic situation. It provides a solid base in addition to which further empirical research should be conducted. If handled with care and critical engagement the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality proves to be useful while investigating the South African sociolinguistic landscape. The collection of 'subjective' data remains however, imperative if one wants to make any further claims about language shift or ethnolinguistic identity construction.

I do suggest, however, that despite the prevailing hegemony of the English language and a rather diglossic relationship between the two language varieties at hand, isiZulu ethnolinguistic vitality appears robust and carries significantly more potential than the mismatch between language policy and practices may suggest. This is mostly due to the stable demography of the language regionally and nationally and the fact that isiZulu has important functions for a large portion of the KwaZulu-Natal population, most notably the perception that isiZulu is inextricably and profoundly linked to Zulu culture and tradition and represents the essential vehicle to maintain this culture (Rudwick 2004).

Despite the lack of language policy implementation and the fact that recent investigations suggest that language shift occurs in urban environments, the vitality of the language in rural and township communities is noteworthy. Unfortunately sociolinguistic research data in this field is still scarce. The large majority of language in education research, for instance,

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[6] First introduced by Ferguson in 1959, the term *diglossia* referred to a situation where two varieties of a language exist side by side in a community and each one is used for different purposes. The one, H(igh) variety is used in all higher domains of life, whereas the L(ow) variety has less economic status and is used in the lower domains of life. Fishman later (1967) extended this definition in order to include situations, in which not only two varieties of one language, but two different languages co-exist (cf. Schiffman 1997).

has been conducted in (urban) multiracial (ex-Model C) schools which conveys a inadequate and potentially erroneous picture of the sociolinguistic reality as only a fraction of South African learners attend these kinds of schools.

Notwithstanding this potential, there are historical and economically motivated constraints in South Africa's sociolinguistic landscape that prevent the fostering of isiZulu ethnolinguistic vitality if it is measured against English. An example for this is the prevailing stigma resting on mother-tongue instruction as discussed by Kamwangamalu (1997) or more recently by de Klerk (2002). The Bantu Education Act of 1953 enforced the use of the indigenous African languages in the early grades which 'was combined with an impoverished curriculum that was geared toward preparing Black people for subservient positions in South African society' (de Klerk 2002:33). Because of this, many parents today perceive mother-tongue education as a nasty reminder of apartheid policy. In terms of decision-making, parents, of course, choose what is 'best' for their children and at this time of South African history it clearly is a choice for English as a medium of instruction. The South African society is well aware of the economical strength and power that the English language carries, which has serious effects on isiZulu. It remains to be seen whether isiZulu ethnolinguistic vitality will be sufficiently strong for the language to make its mark in South Africa's higher domains of life.

Department of Linguistics
University of KwaZulu-Natal

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Linguistic Rights Litigation

H.J. Lubbe

Introduction

Martel (1999) sees litigation as one of the most important instruments of language activism. This article focuses on the role of litigation in obtaining linguistic rights with particular reference to the South African context. The article begins with a discussion of the importance of litigation in general. It will be shown that linguistically, Constitutions contain general principles about linguistic rights rather than specific detail. It is the task of courts to give content to the principles in the light of cases before them. Lessons are drawn from the United States of America, showing the development and interpretation of the First Amendment that guarantees freedom of speech. The same principle holds for linguistic rights litigation. The role of linguistic rights litigation in Canada is also sketched. While court decisions have done much to promote the Canadians' language rights, in South Africa, linguistic rights litigation is an under-utilised instrument of language rights activism. In the period 1994 to 2001, only eight cases of linguistic rights litigation occurred. In 2002 and 2004, only one case each was lodged in these years. These two cases are detailed to some extent in this article. Finally, certain conclusions are drawn and recommendations made about linguistic rights litigation in South Africa.

Linguistic Rights as a Basic Human Right

The concept *human right* originated during the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century among philosophers such as Locke, Rousseau, Voltaire and Montesquieu. The strong emphasis that has been attached to human rights since the latter half of the previous century, was a reaction to the

totalitarian Nazi dictatorship in Germany. Already in June 1945, with the signing of the *Charter of the United Nations*, universal respect for human rights and the application of the principles of equality and non-discrimination was upheld. Barely three years later, in December 1948, the United Nations (UN) adopted the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. Section 2(2) states that every human being shall be entitled, without discrimination, 'and, in particular, without discrimination based on language', to fundamental rights and freedoms (Braën1987: 5).

Particularly after the fall of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1989-1991, and the concomitant ethnic conflicts, especially in central, eastern and south-eastern Europe, the international debate concerning the status of ethnolinguistic minorities (now defined not only in terms of numbers, but also in terms of strength) has increasingly associated the protection of the linguistic rights of the minority groups with fundamental human rights. Thus, the concept of linguistic human rights began to circulate among renowned sociolinguists and became an important subject of research (e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas *et al.* 1995; Paulston 1997; Kontra *et al.* 1999; Skutnabb-Kangas 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas 2002). Those who advocate that the free choice of any minority language should be regarded as a basic human right, proceed from the premise that language is essential to life, and that language 'plays a critical role in defining individual identity, culture and community membership' (Coulombe 1993:140).

The term *language rights* (also known as *linguistic rights*) is a hybrid concept which makes a distinction between individual rights and group rights. Individual rights include the right to non-interference in an individual's private domain of linguistic activity, and non-discrimination against his or her language. This right can be justified on the grounds of the individual's humanity, a right that was upheld in 1966 in a UN manifesto, the *International Convention for Civil and Political Rights*. Section 26 stipulates that civil and political rights are guaranteed, without discrimination on the grounds of language. Section 27 confirms that the right of linguistic minorities to use their own language amongst themselves shall not be denied to them (Coulombe 1993:142). South Africa was a co-signatory of the Treaty (Scholtz 2002:297). As Braën (1987:6) points out, the negative formulation of the stipulation places no positive obligation on the government to protect minority groups.

Another distinction that has been drawn in respect of linguistic rights, e.g. by the UN sub-commission for the prevention of discrimination and the protection of minorities (cf. Martinez Cobo 1987) is the one between the original inhabitants of a country and immigrant minorities. An increasing number of original inhabitants do not wish to be classified as 'minorities' and are demanding recognition as 'peoples and even as nations' (Hamel 1997:6). Numerous problematic questions have cropped up as a result of such a way of thinking: Who were the first people in a region? Can continuity be claimed after 500, 300, 100 years of colonisation?

Two recent international manifestos that recognise the right of original inhabitants are the *Convention 169*, issued by the International Labour Organisation in 1989, and the *Draft Universal Declaration of Indigenous Rights*. Section 3, 28 of *Convention 169* acknowledges the right of indigenous children to receive education in their own language, and to acquire the national language. The *Draft Universal Declaration* is even more explicit, and acknowledges fundamental human rights for indigenous nations, to enable them to develop and promote their own languages, and to use them for administrative, judicial, cultural and other purposes (Hamel 1997:6). Scholtz (2002:297) refers to further international documents that describe minority rights and minority language rights.

In order to do justice to the concept *linguistic human right*, a state must have a language policy at its disposal and must ensure that specific linguistic rights are legally regulated. Language legislation must eliminate discrimination based on language, enable the minority to conserve its linguistic characteristics, and allow it to remain in peaceful interaction with the majority. Individually, members of the minority group must have the opportunity of dealing on an equal basis with the majority, as well as possessing appropriate means to conserve their linguistic specificity (Braën 1987:8).

In South Africa the Final Constitution (Act no. 108 of 1996) was approved by the Constitutional Assembly on 8 May 1996. Language-related matters are addressed in section 6 of the Constitution. Recognition of the eleven official main languages is maintained. It has already been argued (e.g. Capotorti 1979:76, as referred to by Du Plessis & Pretorius 2000:508 and Currie 1998: 37-5), that the choice of (an) official language(s) may primarily be a political decision, a symbolic choice without legal content. The fact is,

however, that the awarding of official language status to different languages confirms the multicultural nature of the state. Recognition of the multicultural nature of the state should therefore cause the government to be sensitive to any form of preferential treatment of any language (or languages).

Complaints against the disregard of the linguistic rights of certain minority groups are constantly aired. Complaints of this kind are one type of language activism. Another instrument to bring about change is that of linguistic rights litigation (Martel 1999:47). Before linguistic rights litigation as an instrument of change is discussed, the importance of litigation in general will be discussed.

Importance of Litigation

Litigation (word derived from the Latin *lis*, *litis*: lawsuit) is to take a claim or dispute to a court of law in order to force a judgement. In general, constitutions state broad principles rather than specific details. It is the task of courts to give substance to a principle on a case-by-case basis, handing down interpretations. Over time these interpretations build up a body of precedents that form the case law on the subject. Future legal advice and arguments is based on the constitutional clauses as interpreted in those cases. The advantage of constitutions stating broad principles rather than specific detail is that a constitution is flexible to adjust to changing circumstances over time, and is not fixed to a limited vision of a particular time.

The American Constitution's First Amendment (1791) guarantees freedom of speech. Freedom of speech, however, is a relative concept. Nobody is free to commit blackmail or perjury, and a government can not be prohibited from making laws to punish such acts. The evolution of interpretations of the American First Amendment illustrates how the principle (free speech) was applied over time in fresh ways to challenges unforeseen by its creators.

Already in 1798 the American Congress passed a Sedition Act that made criticism of the federal government a crime. During the First World War it passed an Espionage Act what made it a crime to criticise the government and the armed forces. Many people were imprisoned under both laws. Even a monthly journal, *The Masses*, was closed because of its

opposition to the war. It was only after the First World War that the American Supreme Court incrementally widened its interpretation of the First Amendment. Reference to only two cases will be made.

In an early case under the Espionage Act, the defendants had equated conscription with slavery. Judge Holmes concluded that, while comments could be made in peacetime that would not be tolerated in a time of war, the test should be whether the words used were of such a nature as to create 'a clear and present danger' (Sparks 2003:74) to the safety of the state. These words became a litmus test in American case law on freedom of speech. In a later judgement Holmes elaborated on the phrase:

> I think that we should be eternally vigilant against attempts to check the expression of opinions that we loathe and believe to be fraught with death, unless they so imminently threaten immediate interference with the lawful and pressing purpose of the law that an immediate check is required to save the country (Sparks 2003:74).

The second case to be referred to is that of Commissioner Sullivan, police commander in Montgomery, Alabama. He sued *The New York Times* for libel in 1961. The local jury awarded him $1 000 000 because the newspaper had published an advertisement critical of the city's brutal response to civil rights protests. The case was referred to the US Supreme Court. The judgement laid down a new set of rules to prevent critics of official conduct to be silenced. It declared that sovereignty was vested in the people, and not the government. Critical comment need not even be true, because to obtain proof of the truth, would inhibit would-be critics. Judge Brennan declared erroneous statement is 'inevitable' if the freedom of expression is to have the 'breathing space' that it needs (cf. Sparks 2003:75). The only exception was if an official could prove that a false statement had been made with 'actual malice'.

In spite of the aforementioned discussion, there are conflicting opinions concerning the question of whether law is an effective instrument of activism. Legal systems are often criticised for their inadequacies and their inability to achieve justice for individuals and groups. The Justice system contains loopholes, as are portrayed, for example, in detective stories. The complaint was raised that the effect of the Canadian *Charter of*

Rights and Freedoms actually was to strengthen the already great inequalities in Canada. This was the case because the Charter has weighed in on the side of power, and undermined popular movement (Martel 1999:51). Therefore, law is, according to some, 'a blunt instrument for effecting change' (Martel 1999:52), and less efficient than, for example, economic power and political mobilisation.

Language Rights Litigation as an Instrument of Change

Courts have the same function, viz., to give substance to a broad principle as stated by a constitution, if the right to use a certain language is threatened, or not recognised. In such a case the matter had to be tested in court. Language rights as a legitimate field of legal study, and as another pillar in the civil rights world, together with the traditional areas of education, housing and voting rights, does not generally exist, at least not in the USA. (Del Valle 2003:4). As a matter of fact, civil rights law in America was, in a significant sense, born in 1954 with the school desegregation decision, *Brown v Board of Education* (Del Valle 2003:4).

Brown v Board of Education struck down racially enforced school segregation. In the 1940s and 1950s civil rights organizations had brought a series of cases designed to show that separate facilities did not meet the 'separate but equal' criterion. In May 1954 chief justice Earl Warren in his finding stressed the right of a child to good education which must be made available to all on equal terms, and he concluded that the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place.

It is a fact that language rights law will become of increasing importance, as language minorities each day increase in number in nearly all countries worldwide. The combined effects of improved transport and the political and economic displacement of populations have produced linguistic diversity and fragmentation. Except for the right to education, which is usually referred to, linguistic diversity also poses a problem for a just hearing in court (Storey 1998). Crime is an inevitable part of the human condition, and communication is an essential part of criminal investigation or prosecution. The result of linguistic dialectal and cultural miscommunication is misunderstandings, obstacles, even in some cases impenetrable barriers.

More litigation on language rights matters will result in more decisions, and only in this way an established and more coherent body of language rights law can be attained. Del Valle (2003) has written extensively on legal matters regarding language rights in the US. He discusses topics such as language rights in the workplace, language rights in litigation as well as commerce and language minorities. One case that he refers to and which is worth consideration here is the Arizona State Constitution which required that all civil servants had to use English only (also cf. Kibbee 1998:7). Spanish-speaking workers wondered if they could be arrested for speaking Spanish on the job. Would a bilingual police officer be subject to dismissal for speaking Spanish with a Spanish monolingual? The law was therefore immediately challenged.

A growing importance is accorded especially to international statutes and constitutional measures and also for matters relating to language. In 1992 the constitutions of 120 sovereign states, i.e., 75% of the states then recognised by the United Nations, contained one or more linguistic measures pertaining to language matters like language status, usage in courts and public administration, education, and rights for linguistic minorities:

> Consequently, the law, and particularly litigation and rights activism, are prominently effecting a legalization and judiciarization of the political sphere around the world (Martel 1999:53-54).

In the next two sections linguistic rights litigation as an instrument of change is discussed with respect to Canada and South Africa.

Linguistic Rights Litigation in Canada

In 1774, the British Parliament passed the Quebec Act by means of which, amongst other provisions, linguistic rights (the language French) and religious rights were guaranteed to French Canada. The *British North America Act* (1867), whereby Canada gained its independence, entrenched the guarantees of 1774 for Quebec with its French-speaking majority. Canada is a federation comprised of ten provinces (Quebec, and nine others with English-speaking majorities), where the federal and provincial

governments have equal status. Since language is not mentioned in the articles of the *Constitutional Law* of 1867, the federal and provincial governments jointly enact legislation concerning language-related matters. In contrast to Belgium, where the two main languages, Flemish and French, both have an approximately equal number of speakers, French is a minority language in Canada (spoken by only 26% of the population) in relation to English. In North America, French is the mother tongue of a mere 2% of the population, and the language is under pressure to assimilate:

> In spite of the rights obtained by the people of Quebec the fear of cultural erosion persisted throughout Canada's first century. The strong economic influence of the Anglos in the province, their 'we-'re-no-minority!' attitude, reinforced by location and situation, and a steadfast resistance to learn and to use French entrenched the fears of the francophones (Cartwright 1988:238).

A series of legislation was promulgated after 1867, all of which was aimed at resolving the linguistic rights of both language groups satisfactorily. In the process the autonomy the communities originally possessed gradually diminished as the provinces got more authority, including authority over the question of the language of instruction. The presiding ideology at this stage was one of homogenism, i.e., an ideology that believes in a single identity marker for nation-building:

> [a] view of society in which differences are seen as dangerous and centrifugal and in which the 'best' society is suggested to be one without intergroup differences, [therefore] the ideal model of society is monolingual, mono-ethnic, monoreligious, mono-ideological (Blommaert & Verschueren 1998:194).

This ideology of homogenism raised questions about the right of French as a language of instruction and English as the only language of instruction was justified at the time. Three court cases between 1870 and 1917 confirmed the dominant ideology. At this stage litigation bore little fruit for the Francophone minorities. Between 1910 and 1920 the political theorists, Kymlicka & Patten (2003), challenged the ideology of homogenism. In their

opinion, homogenism was counterproductive, and as a result, they almost invariably stimulated 'a defensive nationalist response from the national minority' (Kymlicka & Patten 2003:13).

French linguistic activism surfaced and pressure groups were formed. The result was that most provinces adopted a more open attitude to their Francophone communities and gradually modified some of their legislation so as to reinforce instruction in French. A new ideology, the duality ideology developed in opposition to the ideology of homogenism. This ideology was inclusive of both the English and French linguistic groups. The federation was viewed as a negotiated pact between the two founding nations of Canada, and the role that Francophone minorities were to play in the new nation was realised (Martel 1999:61).

For decades the two opposing ideologies clashed and the English-majority provinces refuted the duality (compact) ideology. According to Martel (1999:61), three factors were responsible for the ultimate domination of the duality ideology. These were: i) an increased mobility which led both main groups to acquire a greater knowledge of one another; ii) a world-wide recognition of pluralism, and iii) the nationalist movement in Quebec, which forced the rest of Canada to alter its strategies towards Francophones.

The institutionalisation of minority rights was not such an easy task as the above summary may suggest. Recognition of minority rights in education was preceded on the one hand by long and difficult negotiations, and on the other hand, by mobilisation of the community. Actions carried out included door-to-door canvassing, telephone campaigns, surveys, use of the media, publication of brochures, political lobbying, as well as the distribution of Christmas cards (Martel 1999:67).

The duality hypothesis underpinned the well known *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* of 1982, and specifically section 23, which was described in 1990 by the Canadian Supreme Court as 'a linchpin in this nation's commitment to the values of bilingualism and biculturalism' (as quoted in *Annual Report* 2002:13). The use of language in law is not always clear and can sometimes be ambiguous. Section 23 also contains instances of polysemy thus resulting in different interpretations. Martel (1999:58) refers to polysemy in the definition of terms as well as polysemy in the area of implementation. It is precisely cases of polysemy which lead to litigation in order to clarify meaning. That was also the case regarding section 23. The

attitude of provinces with Anglophone majorities towards section 23 was somewhat negative. Faced with inaction and even refusal, Francophone minorities went to court. Between 1982 and 1997 twenty decisions were handed down in cases related to section 23. Financial support was given by the federal government, 'attempting to fulfil the role of guardian of the Charter' (Martel 1999:63).

In the process to obtain more (linguistic) rights, litigation is *inter alia,* in comparison with lobbying, community solidarity actions, research and media interventions, an important instrument for advocating change, in effect 'a final strategy and a sword of Damocles in negotiations with the state' (Martel 1999:65). The important role that litigation has played in the obtaining of language rights in Canada will be illustrated in the next paragraph by a brief summary of one case in particular.

One type of right conferred by section 23 on Canadian citizens with French or English as their mother tongue and who are residing in a minority situation, is that primary and secondary schooling in the minority language be provided through public funds, subject to the proviso of 'sufficient numbers' (Martel 1999:57). In Ontario, education through the medium of French was severely restricted after the third grade of elementary school (Cartwright 1996:244). Since the wording in section 23 did not accord with Ontario's *Education Act* of 1980 the Provincial Court of Appeal in 1984 declared the act in conflict and provided guidelines to correct this. Subsequently, legislation was revised to stipulat that the minimum number required to receive minority-language instruction would be 'one', thereby paving the way for French-language instruction in Ontario (Cartwright 1996:244).

The positive judgements of the litigation processes resulted in a new sense of confidence among the Francophones (Paquette 1998:325). They discarded the label *minority group,* and called themselves 'Canadian Francophone and Acadian Communities'. This revised identity is reflective of the rejection of the power structures which underpin the concept *minority.*

Language actions by the Francophone minority group in Canada demonstrated that litigation can be an essential tool towards the institutionalisation and legitimisation of the linguistic rights of a minority group. The law and the judiciary can construct the ideologies that guide community perceptions and decisions. This process is not necessarily uni-

directional. The law does not always construct ideologies in a community. The development of the duality ideology in Canada illustrates that an ideology can underpin legislation as is the case with section 23. It may be arguably said that process is, in fact, symbiotic.

On the value of litigation on linguistic rights issues, the Commissioner of Official Languages of Canada observed: 'Court decisions have done much to promote Canadians' language rights' (*Annual Report* 2002:36). The Commissioner also pointed out that litigation can also have unfortunate negative effects, stating that sometimes it can create an adversarial atmosphere that may damage relationships between governments and official language minority groups (*Annual Report* 2002:37).

Unfortunately, however, in the face of the indifference displayed by their governments, language minority communities often have no choice but to turn to the courts to ensure that their rights are respected. This constant need to reaffirm their constitutional rights undermines their confidence in the government, and as a result, 'democracy is weakened' (*Annual Report* 2002:37). The solution is the granting of equal language rights which will guarantee the maintenance and development of the official languages.

Linguistic Rights Litigation in South Africa

The 1993 Constitution (Act no. 200 of 1993), confirmed in the 1996-Constitution (Act no. 108 of 1996), brought a most significant development to the South African legal system, viz. the principle of constitutional supremacy (Malherbe 1998: 86). According to this the constitution became the supreme law, in contrast to the previous system in which the political system was dominated by parliamentary sovereignty. The power to test parliamentary legislation against the provisions of the constitution was conferred on the courts.

A significant consequence of the constitutional supremacy, and pointed out by Malherbe (1998: 87),

> is that the positivist outlook of our courts in the past has been replaced by a normative approach. In the past parliament was supreme [,][...] and all the courts were called upon to do was to apply [...] the law as laid down by parliament. Now the duty of the courts is to ask: What does the constitution say and how do we give effect to the norms and values of the constitution, even when interpreting and applying other laws of parliament?

In these circumstances linguistic rights litigation became even more important. As was previously the case in Canada, the perception exists among certain groups that the present South African government, *de facto*, supports the ideology of homogenism. Although the language clause, in section 6, recognises eleven official languages, the evolving pattern of official language policy in South Africa reveals a trend towards English, thus in effect towards official monolingualism (Du Plessis & Pretorius 2000: 506), as is the case of English-dominated countries in general (Herriman & Burnaby 1996).

As is demonstrated by Du Plessis & Pretorius (2000), section 6 contains an inherent ambiguity. It is composed of three distinct parts, viz. an official language declaration (6(1)), normative guidelines for language policy (6(2) and 6(4)), and a number of practical considerations (or factors) to be considered in the choice of language(s) for official use (6(3)(a) and (b)). Interpretation of section 6 is thus dependent on which part is stressed:

> Those stressing the practical considerations will approach official multilingualism as a directive ultimately requiring only a symbolic gesture. On the other hand, those more committed to the promotion of multilingualism tend to emphasise the importance of the official language declaration and the normative guidelines of parity of esteem and equitable treatment of official languages (Du Plessis & Pretorius 2000: 508).

How a clause is open for different interpretations is evident from the next two cases, both which have a bearing on the choice of a language in a court case. In *State v Matomela 1998 3BCLR 339 (CK)*, the case deals on the court procedures, which was in Xhosa because all those concerned could speak the language, and it was argued it was in accordance with the spirit of sections 6 and 35(3)(k). The revision court upheld the conviction and sentence, and stated that the Constitution allows people who speak the same language, provided it is one of the official languages, to conduct a case in their language.

In *Mthetwa v De Bruin NO 1998 3BCLR 336 (N)*, however, it was stated that the accused, in terms of section 35(3)(k), had not the right to demand that the court procedure had to be in isiZulu, but that he had a right on interpreting facilities.

In comparison with Canada, linguistic rigths litigation in South Africa is an under-utilised form of linguistic activism. As was noted in the previous section, twenty rulings concerning section 23 were given in Canada between 1982 and 1997. For the period 1999-2000, the Commissioner of Official Languages was involved in fifteen litigations, five for the period 2000-2001, and four for the period 2001-2002 (*Annual Report* 2000: 101; 2001: 121; 2002: 37). For the period 1994-2001, only eight cases occurred in South Africa, an average of one per year (Du Plessis 2004: 171), and also one case in 2002.

Strictly speaking, only five of the nine cases are instances of linguistic rights litigation, it is where an alleged injured party litigate. Of these five cases, three were litigation on a specific language, viz language rights for English (*Chweu & Others v Pretoria Technical College (1994)15 ILJ 892 (IC)*, for Zulu (*Mthetwa v De Bruin NO and Another 1998 3B CLR 336 (N)*) (already discussed), and Afrikaans (*Primary School Middelburg v Head of Department: Mpumalanga Department of Education (2002 4ALL SA 745 (T)*) (to be discussed later in detail).

In *Chweu & Others* the applicant requested the court to order the respondent to prepare his defence in the language of the applicant's choice (English), or to translate it from Afrikaans into English. The Industrial Court refused to grant the order and gave the applicant an opportunity to prepare his answer for submission. By way of motivation, the Industrial Court found that a respondent is not obliged to use the language of the applicant's choice in the preparation of court documents. The respondent is entitled to use the language of his choice. Also, no obligation rests with the respondent to provide a translation of documents into the language of the applicant's choice. The task of, and the costs related to, the translation of court documents into the language of a party's choice rest with that party.

The other two cases, *In re: The School Education Bill of 1995 (Gauteng) 1996 4BCLR 537 (CC)*, and *Louw v Transitional Local Council of Greater Germiston 1997 8BCLR 1062 (W)*, did not refer to a specific language, but discuss fundamental language questions. In the first mentioned

the Speaker of the Gauteng Legislature requested that a dispute concerning the constitutionality of certain provisions of the *School Education Act of 1995* (Gauteng) regarding the provision and control of education be resolved. The request was submitted after a petition by various members of the provincial legislature. The petitioners alleged, *inter alia*, that the disputed provisions restricted the right of persons to be admitted to schools that utilise language testing as an admission mechanism. (The petition also dealt with provisions relating to the religious education policy of schools.) The Constitutional Court found that the disputed provisions of the concerned provincial act were not unconstitutional. By way of motivation, it was found that the challenge of finding a balance between corrective actions concerning the systemic inequality of the past, on the one hand, and protection against legally enforced assimilation, on the other, is not a constitutional matter, but that it must be resolved through democratic processes.

In *Louw v Transitional Local Council* the application was turned down, with costs. The applicant requested a court order from the High Court (Witwatersrand Local Division) to set aside a decision of the Transitional Council of the Greater Germiston, in terms of which English was declared to be the written and spoken language of the concerned council; and requested the Court to declare the mentioned decision to be in conflict with the fundamental rights contained in Chapter 3 (the so-called language clause) of the 1993 Constitution.

In motivating the finding, it was found that the applicant was not able to prove the existence of a language right in this context; and it was also found that the concerned resolution should not be regarded as legislation or official policy or practice.

The other four cases were introduced by the state against individuals for alleged unlawful deeds concerning language matters, and could be characterized as negative linguistic litigation with the aim to suppress linguistic rights (Du Plessis 2004: 171). In one case the litigation was against a Xhosa speaker (*State v Matomela* (already discussed)), and in three instances against Afrikaans speaking citizens. In *State v De Villiers, A612/98, 10 March 1999*, the accused was on trial in the magistrate's court in Virginia on a charge of the violation of a specific Road Traffic Regulation that had been promulgated on 26 April 1990, in terms of which the FS acronym was proclaimed to be the official registration mark for the Free

State province. The accused had applied the Afrikaans acronym, VS, as a registration mark to one of the vehicles in his possession. The accused was acquitted because the State was unable to prove its case against the accused beyond reasonable doubt. In motivation, it was contended that the concerned court was unable to establish an awareness of unlawfulness on the part of the accused, on the basis of the evidence. The finding did, in fact, confirm that VS number plates, as such, remained unlawful.

In the second case where Afrikaans was concerned, *State v Van Wyk, RCK89/99, 15 June 1999*, the accused was on trial in the Regional Court for the Northern Cape Division, and was charged with the violation of a provision contained in the *Civil Aviation Offences Act* (Act 10 of 1972), owing to his refusal to fasten his seat belt on landing in Kimberley, during a flight of SA Express. His defence argument was that the safety announcement had only been made in English, and that his insistence on an announcement in Afrikaans had been refused.

In this instance the accused was sentenced to five years of imprisonment, suspended for five years. In motivation, it was contended that the accused had acted unlawfully by insisting on the use of his language, and thereby creating a hazard on the concerned flight. He had used an incorrect method, as well as the wrong forum, in order to insist on his language rights.

The last instance of negative linguistic litigation to be discussed, *State v Pienaar, Review Case 77/2000, 18 May 2000*, was a review case by the High Court of the Northern Cape Division in respect of a criminal case in which an Afrikaans-speaking person had conducted his own defence and had been found guilty after he had requested that his English legal representative should withdraw, since she was unable to speak Afrikaans.

The conviction and sentence were set aside. In motivation, it was contended that the accused had been deprived of a fair hearing, owing to the fact that an English legal representative had been assigned to him, which boiled down to a violation of his right to a fair hearing, since he was unable to communicate with her. He had been entitled to a hearing in Afrikaans.

Because of the importance of matters concerning primary and secondary education, specifically the medium of instruction, the case *Primary School Middelburg v Head of Department: Mpumalanga Department of Education* will be discussed in more detail.

In *Laerskool Middelburg v Departementshoof: Mpumalanga Departement van Onderwys (2002) 4 ALL SA 745 (T)* (*Primary School Middelburg v Head of Department: Mpumalanga Department of Education (2002) 4 ALL SA 745 (T))*, in the Transvaal Provincial Division, an application was made by the Middelburg Primary School to set aside a decision by the Mpumalanga Department of Education to declare the school a dual-medium institution.

Until the end of 2001 the Middelburg Primary School was an exclusively Afrikaans-medium institution. In November 2001, a member of the Mpumalanga Department of Education instructed the school to admit in January 2002 twenty learners who wished to be enrolled at the school, and which were to be taught in English. In January 2002, after the school's power to admit learners was withdrawn, eight learners were admitted to the school, to be taught in English. The school refused to be a dual-medium school and began with a lawsuit.

In his judgement (in Afrikaans and in this contribution translated), Judge Bertelsmann rejected the application of the school to set aside the decision of the Mpumalanga Department of Education to declare the school a dual-medium school. In his judgement he stressed section 28(2) of the Constitution, Act no. 108 of 1996, which stated:

> A child's best interest is of paramount importance in every matter concerning the child.

The Judge was even of opinion that this section established a fundamental right.

If the learners were shown away, the best interests of them would be affected. These interests included e.g. the fact that the concerned school is the best school in Middelburg, academically as well as his sport and cultural activities. Forced removal could have a negative impact on the learners, because they could feel rejected, and also because close friendships with classmates had been formed. Furthermore, the school is the nearest school to their homes.

However, the judgement must not be interpreted as a blueprint that all future applications would receive the same judgement. The Judge stressed it that, if the application served before him on the day that the 'contentious decision' was taken, 'I would not have hesitated to put aside the

decision. Now, ten months later, this path could not be followed without damaging the minors'.

Judge Bertelsmann also questioned with biting critique the *bona fides* of the respondents, and ordered them to pay all the costs:

> The respondents disregarded all the standing administrative directions which, *inter alia,* are there as protection of language and cultural interests which are of importance to many. They opposed the present application with might and main, although they *ab initio* must have known that their administrative behaviour was wrong. The attitude of the respondents disregarded the applicants' rights and the views. The respondents had no respect for the applicants' devotedness to their language and culture, and also ignored the interests of the individual learners, who became involved in the process by the actions of the respondents) (p 756 (2002) 4ALL SA 745 (T).

Also elsewhere in his sentence, Judge Bertelsmann refers to the ideological driveness of the respondents:

> The attitude of the respondents suggest that they principally decided to do away with Afrikaans-medium schools in Mpumalanga, in spite of the provisions of section 29(2) of the Constitution and of the National Language Policy. Apparently the behaviour was not only motivated by the demands of practical necessity, but in greater degree, by the principle that these schools must be transformed. I stressed this point repeatedly with Mr. Dreyer SC: Ultimately, it was common knowledge that this was the approach of the respondents) (p 754 of (2002) 4 ALL SA 745 (T).

Ironically, the repeated attempts - and probably future attempts if this application succeeds – was one of the reasons why the application was rejected:

> There is a further consideration which compel me to reject the application. It is clear that the first and second respondents since

1996, with evidently disregard for administrative stipulations, try to change the first applicant to a dual-medium school. Mr. Dreyer admitted that most probably the first and second respondents will continue with their efforts if this application will succeed. It is in nobody's interest to expose the applicants and the learners to the process) (p 756 of (2002) 4 ALL SAL 745 (T).

The sentence was reported in *Beeld* on 13 November 2002. The chairman of the school's governing body, Mr. Meiring, commented: ''n Streep is deur Afrikaanse enkelmediumskole getrek' [A line is drawn through Afrikaans-medium schools].

Also the Pan South African Language Board (panSALB), was disappointed, because the sentence clipped the wings of the Department of Education's policy to promote multilingualism (*Citizen* 14 November 2002). The spokesperson of the Democratic Alliance, Sandra Botha, also deplored the judgement because English was promoted at the expense of Afrikaans (*Citizen* 14 November 2002).

A second, nearly similar case was settled. On the last day of the academic year, 13 December 2001, the Gauteng Department of Education declared the High School F.H. Odendaal (FHO) to be a dual-medium school with the re-opening on 16 January 2002. It was a one-sided declaration without any predetermined assessment of the needs, without motivations, negotiations and/or spirit of partnership (thanks to the chairman of the governing body of FHO, Mr. Louis Smuts, who supplied the correspondence relating to the matter). Thirty-two learners were moved to the school to begin a grade eight class. All the learners were approximately 20 to 25 km from the school, and passed three other schools where vacancies exist. They were transported by bus at a cost of R200 per child. In the same period, two other Afrikaans-medium schools accepted the declaration to become dual-medium institutions in the same area. Therefore there would be three Afrikaans-medium schools, with one grade eight class with English learners in each.

An urgent application to put aside the decision served before Judge Van der Westhuizen. Rights and powers entrenched in the Constitution and regulated in various acts, like as the School Act, were discussed:

1. The right of present learners and parents to exercise the language of their choice in instruction, without interference from outside;
2. The rights, powers and competence of governing bodies to decide on matters like finances and language policy;
3. The right of a school community to uphold an existing ethos, culture and discipline in a school in their area;
4. The right of teachers to teach unrestrained in the language of their training and conditions of appointment; and
5. The right of the English-speaking learners to receive instruction as near as possible to their homes, in the language of their choice.

The legal representatives of the Department agreed on most of the arguments, and asked the court to adjourn so that they could negotiate for a settlement. The settlement was made an order of court with the following contents:

1. The declaration by the Department of Education for the FHO to be a dual-medium school is set aside;
2. The Department of Education pay all court and legal costs;
3. FHO undertakes to house the present group of English-speaking learners to the end of the 2002 school year; and
4. The Department of Education undertakes to move these learners to an English-medium school.

An important implication of the putting aside by Judge Bertelsmann of the initial one-sided declaration by the Gauteng Department of Education was highlighted in an editorial in *Beeld*, 6 May 2002, namely that a governing body can appeal to the Constitution if a department of education wants to force, or already has forced, certain decisions.

In an interview with Judge Arthur Chaskalson, Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court (*Rapport* 4 April 2004), Judge Chaskalson admits that language is a complex and difficult issue, and that principles relating to language should be tested as directive for future judgments. He finds it odd that relatively few such cases have appeared before the Constitutional Court. According to Chaskalson (translated from Afrikaans)

It is disempowering to express yourself in a language other than your mother tongue. If you are prevented from taking part in certain aspects of society because of language, it is disempowerment.

Role of PanSALB to Initiate Litigation

In the previous sections the importance of litigation was shown. In general, Constitutions contain broad principles rather than detail on certain concepts. This holds true for section 6, the official language clause, of the Constitution. Because, as was shown, section 6 is open for different interpretations, , it is imperative for the courts to give content to the principle of linguistic rights.

It is in this respect that panSALB can play a more important role. Section 11 of the panSALB Act, Act no. 59 of 1995, deals with procedures and mediation, conciliation or negotiation by the Board. Subsections 4 and 5 read as follows:

(4) The Board shall on its own initiative or on receipt of a written complaint investigate the alleged violation of any language right, language policy or language practice.

(5)(a) The Board shall, after an investigation of the alleged violation in terms of subsection (4), and if it is of the view that there is substance in the allegation, by mediation or conciliation or negotiation, endeavour –

(i)   to resolve and settle any dispute; or
(ii)   to rectify any act or omission,
arising from or constituting a contravention or infringement of legislation or alleged contravention or infringement of legislation, language policy or language practice, or a violation of or threat, or alleged violation of or threat to any language right.

(b) If any endeavour in terms of paragraph (a) fails and provided that the Board is of the view that there are good reasons to address the matter further, the Board shall assist the complainant or other persons adversely affected to secure redress by -

(i)   referral of the matter, with a recommendation, to the organ of state against which the complaint was lodged;

(ii) recommending that the organ of state against which the complaint was lodged provide the complainant with financial or other assistance with a view to redressing any damage;

(iii) providing, in its sole discretion, the complainant with financial or other assistance to redress any damage; or

(iv) making arrangements for or providing the complainant with financial or other assistance to enable him or her to obtain relief from any other organ of state or a court of law.

It is important to note that subsection 4 makes provision that panSALB on its own can investigate a matter of violation of linguistic rights, and that it is not necessary to wait for complaints from outside bodies or persons. Of importance is also subsection (5)(b)(iv), which opens the possibility of financial or other assistance to enable complainants of violations of linguistic rights to carry on with their efforts.

As a result of the fact that panSALB has, up to 2004, not tested its legal enforcement power, his decisions and proposals are in many cases ignored by violators. During 2002, of a total of 82 language rights complaints, a mere 5% (4) were successfully settled (Lubbe *et al.* 2004: 49-60). A member of the panSALB Board, prof. Hennie Strydom, thus stated, in evidence before a Select Committee of Parliament dealing with legislative proposals of members and provinces, that the cause of panSALB is 'fruitless' without legal enforcement mechanisms (*Beeld* 20 September 2002).

At last panSALB took the Compensation Commissioner of the Department of Labour to court. In 2002 of the 82 complaints lodged with panSALB 28 were directed at the Compensation Commissioner (Lubbe *et al.* 2004: 56).

On 15 June 2004 in *The Pan South African Language Board v The Compensation Commissioner (1ˢᵗ respondent), the Minister of Labour (2ⁿᵈ respondent), the Director-General of the Dept. of Labour (3ʳᵈ respondent (Transvaal Provincial Division) case number 5830/04* Judge Hartzenberg ordered,

1.   That the decision and/or conduct of the First Respondent of adopting English as the only official language in which to communicate is reviewed and set aside as having no valid force and effect in law.

2.   That the Respondents' decision and/or conduct of adopting English as the only official language in which to communicate is declared unlawful and/or unconstitutional.

3.   That the process of dispatching the W.A(s) 8(a) and W.A(s)(E) Assessment forms exclusively in English, if such process is still on and/or proceeding be halted pending the finalisation of the matter.

4.   That the Respondents are directed to implement within 60 days of this order the Applicant's decision published as Board Notices 40 of 2000 and 97 of 2002 in Government Gazettes Number 21175 of 19 May 2000 and Number 24121 of 29 November 2002 to the effect that:

4.1   the Respondents must keep on hand forms in all official languages to be made available on request;

4.2   the Respondents must indicate on these forms that forms are available in other official languages;

4.3   the Respondents must train personnel to enable them to serve the public in official languages other than English;

4.4   the Respondents must align language policy and practice with the constitutional requirements in consultation with the Board;

4.5   the Respondents draft a proper language policy that would adequately serve the needs of the speech communities that they serve and submit the said language policy to the Applicant for scrutiny.

5.   That the First, Second and Third Respondents be ordered to pay the costs of this application, jointly and severally, the one paying the other to be absolved.

It is foreseen that this decision will force state departments to give, in

practice, more recognition to all official languages and the importance of litigation has once more be shown.

Conclusion

Litigation can be an effective form of activism for obtaining linguistic rights, and it provides a guarantee for their maintenance. In the South African situation it must be, if necessary, utilised to a greater extent. In the words of Martel (1999: 65), 'litigation remained a final strategy and a sword of Damocles in negotiations with the state'.

Litigation is an expensive process, and the implication of the costs is a stumbling block which inhibits the decision to litigate, in spite of the merits of a case. If sufficient cases of litigation, however, do not take place, content can not be given to the principle, in this case the principle of linguistic rights, with the result that uncertainty on the linguistic rights of language users, and the powers of the authority, will continue.

In this regard the Canadian attitude is an inspirational example. In spite of the fact that French in North America is the mother tongue of only 2% of the population, and the pressure to assimilate is huge, the linguistic rights of the minority group in Canada is recognised after a series of litigation processes. Financial support for all the litigation processes was supplied by the Federal government. The words of the Canadian Commissioner of Official Languages are relevant to South African users' attempts in obtaining linguistic rights: 'Court decisions have done much to promote Canadians' language rights' (*Annual Report* 2002: 36).

But in spite of the effectiveness of litigation it would still be the best if it would not be necessary to litigate, and in this respect the responsibility lies at the government not to alienate the speakers of minority languages by failing to respect their language rights. A government would benefit more by ensuring that every citizen's constitutional language rights are upheld, and to avoid conflicts by seeking to solve problems before they escalate. Respecting all speakers' language rights is just an important challenge for the South African government as e.g. combating poverty, job creation or fighting Aids.

Unit for Language Facilitation and Empowerment
University of the Free State
etfb@mail.uovs.ac.za

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Exploring Identity through Code-switching: A Poststructuralist Approach

Malini Ramsay-Brijball

Introduction

The use of a particular language variety in the creation, negotiation and reflection of one's identity has been topical in Sociolinguistics for some time. In this article, I focus on code-switching (CS) and its impact on the construction of identity. CS can be traced as far back as the nineteenth century in the Cape Peninsula (McCormick 1989) and is a commonly observed language contact phenomenon in post-apartheid South Africa. Simply stated, this linguistic phenomenon refers to the use of two or more languages by bilingual speakers in the same conversation or conversational turn.

As an academic on the Westville campus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal for more than a decade, I have witnessed the ease with which isiZulu first language (L1) speakers resort to CS as a regular linguistic option. CS and other language-related studies (e.g. Kieswetter 1995 and Moyo 1996, among others) confirm that CS is a common feature of the speech of isiZulu L1 speakers. Yet, a pilot study conducted a few years ago (Ramsay-Brijball 1999:165) and a doctoral study (Ramsay-Brijball 2003) indicates that many of these speakers deny engaging in CS. They believe it is bad, is destroying isiZulu and must therefore be avoided and discouraged. The question that then arises is: why do isiZulu L1 speakers use this mixed, stigmatized variety so frequently and what impact does it have on the ways in which they construct their identity?

According to Edwards (1985:3) any sociolinguistic investigation is inevitably about identity, its formation, presentation and maintenance. He regards language as the central linchpin of identity. More recently, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004:2) have attempted to identify new theoretical approaches to understanding how people negotiate identities in multilingual contexts in view of recent socio-political and socio-economic trends such as globalization, the post-colonial search for new national identities and increased transnational migration. Primarily drawing on Pavlenko and Blackledge's (2004) poststructuralist approach, the article reveals how isiZulu L1 students on the multilingual Westville campus employ isiZulu-English code-switching (Z-E CS) as a vehicle through which they can define themselves. My findings indicate that the greater incidence of a mixed variety in comparison to the use of either a monolingual English or isiZulu variety bears testimony to a 'negotiable identity' these speakers seek for themselves.

Methodological Framework

Drawing on the poststructuralist approach, I undertook to investigate isiZulu L1 students' motivations for and attitudes towards isiZulu-English code-switching (Z-E CS). Data was collected using the triangulation method i.e. the use of multiple data sources arising from multiple data collection procedures. I used a questionnaire survey among, and conducted interviews with, final level isiZulu L1 students on the Westville campus. Apart from my observations and field notes of the speech patterns of isiZulu L1 students, I also used audio-recorded naturally occurring conversations among them in order to investigate the incidence, form and directionality of Z-E CS, and to test the validity of some of the responses emanating from the other data collection techniques.

The recordings of the conversations were conducted by two postgraduate, isiZulu L1 research assistants. The aim was to minimize contamination of the data, a phenomenon that Labov (1966, 1975) described as 'the observer's paradox'. As in-group members (shared age group, home language, tertiary education status, etc) the research assistants could easily gain permission from the subjects and access to authentic isiZulu L1 speech. Milroy (1987:63) states that one way of obtaining spontaneous data is to define the speech event as something other than an interview. In so doing, it is very likely that the interactants will talk to each other/one another rather

than adopting the question-answer format of an interview. The research assistants approached isiZulu L1 students randomly, of whom many were known to them as peers either through a common programme of study or friends. The topics of the conversations were not interfered with in any way. Interactants proceeded with their conversations as naturally as possible as their focus was the content of the conversations rather than the form. Prospective CS researchers should note that when collecting code-switching data, the aim is to collect naturally occurring speech and to then identify the code-switched extracts.

The subjects were divided into two groups, namely, the Experimental Group (EG) and the Control Group (CG). The EG comprised those students who were studying isiZulu as a subject of study. These students were registered for the isiZulu Programme which is taught through the medium of isiZulu and which covers linguistic, literary and cultural aspects of isiZulu and its speakers. The remaining students in the sample population were registered for other programmes across the faculties on the Westville campus and which are conducted in English, the designated medium of instruction of this institution. The students in this latter group formed the CG.

The purpose of delineating the sample population in the manner described above was to investigate the impact of four factors in particular on the subjects' linguistic behaviour and their concomitant effect on the construction of their identity. These factors were: educational orientation (i.e., the academic programme a student registers for), medium of instruction, language attitudes and the diglossic relationship between English and isiZulu. Other sociolinguistic variables were considered in the stratification of the sample, namely, age, gender, student's residence during the academic year and student's location of home. These, however, are not the focus of this article.

Of the four factors being considered, 'diglossia' is worth further explanation for those unfamiliar with this linguistic jargon. Numerous definitions of diglossia are offered in the literature. Ferguson (1959) first introduced this term into the literature on Sociolinguistics in order to describe the language situation in places like Greece, Haiti and the Arab- as well as the German-speaking worlds in general. Ferguson's definition is as follows:

Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation (Ferguson 1972:232).

In his definition, Ferguson refers to different varieties of the same language. In this regard, he distinguishes between a High variety and a Low variety. The former represents a standard variety and the latter, a non-standard, colloquial variety. Fishman (1971) however, used the term differently. Fishman extended the definitions provided above to include the use of two genetically unrelated languages for different purposes in a given community. For purposes of this study, I adopt Fishman's (1971) definition of diglossia in this study as I focus on the use of two genetically unrelated languages viz. English and isiZulu in the CS patterns of isiZulu L1 speakers.

According to Kamwangamalu (2000:199), much has been written about diglossia and the critical role that the status of languages plays in shaping one's speech patterns. However, only a few studies relate diglossia to CS (Mkilifi 1978; Scotton 1986; Wald 1986). With respect to CS in the African context, Kamwangamalu (2000:202) suggests that diglossia is a 'useful macrolinguistic construct for the study of CS structure'. According to him, CS in the African context is characterized by unidirectional switching from the African languages (Low varieties) to the ex-colonial languages (High varieties). Taking this into account, exploring the diglossic relationship between isiZulu and English is important to understand the form and function of Z-E CS. It also enables one to gain insight into how power relationships between the languages create as well as reflect particular identities.

Theoretical Framework

Various theoretical frameworks are considered in this article. These range from general sociolinguistic approaches such as Edwards (1985) to more

specific functional models in CS research (e.g. Myers-Scotton's 1993a markedness model and Heller's 1992, 1995 ideological-political model). Pavlenko and Blackledge's (2004) poststructuralist approach to understanding how identities are negotiated in multilingual contexts, however, forms the over-arching theoretical framework that guides the discussion.

According to Pavlenko and Blackledge (hereafter P&B) the sociopsychological and interactional sociolinguistic approaches have dominated macro-sociolinguistic research for many decades. These approaches are relevant for exploring identities in multilingual contexts but some also present shortcomings. For instance, the sociopsychological approaches (e.g. Tajfel's (1974, 1981) social identity theory and Berry's (1980) theory of acculturation) assume a one-to-one correlation between language and ethnic identity. This assumption is based on the misconceived notion that members belong to a 'homogeneous ethnolinguistic community which has a monolingual, monocultural, linear and unidirectional bias' (P&B 2004:4-7). Such a view obscures the existence of hybrid identities and also hides the complex linguistic repertoires of bi/multilingual speakers in this global world.

With respect to the interactional sociolinguistic approaches (e.g. Gumperz's (1982) interactional model, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) work on focusing and diffusion as well as Myers-Scotton's (1993a) markedness model), P&B highlight various shortcomings. One shortcoming has been around the use of 'identity' as the explanatory concept 'when the concept itself needs to be explained' and furthermore, it is not the only factor influencing code-switching and language choice generally (P&B 2004:8-9). According to Auer (1995, 1998) another shortcoming of interactional sociolinguistic approaches is that they tend to relegate the prediction and determinants of code-switching patterns and language choice to macro-sociolinguistic issues at times. Auer suggests that these can only be explained by investigating the specific interactional aspects of a conversation.

P&B (2004:8) consider Myers-Scotton's (1993a) markedness model as the best-known sociolinguistic model of negotiation of identities through code-switching [CS]. In summary, Myers-Scotton draws attention to the socio-pragmatic nature of CS. She focuses on CS as a negotiation of the balance of rights and obligations (RO) between speakers and argues that speakers choose a code 'that would symbolize the rights and obligations they wish to enforce in the exchange in question and index the appropriate identities' (P&B 2004:8). The central organising device of this model is the notion of 'markedness', a concept that Myers-Scotton (1993a:79) has argued to be 'a part of the innate cognitive faculty of all humans', but one that has not yet been proven beyond doubt either by Myers-Scotton or by anybody else. By 'markedness', Myers-Scotton means that speakers make either marked or unmarked choices for any given situation. Basically, 'unmarked' refers to the normal or expected choice in a conversational context. 'Marked', on the other hand, indicates a negotiation of a different balance of rights and obligations by using an unexpected or less common form (cf. Myers-Scotton 1993a). Speakers use marked choices to either increase or decrease social distance, to establish deference or superiority, among other reasons.

Myers-Scotton's work is not without its detractors. Concerns have been raised with regard to various aspects of this model (cf. Meeuwis and Blommaert 1994). Alvarez-Caccamo (1998) has drawn attention to the misconception that might arise with Myers-Scotton's notion of indexicality viz. that the indexical value of CS is the compound of the values associated with each language. Li Wei (1998) and Auer (1998) have also questioned Myers-Scotton's static notion of indexicality by arguing that it incorrectly 'draws on speakers' perceptions rather than local meanings' and therefore may not be able to capture the diversity of interactions in multilingual settings (P&B 2004:9). It is worth noting however, that speakers' perceptions and local meanings are not necessarily incompatible.

As a way forward, P&B suggest a poststructuralist approach to understanding the negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts by focusing on 'how languages are appropriated in this complex, multi-faceted process'. Their approach is informed by the works of various scholars such as Bourdieu (1977, 1991), Woolard (1985, 1998), Gal (1989) and Heller (1982, 1992, 1995). In using the concept of 'capital' (borrowed from economics), Bourdieu (1977, 1991) refers to one's access to the various types of resources that are available. Bourdieu argues that language is a form of capital that can be exchanged for other forms of capital, i.e. social, economic or cultural capital. This basically means that language choice can determine the extent of one's social, economic and cultural success. His model rests on the notion that 'the value of a particular language variety in a

symbolic market place derives from its legitimation by the dominant group and the dominant institutions' and that 'a symbolically dominated group is complicit in the misrecognition (*meconnaissance*), or valorization, of that language and variety as an inherently better form' (Bourdieu 1991:163). By 'dominant', Bourdieu refers to numerical supremacy.

Fundamentally, Bourdieu's notion of symbolic domination forms the basis of the work of the other three researchers, viz. Woolard, Gal and Heller. While all of them recognise the relevance of Bourdieu's model, each has critiqued this core notion on different grounds, thereby resulting in approaches that may be similar but which, in fact, are conceptually different. In spite of adopting the basic premise of Bourdieu's model of symbolic domination in her studies, Woolard (1985) offers a counter-argument to Bourdieu's distinction of majority/minority in terms of numeracy only. Woolard suggests that the status a language enjoys in a particular society can also distinguish one as superior and the other as inferior. Hence, it is possible that a language with fewer speakers than another language may enjoy majority status if its symbolic and instrumental value is greater than the other language. Woolard also recognises the limitation of Bourdieu's 'marketplace metaphor' and has suggested that languages can have different values in different marketplaces. By this, she means that a single language/language variety can have high value (e.g. to show solidarity) in one context but low value (e.g. to reflect social distance) in another context.

Similarly, Gal's (1989) critique of Bourdieu's model is based on the premise that people of different classes and ethnic groups use languages differently and that they transform their linguistic norms and associated identities 'through microstructures of interaction' (P&B 2004:11). In other words, Gal also argues that people can use a single language/language variety in different ways. While some can use a particular variety as an out-group variety to reflect resistance, others may use the same variety as an in-group variety to reflect solidarity.

According to Bourdieu (1991), varieties that are considered official and standard are often regarded as superior to those that are unofficial and non-standard. While this statement may hold theoretical validity in some contexts, it may present shortcomings in contexts that are highly diglossic. For example, both English and isiZulu enjoy official language status in South Africa. However, in considering the standard varieties of each,

English enjoys superior status rather than isiZulu, not only among English L1 speakers but also among speakers of other home languages. It may also be said that given the hegemonic role of English in the South African context, even the non-standard varieties of English are misrecognised as more superior to the standard variety of isiZulu by many speakers.

In view of the inherent unequal distribution of capital, Heller (1995:161), in her ideological-political model, suggests that an unequal distribution of linguistic and cultural capital in a society can influence language practices in that society. In this regard, Heller (1992:123) states:

> language practices are inherently political insofar as they are among the ways individuals have at their disposal of gaining access to the production, distribution and consumption of symbolic and material resources.

This means that language forms part of the negotiation of power. Heller (1992, 1995) therefore argues that code-switching (CS) may be viewed as a strategy for attaining a sense of shared power and solidarity among bilingual speakers. Furthermore, CS can function as a salient means of achieving social, economic and political goals.

Analysis and Discussion

Drawing on the approaches outlined above, my study shows that Zulu L1 speakers use Zulu-English code-switching (Z-E CS) i.e. a mixed, stigmatised variety as a tool to define themselves and to express their aspirations. On the basis of my findings, it may be summarised that the use of Z-E CS exposes the hybrid nature of the subjects' identity e.g. linguistic, cultural and social identity.

With respect to linguistic identity, the use of this mixed variety reveals one's linguistic repertoire and one's cline of bilinguality (Kachru 1986). Simply stated, the former refers to the number of languages known by an individual and the latter refers to the varying degrees of proficiency that an individual may develop with respect to the different languages he/she may acquire/learn. As mentioned in the methodological framework, all the subjects in my study were bilingual in English and isiZulu. They studied

either through the medium of isiZulu (the Experimental group i.e. the EG) or English (the Control group i.e. the CG). Apart from being accepted as the language of wider communication on the campus setting, English is the L1 of 39% of the student population. isiZulu, on the other hand, is the language of the majority of the student population (43%).

With regard to the subjects' clines of bilinguality, a comprehensive analysis of the form of the subjects' code-switches (the focus of a forthcoming article) reveals that the form of code-switching by the subjects of the EG is different from that of the subjects in the CG. The key distinguishing features are larger embedded language (EL) islands, matrix language (ML) islands, single lexeme switches and intra- vs. inter-sentential code-switching (CS). For instance, the subjects in the EG use larger embedded language islands to a larger extent than those in the CG i.e. the use of more than two word phrases and clauses in their CS patterns. In this regard, Finlayson, Calteaux and Myers-Scotton (1998:415) have argued that the more proficient bilinguals tend to produce larger embedded language constituents. The implication of this, therefore, is that the EG shows greater proficiency of English than the CG.

With respect to single lexeme switches, nouns are code-switched more than any other part of speech. However, a closer analysis of the form of the switched nouns indicates that the subjects in the CG use more multiple-layered, inflected noun forms than their counterparts (59:29%). According to Poplack (1980) and more recently, Muysken, Kook and Vedder (1996), there is a close relationship between levels of bilinguality and types of code-switched constituents. They state that the higher the level of bilinguality, the more complex the form of code-switching. Bearing this in mind, one may deduce that there is a high level of bilinguality among the subjects in the CG. The contrastive findings reflect the subjects' differing levels of usage and proficiency of English and isiZulu.

Regarding cultural identity, the study shows that the subjects use Z-E CS to sanction their cultural backgrounds while trying to adapt simultaneously to global demands. In this regard, the use of ML islands is particularly interesting. The findings clearly reveal that isiZulu is the ML in the Z-E CS patterns of both groups. A closer inspection of the data further indicates that the subjects in the CG use ML islands to a greater extent than their counterparts in the EG. Of the ten conversations by the subjects in the

CG, there are three conversations that have instances where several turns would take place entirely in the ML. This finding may be attributed to two extra-linguistic features in particular, viz. language attitudes and educational orientation. As these students pursue their studies through the medium of English, the pressure to deliver academic material in the L2 weighs heavily upon them. Arguably, it may be said, that the subjects in the CG use isiZulu extensively in informal situations while engaging in Z-E CS in order to seek relief from the exclusive use of English in their formal interactions and assessments. Furthermore, these students acknowledge the importance of English in their education but at the same time, they also want to display their ethnic identity.

Z-E CS also mirrors the subjects' social identity. The use of this variety reflects one's educational status and 'elite closure', a term that Myers-Scotton (1993b:149) uses in her markedness model. She defines this term as a 'type of social mobilization strategy by which those persons in power establish or maintain their powers and privileges via linguistic choices'. The subjects in this study may be described as the education-based elite, when compared to isiZulu L1 speakers that cannot afford the privilege of higher education.

Details of each of the above-mentioned identities are further explored in the next section with specific focus on the impact of 'educational orientation' (i.e. the programmes that students register for), medium of instruction, the diglossic relationship between English and isiZulu and the language attitudes of the subjects.

Impact of Educational Orientation and Medium of Instruction

The study reveals that while subjects in the EG mainly use isiZulu in formal communication and subjects in the CG use English, subjects in both groups resort to Z-E CS in informal situations. This linguistic practice is consonant with Edward's (1985:96) premise that an alteration in speech patterns in a particular society is a reflection of changing social and linguistic needs. In his view, this is the rule, not the exception. Therefore, an alteration in speech patterns in a particular society is a reflection of the evolution of social and linguistic needs as well as of identity. While this cannot be denied, many sociolinguists would disagree with this restricted view. Gal (1989:374), for

example, argues that 'language not only reflects societal patterns and divisions but also sustains and reproduces them'.

The respondents/interviewees offer various reasons for Z-E CS. One of the more commonly cited reasons is that it allows them to express a 'dual identity'. They justify this description by stating that English has wider cachet in the global world and it can reflect their superior educational and social status on the one hand, while isiZulu, on the other hand, can reflect their ethnic identity and solidarity with their community. By using Z-E CS, the interviewees claim they can achieve all their goals simultaneously. This finding presents an interesting contrast to the negative attitudes recorded by the respondents in the questionnaire survey. The contradiction raises critical methodological questions in CS research.

P&B (2004:21) state that there are essentially three types of identities, namely, imposed, assumed or negotiable identities. Imposed identities are not negotiable at a particular time and place. Speakers are unable to resist or contest such identities. Assumed identities refer to identities that speakers are comfortable with and which are 'valued and legitimized by the dominant discourses of identity' (P&B 2004:21). Lastly, negotiable identities refer to 'all identity options which can be - and are - contested and resisted by particular individuals and groups' (P&B 2004:21). In saying that they seek a 'dual identity', isiZulu L1 speakers can be said to be seeking a 'negotiable identity' when using Z-E CS. A negotiable identity enables isiZulu L1 speakers to narrow the divide between their academic and social lives in an informal campus setting and to also project other identities consciously or subconsciously when they revert to the use of either monolingual English or isiZulu as a medium of learning in the formal context.

As mentioned earlier, in terms of P&B's approach, one needs to consider how individuals appropriate the languages they use in multilingual contexts. These writers suggest that identities are multi-dimensional and are constructed at the intersection of the use of the different languages. Factors such as linguistic repertoire, cline of bilinguality, cultural link, educational and social status, educational orientation and medium of instruction, language attitudes and the impact of a diglossic situation all have a bearing on how English and isiZulu are distributed and assigned to use by different speakers in different contexts.

Of note, the subjects in the CG claimed (through interviews mainly) that although they were obliged to use English in formal communication in and out of the lecture hall where the pressure was on them to express high levels of English proficiency, resorting to Z-E CS in informal situations enabled them to seek relief from the obligatory use of academic English, to integrate the use of a casual, informal variety of English with the formal variety in an institutional setting and to enjoy the comfort of the familiar i.e. their home language, isiZulu. The subjects in the EG, on the other hand, claimed that while their goal was to increase their knowledge about isiZulu, culture and society, they also needed to position themselves in a wider, multilingual, multicultural society. They therefore claimed that the use of Z-E CS in informal situations enabled them to express their adaptability to and prevent alienation from the wider community.

Kamwangamalu (2000:62) argues that language choices are not as clear-cut as Myers-Scotton (1993a) suggests. He states that there are instances where the boundaries overlap and where a particular variety can function as a marked choice in one context and, as an unmarked choice in another. While it is noted that Z-E CS is subconscious to a large extent, the proposition that 'sub-conscious implies unmarked' has yet to be proven beyond doubt. Finlayson and Slabbert (1997: 415) also question the simplicity of categorizing patterns of CS as marked or unmarked. They state that unmarked CS 'does not only signal multiple identities but also signals an identity as such'. These researchers suggest bilingual, urban/township speakers seek an identity which 'simultaneously embraces those features that are marked as "modern" and "Western" and those that are marked as "traditional" and "African"' (Slabbert and Finlayson 2000:122).

Taking into consideration the intentional use of Z-E CS as presented above, it may be argued that its use may also be marked as it serves to meet specific goals of the subjects in each group, subjects who may be distinguished primarily by their educational orientation and the medium through which they receive instruction. In terms of P&B's categorization of identity types, marked CS may be understood as an intentional quest to negotiate identity at a given time and place.

Impact of Language Attitudes

Language Choice	Campus	Public Places	Church	Home
isiZulu only	30.6	46.4	73.7	84.7
English only	31.7	24.5	12.9	4.6
Z-E CS	35.7	26	9.8	6

Table 1: Summary of language choices as per settings in percentages

Language attitudes also impact on the way one constructs identity. An investigation of the subjects' attitudes towards English, isiZulu and Z-E CS sheds light on the way the subjects construct identity. As explained elsewhere (cf. Ramsay-Brijball 1999:164), attitudes may be intrinsic or extrinsic. Drawing on Hoffman's (1977) ideas, 'intrinsic attitude' refers to a person's perceived sentimental value of a language and the manner in which one uses it to become a representative member of the community in which it is used. 'Extrinsic attitude', on the other hand, refers to the instrumental or usefulness value that a language or language variety holds for a person. In this instance, a particular language or language variety is learnt as a means to an end.

On the one hand, isiZulu L1 students generally have a positive, intrinsic attitude towards isiZulu. They feel a deep sense of loyalty and pride towards their home language. As indicated in Table1, isiZulu as a monolingual variety is the preferred choice in the home setting (84.7%), the church (73.7%) and in public places (46.4%). It is noted that as the most commonly used language in the home setting, the subjects in both groups place strong sentimental value on their home language and regard isiZulu as their badge of ethnic identity. The qualitative data corroborates these findings.

While one may say that such an identity is largely assumed by these subjects rather than imposed, one must be cautious in generalizing this deduction to the larger population. It is possible that investigating the attitudes of isiZulu L1 speakers in the province that is the language's stronghold may present a bias. Investigations of the attitudes of isiZulu L1

speakers in contexts out of this region (cf. Finchilescu and Nyawose 1998) indicate that these speakers reject the idea of a one-to-one correlation between their language and their ethnicity. Finchilescu and Nyawose (1998:59) cite the following quotation from one of their participants:

> I have also experienced something like that when people say to you 'Oh! You are Gatsha's child.' And now you get scared to tell people that you are Zulu speaking because they will think that you are also IFP.

This and other quotations from Finchilescu and Nyawose's study indicate that the subjects refute the assumption made by other African language speakers that as isiZulu L1 speakers, they are unequivocally members of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), a party that was established as the party for the AmaZulu in its genesis. In other words, these subjects perceive ethnicity to be bigger than political party affiliation and reject the 'insularity' and 'tribalism' (cf. Finchilescu & Nyawose 1998:57) that is implied by such an assumption. They state that they prefer to embrace a 'more global black African or even South African identity' (Finchilescu & Nyawose 1998:57).

Finchilescu and Nyawose's study was conducted among isiZulu L1 speakers on the University of Cape Town campus (UCT), confirming the use of isiZulu in this setting but with reservations. On the Westville campus, my findings are similar in that the isiZulu only option is not the preferred choice in this educational setting (30.6%), a low statistic when compared to the use of the monolingual isiZulu variety in other domains as mentioned previously. While the subjects of my study did not highlight political reasons, other reasons became apparent.

Questions asked in the questionnaire survey as well as in the interviews that relate to language attitudes are: How important and necessary are English and isiZulu in your life? Asking how 'important' a language is, was intended to test one's intrinsic attitude towards it and how 'necessary' it is, one's extrinsic attitude. Cross-tabulating the results reveal that subjects rate the importance and necessity of English higher (87.6%) than the importance and necessity of isiZulu (72%). It could be said that the high score for English on the one hand reflects its 'assumed' role as the High

Variety and the vehicle to upward social mobility. On the other hand, the high score for isiZulu highlights the covert prestige that a Low Variety may enjoy in a diglossic situation, a situation that Bourdieu's model fails to explain.

Other than the 87.6% of the respondents who consider English as very important and necessary, 11.3% think English is important but unnecessary. Only a minimal 1% considers English to be unimportant and unnecessary, and 6% of the respondents failed to give a response. One may question why 6% of the respondents did not give a response. Can it be said that by not answering, they were reflecting their psychological discomfort at having to choose one language at the expense of another? Could it be that they preferred not to make such a choice but preferred an alternative, that is, a mixed variety that enables them to enjoy the advantages of both languages?

Drawing on P&B's approach, it may be said that isiZulu L1 speakers do not want an imposed identity, one that may arise from the use of either monolingual variety. Neither do they want an assumed identity that may result from the tacit acceptance of one or other option. As developing intellectuals, isiZulu L1 students prefer to exercise their right to challenge and negotiate their linguistic options in considering which would be most optimal in a given situation. The 6% who did not respond could possibly be categorized as 'psychologically uncomfortable' as suggested above. Alternatively, that they are 'intellectually astute' and would prefer options other than those that were presented to them in the questionnaire, in my opinion, is a more plausible explanation, affording these respondents the benefit of the doubt.

Both explanations may be understood in view of Davies and Harre's (1990) positioning theory, a theory that forms a key component of P&B's approach. Simply stated, this theory postulates that identities are shaped, produced and negotiated as a result of the way in which one positions oneself in discourses. These researchers distinguish between 'interactive positioning' and 'reflective positioning', stating that the former refers to the way one positions oneself in relation to others and that the latter refers to the way one positions oneself without the other as reference. P&B (2004:20) draw on this distinction and extend it further by stating:

> While agency and choice are critical in positioning, it is important to

underscore that instances of reflective positioning are often contested by others and many individuals find themselves in a perpetual tension between self-chosen identities [i.e. preferring choices others than those offered in the questionnaire] and others' attempts to position them differently [i.e. contesting the limited choices I presented to them in the questionnaire].

Taking this into account, one may therefore say that both explanations presented above may be understood as the dynamic interplay between the two types of positioning through which these 6% of the respondents attempt to negotiate their identities. Furthermore, as P&B (2004:21) suggest, taking into account a Bakhtinian view, that such negotiation takes place, not necessarily between two or more different physical parties, but 'within' the individual and thereby 'resulting in changes in self-representation'.

Impact of the Diglossic Situation

Given the diglossic situation in which isiZulu and English co-exist on the Westville campus elsewhere, isiZulu L1 speakers state that they resort to Z-E CS in search of an identity that allows them to express their cultural solidarity with other isiZulu L1 speakers while simultaneously expressing their educational and social status. A parallel may be drawn between Z-E CS by isiZulu L1 speakers in this study on the one hand, and French-English CS by Francophone speakers in Quebec (Heller 1995) on the other. In her investigation, Heller also discovered that by engaging in French-English CS, her subjects were gaining power and solidarity simultaneously.

> The goal is to gain access to global networks and globally valued economic resources, but without having to become Anglophones to do so. In these cases, code-switching may be a means of re-defining conventions of language choice as part of the process of re-defining relations of power (Heller 1995:167).

By using Z-E CS, isiZulu L1 speakers maximize their access to the social, academic and economic benefits of using English while simultaneously maximizing their access to the cultural benefits of using Zulu. In view of

this, Heller's (1995:161) idea that CS is a strategy to 'attain a sense of shared power and solidarity' as well as P&B's notion that such goals may be achieved through negotiation is therefore relevant to understanding why Z-E CS is the preferred choice among isiZulu L1 speakers in informal settings on the campus. Taking these scholars' views into account, it may be said that using isiZulu as a monolingual variety in a multilingual, urban setting such as that on the Westville campus may not reflect the social nor academic identity to which many Zulu L1 students aspire. It is worth noting that subjects from the EG and CG cite the use of Z-E CS for the sake of affirming a dual identity to similar extents (49%:51%).

Conclusion

As mentioned elsewhere (cf. Ramsay-Brijball 2002:220), the use of Z-E CS is legitimized as the incidence of this variety increases daily. One can say that using Z-E CS enables isiZulu L1 speakers to fulfill their intrinsic and extrinsic needs simultaneously and in so doing, to construct their negotiable identity. Lamy (1979) concluded decades ago that bilingualism facilitates the process of new identity formation. This assertion is still valid today as we see the close relationship between language and identity through the use of a stigmatized, mixed variety among bilingual Zulu L1 speakers who may be distinguished primarily by their 'educational orientation' and medium of instruction. Of particular importance, is the relevance of the P&B's poststructuralist approach in explaining how isiZulu L1 speakers use Z-E CS to negotiate the construction of their identity. This approach encourages researchers to consider new ways of theorizing old issues.

Department of Linguistics
School of Language, Literature and Linguistics
University of KwaZulu-Natal
ramsaym@ukzn.ac.za

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The Role of Syntactic Theory in the Analysis of Intrasentential Code-switching

Ondene van Dulm

Introduction

Research into code-switching has traditionally focused on either its sociolinguistic or its grammatical aspects. Sociolinguistic research has led to proposals regarding, amongst other things, the reasons people engage in code-switching, the functions code-switching may fulfil, and the contexts in which code-switching is common and/or viewed as appropriate (cf., e.g., Blom and Gumperz 1972; Gumperz 1982; Myers-Scotton 1993; Wei 1998). Research on the grammatical aspects of code-switching, on the other hand, has led to a number of proposals regarding where codes may be switched in a sentence. Such proposals have most often been formulated in terms of constraints on intrasentential code- switching[1]. Studies leading to the proposal of such grammatical constraints have typically been carried out within the framework of particular theories of grammar, the choice of theory differing somewhat from one researcher to the next. Thus, in the literature, one finds that researchers apply different theories, or different interpretations of the same theory, furthermore differing in the ways in which the theory is applied.

The present paper describes various recent applications of gram-

[1] Intrasentential code switching entails switching within a clause boundary (Hamers and Blanc 2000:260), such as in the English-Afrikaans code switched utterance I don't like to bother the *mense te veel* ('I don't like to bother the people too much').

matical theory to the analysis of code-switching, from early Government and Binding (GB)-based accounts to more recent analyses within the framework of minimalist syntax. In order to orientate the reader, a brief overview of developments within the field of generative grammar, culminating in the proposal of the minimalist program (or MP) (Chomsky 1993, 1995a), is given in the following section. This section also contains a brief exposition of the minimalist program, the research program which has led to the formulation of theories of minimalist syntax, followed by a discussion of the potential merit of the application of such syntactic theories to code-switching research. Following this, an exposition is given of a number of applications of grammatical theory to the analysis of code-switching and shortcomings of these approaches are pointed out. In the final section, suggestions for future research are discussed.

Generative Grammar: An Overview

Generative Grammar

Research in the generative tradition is carried out against the background of the three levels of adequacy which grammatical descriptions have to meet, as set out by Chomsky (1964:28,29). The lowest level of success is that of observational adequacy, attained when the grammar correctly characterises specific observed linguistic data (e.g., that in a corpus). The second level is descriptive adequacy, attained when a grammar additionally provides an account of the speaker-hearer's linguistic intuitions and offers meaningful generalisations expressing the underlying regularities of the observed linguistic data. The third level of success is that of explanatory adequacy, attained when the theory associated with the grammar presents an explanation for the linguistic intuitions of the speaker-hearer and, crucially, also for how principles underlying these intuitions could have been acquired. Within the tradition of generative grammar, an adequate theory is one which attains all three levels of success.

Early work within the framework of generative grammar led to the postulation of various rules. These were proposed to account for a multitude of syntactic phenomena in a wide variety of languages. Tension then arose between the needs for descriptive and explanatory adequacy, as it did not appear possible that a single grammar could simultaneously (i) account for

the structures observed in individual languages, thereby attaining descriptive adequacy, and (ii) capture the fact that these structures derive from a single, universally specified (innate) set of structures, thereby attaining explanatory adequacy. A quest for descriptive adequacy leads to increasing levels of complexity and variety in the systems of rules accounting for syntactic phenomena, different for each language. On the other hand, a quest for explanatory adequacy requires the structure of different languages to be largely invariant (Chomsky 1997a:5). Questions about ways to resolve this tension led researchers to follow what became known as the 'principles and parameters' approach within generative grammar (cf. Chomsky 1981, 1986a, b).

Within the principles and parameters framework, the multitude of language-specific rules of the early generative tradition are replaced by principles and parameters that are assumed to be universally present, forming the basis of the language faculty. Thus, Chomsky (1995a:170) proposes that Universal Grammar (UG) provides a 'system of principles and a finite array of finitely valued parameters'. These principles and open parameters comprise the initial state of the language faculty, and each parameter can be set to a particular value, on the basis of the input to which the speaker-hearer is exposed. Each language (L) is the result of the fixed set of principles and a certain configuration of parameter settings.

The principles and parameters framework provides a research program within which certain questions about the language faculty and languages are asked and answered in a certain way, the ultimate aim being to provide an account in terms of which all syntactic phenomena are shown to be the product of interaction between fixed and universal principles and language-specific parameter settings. Thus, as Chomsky (1997a:6) notes, the principles and parameters program 'suggests how the theory of language might satisfy the conflicting conditions of descriptive and explanatory adequacy'.

GB theory was the most influential theory of grammar within the principles and parameters framework from the late 1970s to the early 1990s (cf. Chomsky 1981, 1986a, 1995a), and has been regarded as 'the most fully worked out version of a principles and parameters approach to UG' (Hornstein, Nunes and Grohmann 2001a:1). According to GB theory, there are four levels of grammatical representation, namely, (i) deep structure (D-

structure), (ii) surface structure (S-structure), (iii) logical form (LF), and (iv) phonetic form (PF).

D-structure is the level at which grammatical functions are expressed in terms of theta roles and phrase structure rules are applied (Hornstein, Nunes and Grohmann 2001b:2). Between D-structure and S-structure, movement of syntactic elements takes place (Cook and Newson 1996:153). 'Move' is one of the rules of the transformational component of GB theory (Hornstein et al. 2001b:4). Specifically, GB theory proposes a rule called 'Move α', according to which anything can be moved anywhere. This rule replaced the (construction-specific) transformational rules of earlier generative grammar, e.g. wh-movement in questions, NP movement for passives, etc.

S-structure links PF and LF, as it is the level at which the derivation splits into two representations, one for the PF component, which determines aspects of the pronunciation of the sentence, and another for the LF component, which computes those aspects of meaning which are associated with syntactic structure (Cook and Newson 1996:152, 153; Hornstein et al. 2001b:3). Within GB theory, PF and LF are thus interface levels which provide the grammatical information needed to assign phonetic and semantic interpretations to the sentence (Hornstein et al. 2001b:3).

GB theory was the most successful theory of grammar within the principles and parameters framework. However, more recent developments within the minimalist program (cf. Chomsky 1993, 1995a) have led to a reconsideration of various assumptions and devices of the principles and parameters framework, one of these considerations being the elimination of the levels of S-structure and D-structure associated with GB theory.

The Minimalist Program

Throughout the history of research within the framework of generative grammar, there has been a preference for simpler syntactic analyses over more complex ones, for the smallest number of rules and the smallest number of elements. This preference for simplicity can be seen to dominate recent work in the generative tradition. Indeed, according to Chomsky (2002:95) and Tomalin (2003:1251), this increased emphasis on economy and simplicity has led to the development of the minimalist program.

Within the minimalist program, Chomsky (2001:1) suggests that the properties of a language (L) are the result of interaction among three factors. The first of these is the initial state of the language faculty, an instantiation of the fixed set of universal principles. The second is the primary linguistic data (PLD), also known as 'language input', i.e., the empirical basis in accordance with which the parameters are set. The third, which was not addressed by early work within the principles and parameters framework, comprises general properties of organic systems. Chomsky (2001:2) explains the need to ask 'not only what the properties of language are, but why they are that way'. The belief is that, once the tension between descriptive and explanatory adequacy is overcome by work within the principles and parameters framework, one can go beyond explanatory adequacy and focus on questions arising from the third factor above, i.e., the nature of the language faculty as an organic system and the role that this plays in determining the properties that natural language systems must have.

Specifically, Chomsky (2002:108) asks the question: is language optimally designed in terms of the systems with which it must interact? This is the line of questioning taken up in the minimalist program, which provides a framework within which questions can be posed regarding the optimality of language design (cf. Chomsky 1997b, 1999, 2000). The minimalist program seeks to explore the question of whether language is a perfect system, in as much as it is a perfect solution to externally imposed constraints (Chomsky 1995a:1). Such externally imposed constraints arise due to the interaction of the language faculty, as a cognitive system, with other performance systems, such as the sensorimotor and conceptual systems. According to Chomsky (1997b:4), the language faculty interacts with these performance systems by means of levels of linguistic representation. The output of the language faculty must satisfy so-called 'legibility conditions' imposed by these systems if the systems are to process the output of the language faculty. A strong minimalist thesis is that 'language is an optimal solution to legibility conditions' (Chomsky 2000:112). The assumption then is that the language faculty (i) provides only the machinery that is necessary to satisfy the minimal requirements of legibility, and (ii) functions in as simple a way as possible.

The performance systems with which the language faculty must interact, according to Chomsky (1995a:168), are of two general types,

namely articulatory-perceptual (A-P) and conceptual-intentional (C-I). These are the systems for which a linguistic expression, the output of the language faculty, must provide instructions. Accordingly, it is claimed that there are two interface representations, namely, PF at the A-P interface and LF at the C-I interface (Chomsky 1995a:2), which provide instructions for the A-P and C-I systems, respectively. Chomsky (1995a:169) proposes that these two levels are the only conceptually necessary levels, and so assumes that they can be taken to be the only levels. The GB levels of S-structure and D-structure, in contrast, are empirically rather than conceptually motivated, and research within minimalist syntax has suggested that the empirical burden of these two levels of representation can be more adequately borne by mechanisms operating between the lexicon and PF and LF (cf. Hornstein et al. 2001b:5-36). Thus, the conceptually unnecessary levels of D- and S-structure are eliminated in the spirit of economy, according to which two levels of representation are better than four. The assumption of PF and LF as the only levels of representation, based on the notion of virtual conceptual necessity, forms an important part of the minimalist program.

The above-mentioned strong minimalist thesis holds that all states of the language faculty (initial and attained) must satisfy the interface legibility conditions, and so puts aside the distinction between descriptive adequacy (for a theory of an attained state of the language faculty) and explanatory adequacy (for a theory of the initial state) (Chomsky 2002:131). The assumption that all states of the language faculty satisfy legibility conditions in an optimal way is central to questions posed by the minimalist program. The task of the minimalist program, according to Chomsky (2001:3), is to examine the devices employed to characterise language and to determine the extent to which such devices can be eliminated in favour of a principled account in terms of general conditions of computational efficiency and interface conditions that the organ – in this case, the language faculty – must satisfy in order to function.

It is important to note that the minimalist program is a research program, not a theory. Specifically, it is a research program which assumes the framework of the principles and parameters approach, and which provides leading questions about the optimality of language design, specifically questions about the legibility conditions which the language faculty has to meet in order to interact with other systems of the mind/brain.

In an interview with Cheng and Sybesma (1995:32), Chomsky notes that one cannot speak of a minimalist approach to something, as 'there is no minimalist approach. There is a set of minimalist questions', and in this sense the minimalist program is a 'set of questions that guide inquiry'.

Research within the framework of (i) assumptions associated with the principles and parameters approach (e.g., Chomsky 1981, 1986a, b) and (ii) linguistic research questions raised by the minimalist program (cf., for example, Chomsky 1995a, 1999, 2000; Lasnik 1999) has led to the development of a number of theories of grammar, proposed to account for various syntactic phenomena, and these theories can collectively be referred to as 'minimalist syntax'. Thematic role assignment and feature checking are examples of such theories. The various mechanisms and devices associated with these theories, e.g., 'Move' and 'Agree' in the case of feature checking, are mechanisms and devices of minimalist syntax, rather than properties or components (or some such) of the minimalist program. Misconceptions of what the minimalist program entails and what it is intended to achieve abound in the literature at present, as does the lack of a distinction between the minimalist program and minimalist syntax. In view of these issues, the use of terms such as 'minimalist program-style syntax', 'minimalist account' and 'minimalist approach' may need to be reconsidered.

Chomsky (1995a:168) proposes that the language faculty consists of two components, namely a lexicon and a computational system for human language (C_{HL}). The lexicon specifies the lexical items with their idiosyncratic features. C_{HL} derives a linguistic expression, also known as a structural description (SD), on the basis of a selection of lexical items, called a 'numeration' N (Chomsky 1995a:169). The derivation proceeds as the operation Merge strings the lexical items together in binary fashion, and the operation Move carries out the necessary movement of lexical items. C_{HL} consists of two parts, namely the PF component, relevant to PF (at the A-P interface), and the LF component, relevant to LF (at the C-I interface) (Chomsky 1995a:169). A linguistic expression of L is then a pair (π, λ), where π is a PF representation and λ an LF representation (Chomsky 1995b:390). Chomsky (1995b:394) posits that π and λ are 'differently constituted', and that elements interpretable at the PF interface are not interpretable at the LF interface, and vice versa. The computation must split at some point, into a part forming π and a part forming λ. This point is

known as 'Spell-Out' (Chomsky 1995b:394). At Spell-Out, the elements relevant only to PF are stripped away and mapped onto π, while the remainder continue in the computation to LF to be mapped onto λ.

On the basis of universal and invariant principles and fixed parameter settings, a language L determines an infinite set of SDs, each a (π, λ) pair. A derivation is said to 'converge' if it produces a legitimate SD, and to 'crash' if it does not (Chomsky 1995a:171). A derivation can converge or crash at either PF or LF, and must converge at both PF and LF if it is to converge at all (Chomsky 1995a:171). The above-mentioned legitimacy of an SD is determined by the principle of Full Interpretation, whereby the features associated with lexical items must be 'checked'. Move is the operation whereby lexical items move in order that feature-checking can take place. Specifically, feature checking entails that interpretable features associated with a particular lexical item[2] are checked against the corresponding features of a functional head, remaining visible to the rest of the computation, while uninterpretable features, once checked, are deleted, and become invisible to the computation. Thus, movement for the purposes of feature checking is said to be triggered by the need to eliminate uninterpretable features from the computation (Hornstein, Nunes and Grohmann 2003:3).

Applying Minimalist Syntax to the Analysis of Code-switching Data

In studies of grammatical aspects of intrasentential code-switching, the question to be answered concerns which linguistic principles define code-

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[2] Within the framework of minimalist syntax, it is assumed that lexical items consist of bundles of features, namely phonological, semantic and formal (syntactic) features. Phonological features are readable at PF and not at LF, while semantic features are readable at LF and not at PF. These two types of features are separated at Spell-Out, where phonological features are sent along in the computation from N to π and the semantic features in the computation from N to λ. Uninterpretable formal features, legible at neither PF nor LF, must be eliminated by feature checking (cf. Hornstein et al. 2003:4).

switching boundaries within sentences. According to MacSwan (1999:xxv), the aim of working within the framework of minimalist syntax is to make use of a minimal theoretical apparatus i.e. to eliminate mechanisms that are not necessary on conceptual grounds and, to make minimal and only the most necessary theoretical assumptions to account for linguistic data (MacSwan 1999:146). He further suggests that such assumptions would 'favour accounts of code- switching which make use of independently motivated principles of grammar over those which posit rules, principles or other constructs specific to it'. On the basis of his analysis of Spanish-Nahuatl code-switching data, MacSwan (1999:234) argues against the existence of specific code-switching constraints on the basis of the principles of scientific parsimony: code-switching phenomena can be accounted for in terms of the same theory that accounts for monolingual phenomena.

Applications of Syntactic Theory to the Analysis of Code-switching

As early as 1966, Lehtinen queried the possibility of grammatical constraints on code- switching, her focus being on the 'surface grammar of sentences' (Muysken 2000:11). The idea that there are rules which govern the switch sites in a sentence has prompted much research, and various constraints have been proposed (cf., among others, Lipski 1978, Poplack 1980, Bentahila and Davies 1982, Woolford 1983, Joshi 1985, Clyne 1987, Ritchie and Bhatia 1999). A brief discussion of some of the more prominent applications of syntactic theory to code-switching research follows.

The Government Constraint

Di Sciullo, Muysken and Singh (1986) applied the then current version of GB theory to an analysis of intrasentential code-switching. Specifically, they proposed the Government Constraint, according to which a governing element must be in the same language as its complement (Di Sciullo et al. 1986:6). Di Sciullo et al. (1986:2) state that the question is not whether or not there are constraints on intrasentential code-switching, but how best to characterise such constraints, and whether they can be made to follow from independently motivated principles. In their application of syntactic theory to code-switching analysis, Di Sciullo et al. (1986:7) suggest that code switching requires 'no specific stipulation', and is only subject to the

'syntagmatically coherent principle of government'. Government, accordingly, was proposed to explain the grammaticality of both monolingual and bilingual utterances.

A theoretical problem with the proposal of a Government Constraint is that, within the framework of minimalist syntax, it has been argued that the government relation is neither conceptually desirable nor empirically necessary. According to Cook and Newson (1996:316), the notion of government is abandoned in minimalist syntax, as its effects can be 'reduced to more fundamental relations.' Besides this theoretical shortcoming, the Government Constraint also fails empirical testing (cf. MacSwan 1999:44, 2000:39). The attested South African English-Afrikaans code-switches in (1) and (2), for example, containing switches between governors and their complements, constitute empirical data which cannot be accounted for by the Government Constraint *(also cited in Van Dulm 2002:69,70)*.

1. Ek kan haar sien *as a preschool teacher.*
    I can her see as
    (I can see her as a preschool teacher.)
2. I just met *die man van my drome.*
    the man of my dreams
    (I just met the man of my dreams.)

It appears that the application of grammatical theory to code-switching research in the case of the Government Constraint has not lead to a theoretically and empirically adequate account of intrasentential code-switching[3]. However, the idea that it is possible to account for structural aspects of intrasentential code-switching in terms of the same theory that accounts for structural aspects of monolingual utterances remains an attractive option.

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[3] Note that later adaptations were made to the Government Constraint, in terms of which the operative relation was one of so-called 'L-marking' (cf. Muysken 2000), but the mechanisms remained code switching-specific devices, not related to those of current syntactic theory within the minimalist program, despite Di Sciullo et al.'s suggestion that code switching requires 'no specific stipulation' (cf. p. 11).

The Null Theory of Code-switching

Mahootian (1993:138) proposes the Null Theory of intrasentential code-switching which states that there are no mechanisms specific to code-switching. Specifically, Mahootian (1993:139,140) proposes that the two lexicons, with their associated phrase structures, remain separate, and that access to both systems does not lead the speaker to generate utterances anomalous to either one (e.g., *apple green* when English, a head-first language, is in contact with a head-last language). The Null Theory is expanded in Mahootian and Santorini (1996:470), where it is proposed that heads determine the syntactic properties of their complements both in code-switching and in monolingual speech. Specifically, Mahootian and Santorini (1996:472) propose that a head determines the phrase structure position, syntactic category and feature content of its complement. For instance, a verb (a lexical head) dictates the position of its complement, allowing the switch in (3a) below between a V-complement language and a complement-V language, but not that in (3b).

(3a) *(cited in Mahootian 1993: 152)*
      You'll buy xune-ye jaedid
            house-POSS new
      (You'll buy a new house.)
(3b) *(cited in Mahootian and Santorini 1996:472)*
      You'll xune-ye jaedid buy
      house-POSS new

A conceptual problem with the approach of Mahootian (1993) concerns the use of the Tree Adjoining Grammar (TAG) formalism in the analysis, in which branching directionality, proposed to be encoded in the head, is realised by so-called 'auxiliary trees', representing the complement to the left or to the right of the head (MacSwan 1999:45). This is in contrast to GB theory, in which branching directionality was not encoded, as well as some current theories of minimalist syntax, which posit left branching across the board (Kayne 1994; Zwart 1997). A further conceptual problem with Mahootian and Santorini's (1996) approach concerns the central role proposed for the head-complement relation in code- switching. As noted by MacSwan (1999:47), there should be no limit on the syntactic relations and operations relevant to code-switching. Instead, 'all syntactic operations and

principles will be relevant in defining the class of well-formed code-switching constructions'. Such would be the basis of a truly 'null' theory of code-switching.

The Functional Head Constraint

On the basis of the idea that 'it is desirable to exploit distinctions and relations already present in the grammar' to account for code-switching, Belazi, Rubin and Toribio (1994:228) propose the Functional Head Constraint. Belazi *et al.* (1994) appeal to the notion of f-selection (cf. Abney 1987; Chomsky 1993), one of a number of feature checking processes. Specifically, Belazi *et al.* (1994:221, 228) propose a reformalisation of the notion of f-selection, whereby one of the features to be checked is language (i.e., whether it is, e.g., English, Afrikaans or Xhosa that is being spoken). The Functional Head Constraint proposes that 'the language feature of the complement f-selected by a functional head ... must match the corresponding feature of that functional head' (Rubin and Toribio 1995:177). The constraint does not allow switching between a functional head and its complement, leaving undisturbed switching between lexical heads and their complements. Empirical evidence against the Functional Head Constraint is offered by MacSwan (2000) and Van Dulm (2002), among others. Consider, for example, the switch between the Afrikaans functional head *is* ('is') and its English complement *down your throat* in (4) *(also cited in Van Dulm 2002:70).*

(4)   Watse *thingy* is *down your throat?*
           which   is
           ('Which thing is down your throat?')

Conceptual arguments against the Functional Head Constraint are raised by Mahootian and Santorini (1996) and MacSwan (1999, 2000). As these authors point out, Belazi et al. (1994) propose that their analysis of code-switching according to the Functional Head Constraint eliminates a code-switching specific mechanism, but the notion of a language feature is not independently motivated, and so remains a notion specifically formulated to account for a particular set of code-switched utterances. Furthermore, recent

developments within minimalist syntax indicate that only head-head (head adjunction) and spec-head configurations are checking domains (Chomsky 1993, 1995a; Hornstein *et al.* 2003), whereas the functional head constraint proposes checking within the head-complement domain. This, too, would be a code-switching specific mechanism, unless established as independently motivated. It is also important to note, once again, the question of why the relation between a functional head and its complement would play a particularly central role in code-switching. A more economical account would be one in which all relations relevant to monolingual utterances are also relevant to code-switching. Such an account is discussed below.

A Minimalist Assumption Regarding Code-switching

On the basis of an extensive study of intrasentential code-switching between Spanish and Nahuatl, MacSwan (1999:14) proposes that 'nothing constrains code-switching apart from the requirements of the mixed grammars'. MacSwan (1999:xxv) suggests that his research program is minimalist in two respects: (i) the proposal makes use of the minimal theoretical apparatus, corresponding to the so-called 'virtual conceptual necessity' that is central to the minimalist program; and (ii) the code-switching data are analysed within the minimalist framework. MacSwan (1999:66) thus works within the boundaries of a syntactic theory in which parameters are restricted to the lexicon (cf. Chomsky 1991, 1993, 1995a). This entails that variations in surface word order of languages relate to the movement of lexical items triggered by lexically-encoded morphological features (MacSwan 1999:67). The implication is that distinctions between languages do not feature in syntactic theory, and should play no role in an account of code-switching (MacSwan 1999:146).

MacSwan's (1999:97) main research question concerns the principles that define code- switching boundaries within sentences. Specifically, he seeks an 'explanation of the code- switching facts in terms of conflicts in the lexical requirements of words which are independent of code switching-specific mechanisms' (MacSwan 1999:151). The strategy in pursuing such a goal is to locate language-specific conflicts in the feature specifications of functional categories in order to explain the code-switching data (MacSwan 1999:156). MacSwan (1999, 2000) goes on to account for

the Sapnish-Nahuatl data within this framework. By way of illustration, consider the switches in (5) to (7).

(5)   Die onderwyser sê al die *kinders look ill.*
        the teacher says all the children

(6)   The teacher said all the *kinders lyk siek.*
                                  children look ill

(7)   *Die onderwyser sê die kind *look ill.*

In (5), the [+PLURAL] number feature of the English verb *look* agrees with the [+PLURAL] number feature of its Afrikaans subject *kinders*, and so can be checked in the course of the derivation. In (6), the number feature of *lyk* need not be phonetically expressed. This entails that verbs in Afrikaans have only one form for both singular and plural subjects (cf. *Die kind lyk siek* ('The child looks ill') and *Die kinders lyk siek* ('The children look ill')). In (7), the [+PLURAL] number feature of the verb *look* mismatches with the [-PLURAL] number feature of *kind*, and so the derivation crashes, accounting for the ill-formedness[4] of the switch in (7). Note, however, that such a switch may be uttered and/or regarded as acceptable by a mother tongue speaker of Afrikaans, as that language has no requirement of overt (phonetically realised) number agreement between a subject and a verb. This indeed appeared to be a possibility in Van Dulm's (2002) study of South African English-Afrikaans code-switching. The examples above offer a very basic illustration of the application of feature checking theory to code-switching data. The situation would become significantly more complex if the movement involved in the checking process were illustrated here.

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[4] Note that the term 'ungrammaticality' is avoided here, as this is a descriptive term for sentences which do not conform to the rules of the grammar being used as the basis for analysis. The term 'unacceptability' is also avoided here, as judgments of acceptability are based on intuition, and so are subject to variation under the influence of a variety of extralinguistic factors (cf., e.g., Botha 1981). The terms 'well-formedness' and 'ill-formedness', in contrast, are more appropriate here, as one can specify, for example, whether an utterance is well- or ill-formed in terms of its structure, phonology or morphology, depending on the focus of the analysis.

A further important aspect of MacSwan's (1999, 2000) approach to the analysis of intrasentential code-switching concerns his proposal of the PF Disjunction Theorem, according to which code-switching is not possible in the computation from N to π, i.e., in the PF component. The ban on code switching in the PF component is due to the nature of this component, which differs from that of the LF component, in that the computation from N to π modifies structures, including the internal structure of lexical items, by processes that are different in nature to those of the computation from N to λ (Chomsky 1995a:229). Specifically, the PF component contains phonological rules which build structure on the basis of specific morphological material with its phonetic content (MacSwan 2000:45). Such rules are necessarily ordered, and such ordering is language-specific. This ordering of rules may not be maintained when the PF components of two languages are mixed. In order to allow for the language-specificity of the PF component, MacSwan (1999:187) posits the PF Disjunction Theorem, which is an instantiation of Full Interpretation, and predicts that there will be no code-switching below the level of an X^0 [5], i.e., no code-switching within an X^0, as X^0s are inputs to the PF component (MacSwan 2000:46). Note that the PF Disjunction Theorem is not a constraint on code-switching, of the nature of those proposed by, for example, Di Sciullo et al. (1986) and Belazi et al. (1994). Rather, it is 'a theory about the relationship between the phonological components of a bilingual's linguistic system, and is deduced from the nature of phonological rules' (MacSwan 2000:46). Thus, MacSwan (1999:xxv) maintains the assumption that 'nothing constrains code switching apart from the requirements of the mixed grammars'.

As an illustration of how the predictions of the PF Disjunction Theorem are borne out, MacSwan (2000:46) considers Poplack's (1980:586) example of *eat-*iendo* ('eating'), where a switch is disallowed between the English stem *eat* and the Spanish bound morpheme *-iendo*. The possibility of a switch being allowed between, for example, the Afrikaans past participle *ge-* and the English verb *park* in *ge-park* is explained by MacSwan (2000:46) in terms of borrowing. The assumption is that morphologically

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[5] X^0 denotes a word level category, which may, for example, be a simple noun like *pen*, or a complex noun like *ballpoint pen*. Examples of verbal X^0s include the simple *mark*, and the complex *marked* and *re-marking*.

complex words like *geparkeer* ('parked') in Afrikaans and *parked* in English are formed by word formation devices internal to the lexicon (cf. Chomsky 1995a), and that a switch is allowed here if one assumes that the English stem has been borrowed into the speaker's Afrikaans lexicon.

Note that criticism may be levelled against the use of borrowing as a so-called 'escape hatch', in that a switch between a free and a bound morpheme, which cannot be explained in terms of the theory at hand, can simply be classified as a borrowing. It may be preferable to pursue an alternative account of such switching, making use of the existing operations and devices of minimalist syntax, eliminating the need to classify exceptions as borrowings in order that the PF Disjunction Theorem may be maintained. In view of potential objections to aspects of the theorem, further research in code-switching and other language contact phenomena is required in order to clarify matters.

The brief overview of MacSwan's (1999, 2000) approach given above is aimed at illustrating the potential merit of the application of syntactic theory developed within the minimalist program to the analysis of code switching data. The underlying assumption is that the grammatical principles and operations relevant to monolingual language phenomena are relevant to bilingual language phenomena, thus that no principle of grammar may refer specifically to code-switching or to separate languages (MacSwan 2000:43).

Directions for Future Research

The application of syntactic theory to the analysis of code-switching data provides a potentially fruitful avenue of research. Such application may be hindered, however, by the swiftness of developments in the theory. Consider, for example, the Government Constraint (Di Sciullo *et al.* 1986), the issues of its empirical validity aside. No sooner had researchers applied to code-switching research a notion central in the syntactic theory of the time, than the notion itself was done away with in the theory. Such adaptations to the underlying theory do not necessarily detract from the potential merit of the application of the theory. In the case of the Government Constraint, for example, it was illustrated that an account of code-switching data in terms of current syntactic theory is viable. Furthermore, it makes sense to propose

that the structural aspects of code-switching can be made to follow from independently motivated principles (Di Sciullo et al. 1986:2).

The possibility should also be considered that the successful application of syntactic theory to the analysis of code-switching may be extended by further research into other language contact phenomena. If, for example, the operations and devices of feature checking theory are shown to provide an adequate account of intrasentential code- switching, researchers may consider investigating accounts of other language contact phenomena in terms of the same operations and devices. The ultimate aim should be to account for the structural aspects of all utterances, whether monolingual or bilingual, in terms of the same syntactic theory. It should, for example, be possible to account for the structural aspects of utterances in a converged variety[6] in terms of the same principles and mechanisms used to account for structural aspects of monolingual utterances.

In this paper, various possibilities concerning the application of syntactic theory to code- switching research have been discussed. As noted by Muysken (1995:178), the study of code-switching requires theoretically-based structural analysis, the aim of which is to provide universal explanations for code-switching and monolingual data alike. Research into structural aspects of code-switching should be firmly based on adequate syntactic analyses. As suggested by Woolford (1983:521), such research can, in turn, provide evidence bearing on questions in grammatical theory. The challenge is for researchers to keep themselves informed of theoretical developments.

Department of General Linguistics
University of Stellenbosch
ovd@sun.ac.za

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[6] A converged variety is the result of extensive mixing of two languages by speakers in a community, leading to convergence on lexical and grammatical levels, to the extent that the mixed code becomes the norm. An example is the non-standard Afrikaans spoken by inhabitants of District Six (cf. McCormick 2002).

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Code-switching as a Technique in Teaching Literature in a Secondary School ESL Classroom

Visvaganthie Moodley and
Nkonko M. Kamwangamalu

Introduction

With all the overtures of a segregated South Africa, prior to the demise of apartheid in 1994, bilingualism was officially understood in terms of English and Afrikaans only. 1994 witnessed a linguistic transformation, unveiling a pluralistic, multiethnic and multilingual society. South Africa is now recognized as a truly multilingual country, heralding eleven official languages. Nine African languages, isiNdebele, sePedi, seSotho, siSwati, siTsonga, seTswana, tshiVenda, isiXhosa and isiZulu were added to the two already existing official languages, English and Afrikaans. Yet English continues to reign at the helm of the political, social, economic and educational arenas as the language of opportunity and power.

Persons that were educationally and linguistically disadvantaged, as a result of South Africa's apartheid regime, perceived English as the golden gate of opportunity which was reserved for a select few. English however, is no longer the language for only the elite or a select group. It is a language for every individual albeit laced with one's native language (NL). The Language-in-Education Policy Document in the South African Schools Act 84 of 1996, clearly documents that:

> In terms of the new Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, the government, and thus the Department of Education, recognizes that our cultural diversity is a valuable national asset and hence is

tasked, amongst other things, to promote multilingualism, the development of the official languages.

Hence the department adopts the position that bilingualism, that is, the home language of the learner and an additional language (English, in the case of African language speakers) in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) is a normal orientation of the learning process. Previously, English language users maintained that the use of the learner's NL had no place in the English Second Language (ESL) classroom. However there is empirical evidence to show that restricting the use of one's NL does not necessarily improve second language learning (Elridge 1996:303). It is therefore the duty and moral obligation of every educator to ensure that s/he provides the opportunity and means for every learner to use his/her NL in the classroom. This, in turn, would facilitate the learning of English as a second language (L2). The authors of this article support the view that prohibiting the learners' NL within the context of ESL instruction inhibits meaningful insight of literary works and impedes second language acquisition (SLA) itself.

This article demonstrates that one of the avenues to acquiring L2 proficiency is through the use of code-switching (CS), the alternate use of two (or more) languages in a given speech situation (McClure 1981; Myers-Scotton 1993). The issue of how we treat language alternation in the classroom is of critical methodological importance irrespective of the area of language learning (speaking, reading, listening or writing) being targeted in a given classroom situation. More specifically, this article focuses on the alternate use or switching between English and isiZulu as a technique in teaching English literature in the ESL classroom. It demonstrates that CS can be used as a strategy in fulfilling a variety of goals of literature teaching. These include, among others, understanding the complexities of characters and relationships between characters; determining major themes; promoting emotional, social and moral values among learners; developing the learners' ability to think critically and creatively; inciting learners to make value judgments and drawing learners' attention to discourse styles in the various genres.

Theoretical Background

Code-switching, the phenomenon which occurs widely in bilingual

communities including Port Shepstone in KwaZulu-Natal, the region in which this research is based) presumably existed as early as the seventeenth century (Bickerton 1981). In its most general sense, CS is the alternating use of two or more linguistic varieties (languages, dialects of the same language, registers of the same language) at the word, phrase or clause, or sentence level in the course of a discourse (Hoffmann 1991:110; Kamwangamalu 1992:173). Earlier studies of language contact (e.g. Weinreich 1953) considered CS as corrupt linguistic behaviour. CS was certainly not perceived as a characteristic feature of the linguistic behaviour of an ideal bilingual. Weinreich (1953:73) characterized the ideal bilingual as an individual who 'switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topic etc.) but not in an unchanged speech situation and certainly not within a single sentence'. The following examples (1-4) illustrate the various levels at which CS may occur in a given context. These are drawn from the text *The Suit* by Can Temba, one of the literary texts studied by the pupil-participants of this research and also from recordings of lessons on *The Suit*.

At the word level:

1. 'Some of the younger women shrieked delightedly to the driver, '**Fuduga!** . . . Stir the pot!' as he swung his steering-wheel this way and that'. [**Page 26**, *The Suit*, Can Themba]

At the clause or phrase level:

2. He trusted his wife, **ngenhliziyo yakhe yonke**, with all of his heart.[... *with all of his heart*].

At the sentence level:

3. **Wayemnika isidlo sasek'seni embhedeni**. Which of you boys will do that hey? [*He gave her breakfast in bed*].

At a discourse level:

4. Matilda's lover jumped out through the window, **wajomba ngetasitela bantwana,** in his underpants. Imagine that eh! **Ngaphandle kwezingubo zakhe**. He left his suit behind [... *through the window boys and girls, ... without his clothes ...*].

This study is informed by Gumperz's (1982) interactional model, Myers-Scotton's (1993) markedness model and Kamwangamalu's (1998) code-in-between approach. According to Gumperz's (1982) interactional model, code choices comprise a contextualizing cue. This model posits that CS may be perceived as a contextualizing cue which helps speakers to signal and listeners to interpret communicative intent of speakers within a given situation or context (Gumperz 1982:131-2). As participants of this study who change roles as both speakers and listeners and who share a common linguistic repertoire i.e., the ability to speak both English and Zulu, they are able to signal and interpret the communicative intent of one other. CS as a contextualizing cue in the context of this study may therefore be perceived as a language resource that enables social and pedagogical functions to be fulfilled.

In her markedness model, Myers-Scotton (1993) assumes that CS is an index of social negotiations of rights and obligations existing between participants in a conversational exchange. In this study, the participants share norms for such features as status of participants, topic (aspect of the lesson) and setting (the classroom). In terms of this model, teacher and learner code-choices would fall within the markedness continuum of unmarked and marked choices. This study demonstrates that by engaging in CS as an unmarked choice (in Myers-Scotton's terms, an expected choice), the teacher is able to elicit responses from learners thus encouraging active participation and involvement in the lesson. It also provides an opportunity for learners to express themselves in their NL comfortably and confidently without anxiety of making mistakes in English.

With regard to Kamwangamalu's (1998) proposal of the 'code-in-between', code choices do not have to always be binary. English therefore may not be perceived as either a 'they-code' (i.e., outgroup language) or 'we-code' (i.e., ingroup language) as suggested by Gumperz (1982). Instead, it may be viewed as a 'code-in-between' that enables speakers to achieve specific goals. In the context of the study, it is evident that English is perceived as a 'code-in-between' that enables both teachers and pupils to fulfill various social and pedagogical goals.

Setting, Subjects and Data Collection

In gathering the data, two classes of Grade 10 learners at two schools, in

close proximity to each in the Port Shepstone region, were selected. These schools were chosen because the learners in both schools are isiZulu speakers who study English as a second language. In addition, both schools were ideal for this study in that the teacher of English in the one school is a L1 speaker of English and the teacher of English in the other school is a L1 speaker of isiZulu.

The experimental approach was adopted in this study. The control group was the class (39 pupils) that was taught by the English L1 speaker using English as the sole medium of instruction. The other class (55 pupils), taught by the isiZulu L1 speaker who was asked to make deliberate use of English-isiZulu CS in the classroom in which the matrix/dominant language is English, was the experimental group.

The lessons were taught over a period of seven weeks. They were tape-recorded and a professional isiZulu-English translator transcribed and translated the recordings. Teacher participants verified the accuracy of the transcriptions. At the end of the series of lessons, the learners wrote a total of three tests (one short story and an examination of two of the three poems studied) the results of which were analyzed to determine whether CS promotes scholastic achievement or not. The test questions were designed to reveal the learners' ability to (i) follow a sequence of events; (ii) read for meaning; (iii) display an understanding of characters, themes, messages, writer's intention, appreciation of diction and literary devices; and (iv) demonstrate an ability to make judgments. Learners' test scripts were marked by a 'neutral teacher' i.e. one who was neither an active participant of the research nor the authors of this article.

The subject content comprised two short stories and three poems. The two short stories were *The Suit* by Can Themba and *Kid Playboy* by Casey Motsisi, both from *To Kill A Man's Pride and other Stories from Southern Africa*, a compilation that is edited by Norman Hodge. The poems under study were *Promise* by Mafika Pascal Gwala, *Follower* by Seamus Heaney and *Out, Out* by Robert Frost. *Kid Playboy* deals with a philandering young man whose wedding is being covered by a reporter, the narrator of the story. The story focuses on Kid Playboy (who is responsible for the suicide of the narrator's ex-girlfriend) and the wedding present he receives (i.e. his baby from an ex-girlfriend) while the marriage ceremony is being conducted. The thrust of the story *The Suit* is the unusual punishment a cuckolded husband, Philemon, metes to his wife, Matilda: she is to treat the suit of her lover as a guest in their home. This punishment leads to her eventual suicide. The poem *Promise* concerns the breaking of the promise between lovers, the fault of whom which is left to speculation. *Follower* concerns the cyclic nature of man i.e. when the father is young and fit, his son is the follower, but with old age, the father becomes the follower. As for *Out, Out*, it deals with a young boy who loses, first, his arm, and then his life while sawing wood at work.

Our aim in this research was to respond to the following questions:

(a) What are the specific functions of CS by learners and teachers?
(b) Does CS facilitate the learning process and if so, how?
(c) Does CS facilitate interpretation of meaning in the teaching of literature, enhance appreciation of intrinsic literary value and offer insights into 'life-lessons' via the texts?
(d) Does CS promote scholastic achievement as measured by tests of literary works?

Functions of Code-switching

Analysis of data reveals that CS by the bilingual teachers and learners fulfills both social and pedagogical functions in the classroom viz., CS as reiterative, for explanation purposes, to provide new or content information, for elaboration, as an emblem for group solidarity, as a directive, as a phatic function, for class management and influencing learner behaviour, for quotation, as referential, as interjections, as a poetic function, for use of proverbs in another language and to display one's knowledge. However, it is not our intention to comment on each of these functions nor is it within the scope of this article to comment on every example of CS used by the participants. Instead, we present the pedagogical functions of CS as observed in the speech of the participants and comment on the more salient or obvious examples of CS.

CS as Reiterative

This function of 'bilingual echoing' (Gibbons 1987:80) is a repetition of an utterance, either literally or in modified form, in another code from that which has been used. Examples of CS used for reiterative purposes are:

Lesson on 'Follower'

5.   Although he was a nuisance sometimes, he was loved. He was still young. **Nakuba esemcane ubanga isicefe ubusy uyasebenza iloku ibanga isicefe** [*Although he was a small child he was a nuisance when his father was busy working*].

Lesson on 'Out, out-'

6.   He said please sister, please sister tell the doctor not to amputate my, or cut off, my hand. It is so painful no? **Kwakubuhlungu kakhulu** [*It is so painful*].

Group discussion

7.   T   Why?

       P   **Wezwela** [*She felt the pain*].

       T   **Wezwela** [*She felt the pain*]. Did she feel that this was real?

In (5), the teacher repeats the characteristics of the child, with some modification viz. 'when the father was busy working'. In (6), reiteration is used to emphasize the pain that the boy experiences. In (7), CS as reiterative serves a different purpose. By repeating his pupil's answer **'Wezwela'** [*she felt the pain*], the teacher fulfills two functions, both social and pedagogical. Firstly, by repeating the pupil's answer, the teacher acknowledges the pupil's NL, displaying that it has value in the classroom. At the same time, the teacher also achieves solidarity with the pupil. Thus he fulfills a social function. Secondly, the repetition serves as an affirmation of the pupil's answer, thus reinforcing the answer. In this way, the teacher fulfills a pedagogical function.

CS for Explanation Purposes

CS may be used to explain an idea, concept, or content information. For example:

Lesson on 'Promise'

8.   Promise. **Kufikani?** [*What do you think?]* No one? **Bekufanele sihlangane ngo 10 eSayidi isethembiso** [*If you were supposed to meet someone at ten in Port Shepstone, that is a promise*].

Lesson on 'Follower'

9.   The furrow is the row **umsele owenzeka ngesikhathi ulima** [*rows that are formed when you plough*] (Teacher draws on board).

In (8), when the teacher does not receive a response to his question **'Kufikani?'** [*What do you think?*], he resorts to CS to explain the concept 'promise' by providing an example. In (9), he switches to isiZulu while drawing on the board to provide an explanation for 'rows' and so ensures that pupils understand its meaning.

CS to Provide Content Information or New Information

CS can be used to provide information that is given in the text as well as providing additional information to enhance pupils' understanding of the text and build on pupils' knowledge. Consider the following example:

Lesson on 'Kid playboy'

10.   It means that his trousers were not too well pressed. He **wasebona kufanele aye etendeni, ayobhuquza laphaya etendeni. Lakugcwele khona utshani, akugcwele khona nezidakwa, notshwala besizulu, nezinkamba.** [*He thought that he was supposed to be amongst those in a tent. It's where there are drunkards and African beer*].

In this extract, the teacher switches to isiZulu firstly, to provide content information i.e. the reporter should be amongst those in the tent (due to his 'unpressed trousers'); and secondly, to provide new information i.e., the quality of people who would be put into the tent and the kind of activities that would take place therein. In so doing, the pupils would now be able to differentiate between the guests who are housed in the hall where the actual wedding takes place and the guests who are put into the tent.

CS for Elaboration

CS can be used to expand on or embellish what has already been said in one code. Consider (11) and (12) below:

Lesson on 'Kid Playboy'

11. She did that because Kid Playboy went to another girl, **wamala, hhayi nokuthi wamala wavele wambaleka-nje** [*He broke up with her. He ran away from her.*] He didn't go to her for a month. **Wazihambela wathola enye intombazane** [*He got another girl*].

Lesson on 'Out, out-'

12. The hand was already cut off by the saw, not by the doctor, by the saw. **Libukhali lelisahha lakhona niwabhasobhe** [*This saw is very sharp, you must watch it*].

In (11), the teacher uses CS to elaborate on Kid Playboy's behaviour and attitude toward the girl spoken about. No new information is provided, but in switching to isiZulu the teacher builds on Kid Playboy's character. Also, it serves to ensure that pupils acquire a better understanding of his character. In the second instance (12), the teacher expands on the quality of the saw i.e. its sharpness, drawing attention to how dangerous it was.

CS for Classroom Management and Influencing Learner Behaviour

The data suggest that teachers use CS for management control as well as to elicit specific behavioural responses from pupils. These two aspects are closely linked as getting a pupil to behave in a desirable way often helps in managing the class (e.g., in terms of discipline). Consider the following examples:

Lesson on 'Kid Playboy'

13. [The class makes a noise]
Okay, okay, **asiqhubekeni** [..... *let's continue*].

Lesson on 'Kid Playboy'

14. Keep quite. **Thula. Oyedwa ngesikhathi.** [*Keep quiet, keep quiet, one at a time*].

Lesson on 'The suit'

15. What happened? What was the last straw for Matilda? The whole thing? **Wayengasakwazi ukubekezela yini imbangela?** [*What was the reason that made her unable to tolerate this any more?*]

In (13) and (14), the teacher switches to isiZulu to maintain classroom discipline. In (15), in addition to elaborating on his preceding question by providing clues to the answer, the switch to isiZulu is meant to evoke a response from his pupils.

CS as a Phatic Function

CS may be accompanied by a variation in tone or pitch of voice to achieve specific effects as is evident in the examples below:

Lesson on 'Kid Playboy'

16. Keep quiet. **Thula! Oyedwa ngesikhathi** [*Keep quiet! One at a time!*]

Lesson on 'Kid Playboy'

17. [Teacher reads] *'After every burst.............the grass green.'* **Ngizobathengela ummeli uzobatshengisa kahle ukuthi mina nginjani** [*I will have a lawyer that will show them who I am*].

In (16), the teacher addresses her class strongly, loudly and assertively to maintain order in class as the class has become very rowdy. In addition, by emphatically stating **'Oyedwa ngesikhathi'** [*One at a time*] she asserts her authority and achieves her desired effect. In the second extract, CS performs a phatic function for a different reason. By switching directly to isiZulu (after reading an extract) in a loud, angry voice of the character (the bride) the teacher effectively displays the bride's indignation at being humiliated. The tone employed effectively conveys the bride's feelings.

In addition to examining the functions of CS in the classroom, we also set out to investigate whether CS in the classroom contributes to scholastic achievement. A comparison of scores obtained from three tests administered to both the control and experimental groups revealed that there

was no significant difference in results between the two groups. We therefore conclude that the use of CS in the classroom does not necessarily contribute to scholastic achievement as measured by test scores.

Conclusion
In concluding this paper, we would like to return to the key research questions raised at the beginning of this study, in particular the following:

Can CS in the Classroom Effectively Enhance Learning and Scholastic Achievement?

The findings show that CS is a natural phenomenon that occurs mostly spontaneously among English-isiZulu bilingual educators and learners in the domain of the school. By fulfilling various specific functions, such as CS for reiteration, explanation, elaboration, influencing learner behaviour, providing content and/or new information, solidarity, and for directive and phatic purposes, teachers were able to enhance pupils' learning. By the strategic use of learners' NL, the bilingual teachers were able to enhance learners' vocabulary; enable learners to grasp difficult ideas and concepts; provide meaningful and significant extra or new information thus enhancing learners' overall knowledge; ensure understanding of plot, characters and themes of literary texts studied; exhort learners to think critically and creatively (which is one of major aims in the study of literature e.g., Reid 1982) and incite learners to make value judgments.

The findings demonstrate that the use of learners' NL, promotes learning; through the use of CS pupils are better able to understand the literary texts studied and are therefore better able to respond appropriately to test questions. In addition to enhancing learning, our findings reveal that CS during literature lessons serves to fulfill emotional, social and moral values. The use of CS helps promote learners' acquisition of moral awareness and a sense of values, and acquire empathetic understanding of others and themselves, which are also aims of literature teaching (e.g. Reid 1982). In so doing, learners are better equipped to deal with life's emotional and moral challenges, and are helped to become worthy persons. Hence, CS contributes to not only learning for academic success but also to learning for life at large.

Can the Learners' NLs be Effectively Employed to Promote ESL?

Our study shows that by employing learners' NL in the form of intersentential and intrasentential CS, ESL is promoted. By resorting to the use of learners' NL, teachers discuss vocabulary and phrases thus enhancing vocabulary in English. Also, when teachers use CS for reiterative purposes, repeating in isiZulu what has been said in English or vice versa, pupils acquire the grammatical rules of speaking and writing in English. In addition, in terms of Canale and Swain's (1979:4-6) model of communicative competence which focuses on the acquisition of not only grammatical competence but sociolinguistic competence, discourse competence and strategic competence as well, literature teaching is an excellent resource for the acquisition of these competences. Using CS in the teaching of literature thus becomes a powerful technique in promoting ESL.

Furthermore, the study clearly demonstrates that learners' NL has a legitimate and irreplaceable position in the teaching of literature irrespective of the proficiency levels of either the teacher or the learner. To deprive the learner of his/her NL in the classroom is to deprive him/her of the opportunity of acquiring his/her L2 proficiently. If indeed education is 'a mirror unto a people's social being' (Ngugi wa Thiongo 1986:223) and that literature is, among other things, an exploration of the self through characters, the language one employs, including CS, is inextricably woven in unfolding of values inherent in literature teaching. To deny a learner the opportunity to use his/her NL in the classroom is a negation of him/herself as a social being and more importantly as a unique, emerging individual.

To what Degree does CS Affect Learner-teacher and Learner-learner Interaction?

Our study shows that when teachers use CS they are better able to elicit responses from learners, and better able to elicit responses that go beyond monosyllabic responses than when they use English only. This however, does not mean that when teachers ask questions they must always resort to using learners' NL or using CS behaviour. Doing so will, in fact, impede the learning process and scholastic achievement as pupils will become dependent on teachers' use of the NL. They will know that the teacher is going to use their NL and learn not to attend to the English version of a

question. Also, if the teacher makes frequent use of the mother tongue, learners will become unfamiliar with questioning techniques they encounter in tests and examinations. Instead, the *strategic* use of CS, i.e. by using learners' NL only when it is evident that pupils fail to respond to a question that is posed in English only or using learners' NL as a springboard for sustained and animated discussion, will be beneficial.

In addition, learner-learner interaction is facilitated by employing the NL and was evident in recordings of group activities. The kind of animated talking that went on among the pupils serves as a contrast to the limited learner participation when the teacher was teaching. It is clear that using the NL allows pupils to express their thoughts and opinions without anxiety and with confidence. They feel secure in the knowledge that they are able to communicate exactly what they think and feel without fear of making mistakes should they use English only. However, the danger lies in overusing the mother tongue as pointed out by Atkinson (1987:246). Our research shows that learners use mostly English to interact with their teachers but mostly isiZulu to interact with each other during group activities. It appears that speaking with each other in the NL is a matter of course, even when they are quite capable of expressing themselves in English. This observation is evident in the fact that the report back to the class as a whole was carried out in English. In our view, the overuse of the NL in the ESL classroom defeats the purpose of effective CS and cheats learners of practising their English. Our findings therefore support Atkinson's (1987) view that CS can be effective as long as the matrix language is English.

Implications

The findings of the study have implications for (a) language-in-education policy and (b) ESL teachers and teaching methodology.

Language-in-education Policy

In 1995, in her discussion of the implications of CS for curriculum planning, Gila (1995:42) states: 'Curriculum planners need to recognize the occurrence of CS as a reality in classroom teaching and further accord it an official status.' It is clear that the Language-in-Education Policy document in the South African Schools Act 84 of 1996 as well as the report from the

Centre for Education Policy Development (1994) (which specifically states that CS during group discussions, workshops, practicals, seminars and lectures should be acknowledged as a normal feature of teaching and learning) accords CS official status.

The question that arises is: Is the policy of inclusion of CS in teaching and learning being implemented by the schools? If not, why not? Our research findings lead us to suggest that principals, teachers and the school governing bodies are either ignorant of the language policy, are pretending ignorance, or simply choose to ignore it. The implications for these role players are twofold: (a) for the role players to become, as Adendorff (1993) suggests, engaged in consciousness raising; and (b) to initiate a change in attitudes among role players toward CS.

If principals, teachers and governing bodies are indeed ignorant of the language policy act, then there is urgent need for the language policy act to be brought to their attention. Language advisors and other language policy authorities in the educational domain should as a matter of urgency, ensure that every school has a language policy committee in place. The task of this committee would be, among other things, to familiarize themselves and others at school, including learners and parents, with gazetted language policies. Previously held misconceptions about the use of learners' NL in classroom instruction should be clarified. CS should be recognized as a teaching strategy as 'language teaching is inextricably tied to language policy' (Savignon 1991:265) and needs to be included in the schools' language policy. This calls for a change in attitudes toward CS.

Implications for ESL Teachers and Teaching Methodology

The role of CS in the classroom also has specific implications for ESL teachers. Teachers across the curriculum, and even more pertinently, teachers of ESL need to experience a change in mind set regarding perceptions of CS in the classroom. Now, more than ever before, with the hype and urgency that teachers and learners have in pursuing English, teachers of ESL should realize that switching between codes is not a degenerative form of a language but a code that can be used effectively in the acquisition of the target language. Teachers of English should be made aware of how CS can be used to, for example, build on vocabulary; teach grammatical structure; ensure learners understand difficult concepts and

content information; and so on. It also needs to be stressed that in the language classroom, this does not mean that everything that is said in English must be repeated in Zulu and vice versa. Teachers also need to be informed of the dangers of overuse of the mother tongue by both themselves and their pupils.

The findings of this study have even more specific implications for the teacher of literature. Many literary texts of various genres, both imported and local, have evidence of the use of CS by characters. Both the short stories, 'The Suit' and 'Kid Playboy' are examples of texts that contain examples of the use of different lects and CS. Teachers should draw attention to how CS is used to provide information about setting and character, enhance meaning of the text, and more importantly, how CS is used as an effective communicative device. When learners see CS in use by poets and authors, they will see that CS is not something to be embarrassed about, but a code that can be used effectively. For pupils to feel this way, it is necessary that teachers themselves feel this way.

CS in the classroom also has implications for methodology viz. the issue of cultural methodology, CS during group work and peer group teaching. In conjunction with the various issues we have discussed concerning CS, CS in the classroom also raises the issue of a culturally-relevant methodology and should therefore occupy a crucial place in the curriculum. CS also has implications for group work in the classroom. While teachers can supervise and control learner talk in a one-to-one interaction in the classroom, this is not so easily done during group work, especially in large classes. Teachers should encourage learners to use their NL if they wish to or find the need to, but they must be informed that they are not to do so extensively.

Finally, as this study has revealed that there appears to be no significant correlation between CS and scholastic performance, it suggests a need for a longitudinal study to investigate whether CS enhances scholastic performance. In addition, in view of the influx of ESL speakers in English L1 classrooms, there is need for the investigation of the role of the NL of ESL speakers in multilingual English L1 classrooms.

Linguistics Programme
University of KwaZulu-Natal
vismoodley@xsinet.co.za

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Conversational Code-switching among Turkish Learners and Teachers of English: Its Impact on Second Language Acquisition

Eda Üstünel

Introduction

This paper investigates the language choices of Turkish learners following the teachers' code-switching (CS) between Turkish and English in English second language (ESL) classrooms at a Turkish university in İzmir. By applying a conversational analysis (CA) approach, this paper illustrates how teacher-initiated and teacher-induced CS in an ESL classroom interaction can illuminate a particular interactional phenomenon and show its systematic properties.

Although several CS studies have been carried out in ESL classroom settings, the number of studies with respect to English-Turkish CS is limited. Eldridge (1996) focuses on teachers' attitudes on Turkish-English CS in the secondary school setting and and outlines the implications of these for teacher training. My research focuses on teacher-learner interactions in ESL settings at a tertiary level. More specifically, I attempt to describe how teachers use CS within ESL lessons on the one hand. On the other hand, I examine the learners' responses to their teachers' use of CS and the impact this phenomenon has on their use of the target language, English. An understanding of the linguistic processes at hand will benefit teachers, curriculum developers, researchers, and learners of English and will yield a contextualised perspective on the phenomenon of CS, its form, and its function in the organisation of language usage in ESL classrooms.

Theoretical Concepts

The definitions of bilingualism and bilingualism in CS research more specifically, range from free conversation (Auer 1998) to institutional talk (Valdés-Fallis 1978). Institutional talk differs from free conversation in the sense that there is an 'asymmetrical power relationship' (Markee 2000). In accordance with Valdés-Fallis' (1978:3) definition that a bilingual is one with varying degrees of proficiency in two languages and one who can draw from both languages in the same conversation, I regard the teachers and learners of my study as bilingual speakers of English and Turkish.

CS itself may be defined in terms of sociolinguistic (Milroy and Muysken 1995) or pedagogical (Martin-Jones 1995) perspectives, among others, and as ordinary (Wei 2002) or classroom (Martin 1999) talk. My research is related to the pedagogical perspective of CS in classroom talk. According to Valdes-Fallis' (1981: 95) CS is 'the alternating use of two languages at the word, phrase, clause, or sentence level.' This definition forms the basis of my article. The data collected for this study may be categorised into two types of CS viz. teacher-initiated and teacher-induced CS. I define 'teacher-initiated CS' as a type of CS in which the teacher switches to Turkish or English according to the pedagogical focus at a given point in time (e.g. to give L1 equivalents, to ask for L2 translations, etc.). The learner's response in either Turkish, English or Turkish-English CS indicates his/her alignment or misalignment with the teacher's pedagogical focus. On the other hand, I define 'teacher-induced CS' as a type of CS in which the teacher encourages learners to take a turn in Turkish, while using English (e.g. asking for the Turkish equivalent of an English word in English).

Code-switching Studies in L2 Classrooms

CS studies in L2 classrooms have expanded primarily in three avenues. The one avenue is where researchers have promoted the use of the L1 in the L2 classroom. In this regard, Turnbull (2001) proposes that using the L1 in L2 classrooms is a useful teaching and learning strategy and should therefore be deliberately incorporated in L2 classrooms. The second avenue is one where researchers suggest that L1 use should be avoided. Polio and Duff (1994) argue that using the L2 as much as possible is critical and that the use of the L1 is a waste of precious opportunities to practice the L2. In view of the third avenue of CS research in L2 classrooms viz. the use of both the L1 and L2 in the L2 classroom, Cook (2001) suggests that CS is a natural phenomenon and the concurrent use of L1 and L2 is inevitable in L2 classrooms.

Although there are many studies that suggest either avoiding or encouraging L1 use in L2 classrooms, this study does not aim to prescribe an 'ideal' foreign language environment. The purpose here is to describe the sequential environment where teachers and learners integrate CS into their interactional and pedagogical work in complex and constantly evolving ways. Thus, in this study, CS is understood from an emic perspective in which 'the viewpoint results from studying behaviour as from inside the system' (Pike 1967:37) rather than from an etic perspective viz. studying behaviour from outside of a particular system" (ibid). According to Markee (2000:44) conversational analysis (CA)-for-SLA helps to develop an emic perspective on how the participants display their understanding of the context they find themselves in.

An interesting tool used in an L2 classroom is scaffolding. The process that enables learners to move from their actual development level to their potential developmental level is referred to as 'scaffolding' (Wood, Bruner, and Ross 1976). My research considers CS as the strategy by which the teacher may provide access to English language learning/teaching (see Ferguson 2003). I interpret the teachers' code-switching patterns as a scaffolding technique (see Martin 1999 for similar conclusions). This suggests one possible way of promoting a convergence between CA, sociocultural and sociolinguistic theory (of which the notion of scaffolding is based on). In other words, the view that scaffolding occurs through the use of the linguistic strategy, CS within a given linguistic, pedagogic and social context (L2 classroom) and in relation to the institutional aim (to teach/learn L2) guides the theoretical development of this article.

Methodological Framework

The data for this study was collected by means of classroom observations. This consisted of audio and visual recordings of lessons from six beginner level English classrooms. Transcripts of the lessons were examined according to the CA method of sequential analysis (Seedhouse 2004).

The research methodology I used in this paper is CA. Markee (2000:40) outlines four aims of CA. The first aim is to identify the structure of the conversation. CA reveals how participants align themselves to the underlying preferential structure of given conversation. Conversation analysts seek to demonstrate that conversation can not be conversation if universal interactional resources for making meaning such as turn-taking or repair does not exist. The second aim of CA is to identity the conversation's own autonomous context.

In order to demonstrate the existence of such universal interactional resources (e.g., turn-taking, repair, adjacency pairs, preference organisation), conversation analysts use prototypical examples which give discursive form to the phenomenon being analyzed. For instance, reading a turn as an invitation is contextually warranted by an invitation-relevant presequence, i.e. presence of an invitee and a following acceptance or rejection sequence. Thirdly, CA aims to establish the fact that there is no priory justification. Conversation analysts do not approach data with *a priori* hypotheses in mind. They believe that if no detail of conversation is disorderly, accidental, or irrelevant, then clearly, extremely fine-grained transcriptions will be required to capture the complexity of talk-in-interaction. Finally, the study of conversation requires naturally occurring data. Conversation analysts analyse naturally occurring data. They do not use laboratory settings to collect data. Thus, the need for naturally occurring data requires researchers to be extremely sensitive to the social context of data collection. These aims were carefully considered in the collection of the data as well as in the analysis.

In addition to the above, Seedhouse's (2004:228) summary of the three interactional properties that constitute part of the unique 'fingerprint' of L2 classroom interaction also guides this study. Firstly, language is both the vehicle and object of instruction. According to Seedhouse (ibid) this property 'springs rationally and inevitably from the core goal' which dictates that the L2 is the object, goal, and focus of instruction. Therefore, language has a unique dual role in the L2 classroom in that it is both the vehicle and object, both the process and product of the instruction. On the other hand, in other non-language subjects of study (e.g., history, engineering, etc.), language is only the vehicle of the teaching and learning.

Another critical property is the reflexive relationship between peda-

gogy and interaction. Seedhouse (2004:229) explains the reflexive relationship between pedagogy and interaction as 'the L2 classroom has its own interactional organisation which transforms the pedagogical focus (task-as-work plan) into interaction (task-in-process).' So, 'whoever is taking part in L2 classroom interaction and whatever the particular activity during which the interactants are speaking the L2, they are always displaying to one another their analyses of the current state of the evolving relationship between pedagogy and interaction, and acting on the basis of these analyses' (ibid). In my study, this property is illustrated through the analysis of the organisation of the learners' language choices upon teacher-initiated and teacher-induced CS.

The third property that Seedhouse (2004:230) espouses to is the fact that linguistic forms and patterns of interaction, which the learners produce in the L2, are subject to evaluation by the teacher in some way. In relation to this property, van Lier (1988:32) notes that 'everyone involved in language teaching and learning will readily agree that evaluation and feedback are central to the process and progress of language learning.' However, Seedhouse (2004: 230) highlights the fact that 'this property does not imply that all learner utterances in the L2 are followed by a direct and overt verbalised evaluation by the teacher.' An examination of the evaluation process is not within the scope of this study. However, in order to relate this property to my research setting, I suggest that it is possible for the teachers to avoid any explicit evaluation during observed conversation lessons altogether and to give learners an end-of-year grade or report on their oral performance.

My study follows Seedhouse's (2004:232) view that 'these three properties are universal, i.e., they apply to all L2 classroom interaction' and that these 'form the foundation of the rational architecture and of the unique institutional 'fingerprint' of the L2 classroom.' In this study, I find that learners strategically use CS to display alignment or misalignment with the teacher's pedagogical focus. This is an important finding because it provides a way of linking the organisation of L2 classroom interaction to institutional goals.

'Preference organisation' is another important methodological tool in this study. The definition of 'preference organisation', in CA terms, is 'the format for agreements, which is labelled as the 'preferred' action turn shape

and the disagreement format is called the 'dispreferred' action turn shape' (Pomerantz 1984:64). The rationale behind 'preference organisation' is that there are differences in the design of adjacency pairs (e.g., offers, which can be accepted or refused; assessments, which can be agreed with or disagreed with; and requests, which can be granted or denied) between their positive and negative alternatives. In this article, I shall define and exemplify how preference organisation, which is closely related to adjacency pair sequences, is organised in the observed ESL classrooms. In the L2 classroom context, the preference organisation of repair is linked to the teachers' pedagogical focus i.e., preferred learner responses orient to the pedagogical focus (Seedhouse 2004). In this study, I define repair in relation to CS preference, that is, when the teacher does not receive an answer to his/her L2 question, s/he repeats his/her question in the L1. There is a reflexive relationship between the pedagogical focus (in code-switched turns) and the organisation of repair. As the pedagogical focus varies, so does the organisation of repair. In other words, the preference organisation shows that a preferred response is affiliative, while a dispreferred response is disaffilative (ibid).

Data Analysis

A close inspection of the data reveals two recurring patterns of preference organisation in the learners' language choice upon the teacher-initiated and teacher-induced CS. Firstly, the teachers code-switch from the designated medium, English to Turkish to repair trouble when there is a delay in the learner's reply of more than one second. Secondly, the learners respond in English to align themselves with the teacher's pedagogical focus. The learners who respond in Turkish express their non-alignment the pedagogical focus and/or their need to invoke trouble or change alignment.

However, teacher-induced CS sequences are different from teacher-initiated CS sequences in terms of learners' preferred language choice (i.e., Turkish). The discussion follows in the following paragraphs with sample extracts taken from the same ESL classroom at the Modern Languages Department. There were eleven learners in the classroom. Extract 1 below is taken from a lesson that is a teacher-directed class discussion about New Year celebrations in Turkey. The pause time (in seconds) taken by the interlocutors are indicated in brackets.

1 ?T: okay .hh what is er (0.5) the best (0.5) New Year Evening for you?
2 (0.5)
3 what would be the best New Year for you?
4 (1.5)
5 *en iyi yılbaşı ne olurdu sizin için?*
[tr: what would be the best New Year's Day for you?]
6 (2.5)
7 L1: er (0.5) birthday
8 T: no no New Year
9 (1.0)
10 what would be the best New Year?
11 (0.5)
12 do you need the money to spend for the perfect New Year?

In the above sample extract, the teacher poses a question in L2 in line 1. After waiting for half a second, he repeats his question using different linguistic formatting in line 3. The teacher still gets no response in the one and half a second pause which follows (line 4), and he then code-switches to translate the question into Turkish in line 5. After a two and half a second pause, L1 takes the reply turn in line 7. The teacher repairs L1's reply in line 8.

On applying CA to this extract, I want to understand why the teacher code-switches to L1 after a lack of response and a lengthy pause and why the learner responds in L2 to the teacher's question in L1. In order to understand this, I need to refer to both sequential issues (preference organisation) and institutional issues (the organisation of L2 classroom interaction). As exemplified in the literature on CS in ordinary talk (Wei 2002) , when a speaker in ordinary conversation does not obtain an immediate answer to his/her question (which would be the preferred option), the speaker will often repeat the question with modifications which are often simplifications. This is the sequential aspect. In the institutional L2 classroom setting, the teacher's question introduces a pedagogical focus, which in this case is that learners will produce an appropriate answer in the L2 to the question. For the institutional business to be carried out, it is essential that the learner understands the pedagogical focus. When the teacher does not obtain an

answer, the teacher modifies the linguistic forms in L2 to clarify the pedagogical focus. When this still does not produce the required response, the teacher code-switches in order to explain the pedagogical focus in the L1, which is easier for the learner to understand.

From this perspective, the CS further modifies and simplifies the linguistic forms. The CS represents one further move down the preference order. In the sample extract above and throughout the data, the learners produce a response after the teacher's CS. In order to determine whether this analysis is correct, we can employ the next-turn proof procedure and see how the learners analyse the CS. In both cases they respond by producing an answer in the L2, i.e., in orientation to the teacher's original question in the L2. By doing so, the learners display affiliation to the pedagogical focus, i.e., they recognise that the aim is for them to answer the question using the L2. They also thereby display their recognition that the aim of the teacher's turn in the L1 is to clarify the pedagogical focus for them. In the sample extract, the learner produces an answer in L2, but it is not precisely the answer targeted by the teacher's pedagogical focus and the teacher initiates repair in the hope of the learner producing a more appropriate answer in the L2. The analysis demonstrates the intertwinedness of language choice, sequence and pedagogical focus.

Extract 2 below also exemplifies the systematic use of preference organisation discussed above.

```
1 ?T: okay (.) hh on Tuesday night?
2 (0.5)
3 on New Year's night?
4 (1.0)
5 on Tuesday (.) last Tuesday?
6 (2.0)
7 Salı günü?
[tr: on Tuesday]
8 L4: (0.5)
9 er-
10 T: =Yılbaşı gecesi?
[tr: on New Year's Eve]
11 L4: I (2.0) study (0.5) English
```

The above extract is taken from a teacher-learner dialogue in which the teacher asks the learner what she did on New Year's Eve. In line 1, the teacher directs a question to Learner 4 in English but does not receive a reply after a pause of 0.5 seconds. Then, in line 3, the teacher asks the same question with a different linguistic formatting and waits for a slightly longer time (1.0 seconds) to receive a reply from the same learner. As the learner still does not answer, the teacher again asks the question with yet a different linguistic formatting in line 5. There then follows a pause of 2 seconds without reply. He then code-switches to Turkish in his repetition of the question in lines 7 and 10. This is consistent with the rest of the data, which reveal that the teacher code-switches into L1 to repeat a question after a pause of more than 1 second. The repetition of a question signals trouble in interaction that prevents the institutional business from proceeding. We can observe the pauses lengthening from (0.5) in line 2 to (1.0) in line 4 and (2.0) in line 6, following which the CS occurs.

Extract 3 further exemplifies the systematic use of preference organisation discussed above.

```
1 ?T: yeah
2 (1.5)
3 okay, change
4 (0.5)
5 change
6 (0.5)
7 clockwise saat yönüne
[tr: clockwise]
8 (0.5)
9 =clockwise. ((T shows the direction with a hand movement) )
10 L8: =//saat yönü*ne.
[tr: clockwise]
11 L2: ama saat yönüne göre böyle oluyor
[tr: but the clockwise direction is this way]
12 L12: böyle ters oluyor
[tr: it is reverse if it is like that]
13 ?T: benim saatime göre-
[tr: according to my watch]
```

14 (1.0)

15 doğru böyle oluyor

[tr: that's right it is this direction]

16 (.)

17 hh anti-clockwise then (.) anti-clockwise

The above extract starts with the teacher's classroom instruction in which she instructs the learners to change partners in order to carry on the role-play activity. She wants them to move in a clockwise direction around the classroom. After giving instructions (lines 1-7), the teacher code-switches to Turkish to give the equivalent of the English word in line 7. The teacher's pedagogical focus at this point is procedural and is simply for the learners to move and change partner. The teacher repeats the English word in line 9. Both Learner 2 and Learner 12 initiate repair to correct the mismatch between the propositional meaning of the word 'clockwise' (in both L1 and L2 in line 7) and the direction of the teacher's hand movement in lines 11-12. In lines 10, 11, and 12, the learners are not aligned with the teacher's pedagogical focus (i.e., to move and change partners); rather they are engaged in repairing the teacher's code-switched turn (line 7). They therefore use L1, indicating their misalignment with T's pedagogical focus. In line 15, the teacher accepts the learners' initiation of repair and self-repairs the instruction in English in line 17.

As Seedhouse (2004) demonstrates, learners do not always affiliate themselves with the teacher's pedagogical focus, for a variety of reasons. Learners' language choice may display their degree of affiliation or lack of affiliation with the teacher's pedagogical focus.

Conclusion

This study concludes that teachers strategically use CS as a scaffolding technique when learners show alignment with the teacher's pedagogical focus (e.g., when dealing with procedural trouble and classroom discipline, when expressing social identity, when giving L1 equivalents, when translating into L1, when dealing with lack of responses in the L2, when providing a prompt for L2 use, when

eliciting L1 translations, when giving feedback, when checking comprehension in the L2, when providing meta-language information, and when giving encouragement to participate) at that point in the interaction. These findings, which can only be uncovered by using CA methodology, fit neatly within the organisation of L2 classroom interaction.

Muğla University
Turkey
Eda_ustunel@hotmail.com

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Appendix: Transcription Conventions

The transcription symbols used here are common to conversation analytic research, and were a slightly adapted version of Jefferson's (Jefferson, G. 1984. On the organization of laughter in talk about troubles. In Atkinson, D. & Heritage, J. (ed.): *Structures of social action: studies in conversation analysis.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.).

T   Teacher

L1   Identified learner

// the point at which a current speaker's utterance is overlapped by the talk of another, which appears on the next line attributed to another speaker.

? Arrows in the left margin pick out features of special interest (teacher-initiated code-switching)

= the second speaker followed the first speaker with no discernable silence between them, or was "latched" to it.

(0.5)   Numbers in parentheses indicate silence, represented in tenths of a second. Silences may be marked either within an utterance or between utterances.

(.) A dot in parentheses indicates a "micropause," a silence hearable but not readily measurable; ordinarily less than 2/10 of a second.

? A question mark indicates rising intonation, not necessarily a question

:: Colons are used to indicate the stretching of the sound just preceding them. The more colons, the longer the stretching.

- A hyphen after a word or part of a word indicates a cut-off or self-interruption

word   Underlining is used to indicate some form of stress or emphasis, either by increased loudness or higher pitch.

.hh   Speaker in-breath

(( ))   Double parentheses are used to mark transcriber's description of events, rather than representations of them.

evet [tr: yes]   Turkish words are italicized, and are immediately followed by an English translation.

go to Beymen   Capitals are used only for proper nouns, not to indicate beginnings of sentences.

°school°   the talk between the two degree signs is markedly softer than the talk around it.

Theory-based Features of Task-based Course Design: isiXhosa for Specific Purposes in Local Government

Marianna W. Visser and
Edith C. Venter

Introduction

Research in the field of second language teaching and learning over the past two decades has been characterised to a significant extent by the investigation of issues relating to the interaction of second language acquisition (SLA) theory on the one hand, and teaching methodology and materials design, on the other (Allwright and Bailey, 1991, Brown 2000, Cook, 2003, Gass 1995, Jordens 1996, McDonough and Shaw 2003, Van Patten 2002). Researchers have increasingly become preoccupied with refining and extending the theoretical principles underlying SLA and exploring the consequences and implications of theoretical principles for instructional methodology and materials (Bandar 2004, Cook, 1996, Coyle 2000, Larsen-Freeman and Long 1991, Mitchell and Myles 1998, Pieneman 1998, Seidlhofer and Widdowson 1998, Sharwood Smith 1993). In particular, much work has been concerned with the form-meaning relationship in second language learning and teaching. A general view that emerged holds that, while course design and materials for communicative language teaching should reflect authentic language use, *focus on meaning* alone does not result in optimal language acquisition. Extensive research has dealt with questions of how SLA can be enhanced through incorporating *focus on form* principles in teaching methodology and materials design

(Doughty and Varela 1998, Ellis 2001, Fotos 1993, Larsen-Freeman 1995, Leow 2001, Odlin 1994, Rutherford 1988, Williams and Evans 1998).

Focus on form features in course design, materials and in language teaching methodology is argued to be a key component for attaining both greater complexity of language by learners' forms and for increasing the rate of acquisition towards target language (TL) competence (Caroll 1999, Long 1985, 2000, Pieneman 1998, Van Patten 1996, 2002). *Focus on form* principles are therefore considered to contribute to the attainment of higher levels of language proficiency if utilised in an integrated way with *focus on meaning* principles in second language methodology and materials design, taking into account the natural developmental learning and processing properties of learners.

This article has a two-fold goal. First, it aims to present an analytic description of a referential communication task for isiXhosa for specific purposes in local government, representing one unit of a series of tasks, within the framework of the task-based and genre-based approaches to communicative language teaching. Secondly, this analytic unit, illustrating *focus on meaning* principles, will be supplemented with analysis of the communication content in terms of the salient morphosyntactic language structures it exemplifies. This analysis will demonstrate how focus on form features of course design can be identified from communicative meaning for use in instructional materials design and in methodology.

The learning and teaching of a language for specific purposes has increasingly become a challenge in multilingual societies in many countries. The need for non-speakers of African languages to acquire communicative competence in an African language has emerged strongly in South Africa since the establishment of a democratic government in 1994, when African languages became official languages of the country. Adults, who are first language speakers of English or Afrikaans experience a great need for specific purposes courses in the African language spoken in their workplaces. This article therefore examines the analytic features of a communication task, typical of a course in isiXhosa for specific purposes in local government, as a special instance of communicative course design. Research into course design for teaching African languages for specific purposes in South Africa needs to become a priority, in order to address the needs of adults to learn African languages.

The article is organized into two main sections. The first section reviews the central properties of the task-based approach to second language learning and teaching in relation to the pedagogical norms of Valdman (1989), which mainly concern the role of authentic language input and learner processing factors. The second section presents the design features of a referential communication task for isiXhosa for specific purposes as regard focus on meaning considerations. This analysis includes reference to the rhetorical move structure characteristic of the genre-based approach, representing *focus on meaning* design features. A genre is defined as a spoken or written text, that serves a particular communicative purpose and is composed of a series of segments, called rhetorical moves (see Bhatia 1993:27f, Henry and Roseberry 1998:147). This section also discusses central principles of *focus on form* research and presents an analysis of the salient language structures in the communication task content, thus demonstrating how features of *focus on form* are identified from *focus on meaning*.

The Task-based and Genre-based Approaches: Properties and Pedagogical Norms for Second Language Learning and Teaching

This section explores various perspectives on central issues underlying the use of tasks in second language learning and teaching. The perspectives relating to the task-based approach rest on a sound theoretical base that creates an interface between the fields of second language acquisition and pedagogy. The task-based approach is explored as it is employed in the field of second language learning and teaching. The first part of this section considers the concept of *task* as it is used in the L2 learning context. The requirements for a communication task, in order to promote language learning, are based on the principles of SLA. Different components of a communication task and the best task conditions for promoting learning are considered. Different kinds of communication tasks are discussed in view of the optimum task conditions. This section also considers the properties of structure-based communication tasks that focus on form. The value of focus on form for SLA is widely expressed in the literature and incorporated in task-based approaches. The principles of structure-based tasks are discussed

followed by a discussion of the criteria for developing structure-based tasks identifies *task essentialness* as most effective for relating form to meaning.

Referential tasks are communication tasks that emphasize the differences between the speaker and the listener's point of view. Referential communication tasks are designed to create discrepancies between the speaker and the listener's perspectives on the task at hand. Learners have to negotiate the variations in perspective in order to complete the task. The use of essentially transactional communication that exchanges information to promote SLA is motivated from recent literature. Referential communication tasks are in many ways identical to general communication tasks, but the difference lies in the underlying principles and processes that promote SLA, which are represented by these tasks.

The concept of *task* is analysed from an instructional perspective and the instructional task is shown to represent this view. The referential communication task is also supported from an instructional perspective. The task-based approach to L2 teaching focuses on method, rather than content, and pedagogy plays an important role in describing how materials can be effectively applied within methodology. Task-based language teaching is supported by modern pedagogic principles that focus on learning. Lastly, the context for specific purpose course design is described according to contemporary perspectives on language learning.

The Concept of Task and Task Requirements

The concept of task refers to outcome-based activities, in other words activities for the sake of a given goal. A communication task is an interactional activity with a communication goal. In order to complete the task, learners are expected to request help when they do not understand. They communicate their needs and at the same time offer assistance or clarify their own messages. A communication task creates circumstances that allow learners to apply their production and comprehension processes (Loschky and Bley-Vroman 1993).

A task should be designed in such a way that it contributes to the accomplishment of specific language learning objectives and promotes successful language acquisition. Principles for language learning, such as Krashen's Input Hypothesis or Long's (1985) Interactional Theory, support the notion that learners should be introduced to comprehensible input and

negotiate meaning. Nunan (1993) distinguishes between linguistic input (e.g. a radio broadcast), non-linguistic input (e.g. a photo) or hybrid (e.g. a map). Learners have to interpret the input and give feedback through understandable output. By negotiating meaning learners form new hypotheses about the language and modify their interlanguage. The notion of interlanguage refers to the systematic second language system that is distinguishable in the language use of second language learners. Second language learners typically pass through natural stages as they become increasingly proficient in a new language. These stages are often characterised by ungrammatical morphosyntactic forms, and in some stages, by 'regress' from apparent correct forms to incorrect forms, a phenomenon known as u-shaped learning (see Bardovi-Harlig and Gass, 2002:3). The learner's behaviour would reflect whether the task succeeded in providing comprehensible input, which the learner was able to interpret, react to by providing feedback on the production, and modify his or her interlanguage accordingly.

The interactant relationship, the interaction requirements, the goal orientation and the outcome options determine the nature of a task and the learners' behaviour. According to Pica, Kanagy and Falodun (1993) the interactants can all have access to different information needed to complete the task, or only one interactant may hold the information and supply it if the others request it. An interactant can therefore either have a role of supplying or requesting information, or both. The communication goal can be similar or convergent, or otherwise divergent for the different interactants. There can only be one acceptable outcome or more than one acceptable possibility.

A communication task, which would best succeed in eliciting the required learner-behaviour, should meet the following conditions: First of all, every interactant has to have access to different information. The interactants have to manipulate and exchange the information in order to complete the task. Secondly, all the interactants have to request and supply information as to facilitate comprehension and production processes. Finally, negotiation of meaning is best promoted if the interactants have convergent goals and when there is only one possible outcome. These conditions ensure optimum opportunities for learners to produce, interpret and comprehend language, to give and receive feedback on production and adjust their interlanguage.

The Different Task Types
Pica, Kanagy and Falodun (1993) distinguish the following task types:

(a) The Jigsaw Task
This is a collaborative, listening activity where learners have to choose and share information in order to complete the task. Both participants hold information which is needed and interaction is therefore imperative. This type of task fulfills all the requirements for a good communication task.

(b) The Information Gap Task
This kind of task is similar to jigsaw tasks, except that only one of the interactants has access to information that is needed for completion of the task. This means that the other interactant has less opportunity to receive feedback and to modify his or her interlanguage. If the roles are alternated, then this task will fulfill the same requirements as the jigsaw task.

(c) The Problem-solving Task
This kind of task has only a single outcome or solution, and all activity is aimed at finding this outcome. Both interactants have access to the same information that is needed for the task, which means that interaction is not necessary. Interactants could still ask for help or assist each other where there is ambiguity and modify their production as to be more intelligible.

(d) The Decision-making Task
With this kind of task there is a choice of solutions or outcomes, but interactants have to work together to decide on one. As with problem-solving, it is not essential that the interactants exchange information, as they already share access to the same information. Interaction is necessary for reaching an agreement about the best outcome, but interactants do not have to participate to an equal degree in the task through either producing language or comprehending production. If there were to be only one acceptable, predetermined outcome, then the task would be essentially a problem-solving task.

(e) The Opinion Exchange Task
This activity is built into any discussion. Interactants are not forced to

participate and they do not necessarily share the same communication goal. There is not a single, acceptable outcome which would compel a mutual understanding. If it had been agreed that interactants were only allowed to decide on one outcome, then there would be more opportunity for production, comprehension and interlanguage modification. With only one acceptable outcome, the features of the task would compare to that of a decision-making task.

Structure-based Communication Tasks

Studies have shown that second language (L2) learners who receive instruction are at an advantage to naturalistic L2 learners and that focus on form promotes SLA, while it prevents fossilisation. Task-based grammar instruction develops L2 learners' grammar through hypothesis testing and inferencing. Consciousness raising activities at sentence level show how the lexicon and morphosyntax influence the meaning. According to Loschky and Bley-Vroman (1993) closed, information gap tasks are best for focus on form. They differentiate between closed tasks, which are determined or discrete, as opposed to open tasks that are undetermined. Closed tasks facilitate more negotiation of meaning, interlanguage modifications, as well as greater comprehension and focus on form, because the information needed for the successful completion of the task is very specific (such as in "Spot the difference" tasks). Loschky and Bley-Vroman emphasise that the design of closed tasks has to be very specific in order to make the learner aware of difference in meaning that the word order or lexicon brings about. Such consciousness-raising activities should bring about hypothesis-testing and hypothesis-restructuring, or what Rutherford (1988) refers to as *noticing* and *restructuring* of the organization of the target language.

Production and Comprehension Strategies that Promote Focus on Form

In order to develop L2 learners' linguistic ability, tasks have to be designed specifically to encourage morpho- and syntax-based strategies for negotiating meaning. In this way a relationship between grammar and communication is established, and through practice production becomes

automatic, which leaves attention resources available for negotiating the meaning of new input.

According to Loschky and Bley-Vroman (1993) L2 learners can only rely on internal strategies for processing the syntax, semantics, pragmatics, morphology, intonation and lexicon, to understand input. The information is presented to the learner in linguistic and non-linguistic forms. Details of the communication situation will determine which of the above-mentioned factors contribute more to the learner's comprehension. Loschky and Bley-Vroman argue that by manipulating the input, the task designer can control the extent to which syntactical and morphological information are needed for comprehending the meaning in question. They argue that the learner has access to more diverse production strategies, and it is therefore more difficult to design tasks that would force learners to use syntactical or morphological strategies in order for them to develop their linguistic abilities.

Criteria for Developing Structure-based Communication Tasks

Loschky and Bley-Vroman (1993) point out that in structure-based tasks the structural correctness has to be essential for comprehension and production of meaning. For most tasks there would be more than one linguistically correct way to structurally formulate meaning. Mother tongue speakers naturally tend to use a specific structure. Through native speaker–non-native speaker (NS-NNS) interaction language learners receive positive and negative evidence. They furthermore argue that although the use of the correct structure is not task essential for most tasks, it might be useful or more effective than a less natural or even unacceptable structure would be for the performance of a task. They emphasize that the task designer has to design a task in such a way that the value of the specific structure is as clear as possible to the learner. It is also possible of course to design a task in such a way that it is impossible to complete the task successfully without applying the correct grammatical knowledge. Loschky and Bley-Vroman maintain that in the case of comprehension tasks, it would be easier to implement task-essential structures; whereas with production tasks the designer would more likely be limited to structures that are useful or natural in certain settings.

According to Loschky and Bley-Vroman (1993) structure-based communication tasks are very valuable for exercises that would lead to automatisation of the grammatical structures. The objective of grammar-based production tasks is to focus the learner's processing abilities on the meaningful function of a specific structure. They note that the task designer can manipulate the input, the context within which the input is processed and the learner's activities in order to achieve this objective. The designer of a structure-based comprehension task can create a narrow relationship between form and meaning by means of a task-essential design.

Referential Communication Tasks

According to Yule (1997) referential communication tasks are transactional tasks that are characterized by extended, structured discourse. The discourse is purposeful and controlled in that there is a defined topic, as well as prescribed materials, a procedure and a point of completion that is reached when a set objective is achieved. Transactional communication is concerned with concepts like sender and receiver, and message encoding and decoding. Yule distinguishes between one-way information flow where the information is essentially transferred, and two-way information flow where information is exchanged. Yule describes tasks as open, when the goal is undefined and information exchange is optional. Closed tasks are designed as to require information exchange and a convergent effect within the task performance to reach a common goal.

Yule argues that referential communication tasks do not have any predetermined set of linguistic forms that have to be used. The tasks' function is purely to elicit speakers' discourse. He notes that different task types elicit different kinds of discourse, such as instructions or descriptions. He further explains that in principle a referential communication task has to provide the speaker with some pre-selected information to convey, the listener with a reason to attain the information in order to complete a task, and the awareness that the information gap exists. He maintains that the roles of speaker and listener, or sender and receiver, demand the skills of recognising the interlocutor's perspective, to make assumptions about their perspectives based on which the message is encoded and decoded, and to measure these assumptions to any feedback received. Referential

communication is defined within instructional environments where the context can be determined. Yule explains that in this sense *target* does not refer to the target language, but to a target repertoire. The emphasis is on the ability to use the L2 in communicative exchanges. L2 messages are formed and expressed within communicative events. Within these communicative events, a kind of socialization takes place. Yule advances the view that the participant has to assume a social role in referential communication. The social values that these roles represent, such as status, familiarity, expert or gender, have to be recognized in order for the participant to communicate effectively. He maintains that learners have to use communication strategies to negotiate meaning and communication outcomes. Strategies for negotiation of meaning include clarification or repetition requests, and confirmation or comprehension checks.

The Theoretical Rationale for Using Tasks

According to Pica, Kanagy and Falodun (1993) the theoretical perspective that supports the use of communication tasks is that which holds that language is best learned and taught through interaction. Therefore it follows that the use of tasks in L2 teaching relies on the learner's innate ability to acquire a language, and to use it creatively according to what is possible within the blueprint of the target language in the Universal Grammar (UG). The availability of UG for SLA implicates that L2 teaching only needs to facilitate noticing through consciousness-raising activities. This approach supports structure-based communication tasks that focus on form of language (not the *forms* of language).

The Input and Interaction Approach to L2 teaching does not only describe different learner interactions, but it also explores what kinds of interactions are more successful in promoting negotiation of meaning. As Pica and Doughty's (1985) studies of small group or pair work show, learner-learner interaction in instruction tasks offers more opportunity for negotiation of meaning, than learner-teacher interaction or, in other words, teacher-centered instruction. Allwright and Bailey (1991) conclude that learner-learner interaction leads to more conversational modifications and creates more opportunities for the learners to interrupt each other and ask for assistance. Pica, Kanagy and Falodun (1993) refer to interactionist theories

of SLA which state that language learning is assisted through the social interaction of learners, especially when they negotiate towards mutual comprehension of each other's meaning. Allwright and Bailey (1991) point out that it is important to consider the learners' receptivity towards their fellow learners when structuring group work tasks. It is important to consider the effect of the kind of task, but also of the interactant relationship on learner participation in task-based teaching.

The Input and Interaction approach supports learner-centered teaching. According to Kumaravadivelu (1993) learner-centered teaching is also linear and cumulative, like teacher-centered teaching. This kind of teaching is content motivated and based on introducing all the forms of the TL. Such a linear approach cannot succeed because all languages are far to complex to be presented in this way. Kumaravadivelu defines that learning-centered teaching views language learning as a natural process that occurs during open communication. It is non-linear and language is not taught through systematic input. Kumaravadivelu asserts that learning-centered language teaching facilitates optimum conditions for meaningful interaction. Through communication tasks (language-in-use) negotiation occurs between the L2 learner's existing knowledge and new knowledge that the input presents. Kumaravadivelu argues that Krashen and Prabhu's views of SLA are best promoted when language is used to transfer information. Although their views do bare some resemblance to the Functional Approach, Kumaravadivelu notes that language is acquired through activity with the focus on meaning, not on functions or notions, topics or structures in the TL. Kumaravadivelu maintains that task-based L2 instruction facilitates SLA by involving the learners in activities that allows for achieving an outcome through language transactions.

Yule (1997) traces referential communication back to Piaget's studies of children's development in the 1920's. According to Yule (1997) learners rely on other knowledge of the world around them in order to develop their language. Learning to be verbally explicit about what is already known is a skill that is acquired through referential communication tasks. Referential communication is about the transactional function of language, and referential communication tasks create opportunities for negotiation of meaning and negotiation of communication outcome.

The Instructional Task

There are different definitions for the concept of "instructional task in the scientific literature". This variance indicates underlying differences in approach to methodology and content of L2 teaching. Kumaravadivelu (1993) discussed different views of this concept. He refers to Krahnke's view of tasks as skills that learners practice in the classroom for non-instructional objectives (in other words, for social communication) outside the classroom. Kumaravadivelu explains that Candlin views a task as one of a series of ordered problem-solving activities. These problem-solving activities involve the learners cognitively and communicatively, while they apply their existing and new knowledge in a collaborative exploration of revealing objectives in a social milieu. Kumaravadivelu (1993) describes Swales' view of the instructional task as incorporating Candlin's view, and points out that Swale emphasizes the goal-orientated nature of tasks, as well as the importance of acquiring the relevant pre-genre and genre skills for the different socio-rhetorical situations. Kumaravadivelu notes that Nunan views the instructional task as a communication task, which involves the language learner in comprehension, manipulation, production and interaction activities, whilst they focus on meaning rather than form.

Breen (1987) distinguishes between communication tasks, which are based on actual tasks that a person will undertake when communicating in the target language (TL), and learning tasks, which are selected on the basis of meta-communicative criteria. The latter introduce the learner to learning strategies and provide the groundwork for the learner's engagement in communication tasks. Breen maintains that insight into the knowledge systems and how development is best promoted is important as to allow the learners to take responsibility for their own learning.

According to Kumaravadivelu (1993) a task-based perspective defines the instructional task as a communication task that is performed within a meaning-focused and interactional, methodological context. Kumaravadivelu explains that in the last fifty years language teaching has moved away from a scientific, methodological approach, and became more content orientated, focusing on curriculum design and teaching outcomes. Task-based teaching represents a shift back to method-orientated teaching, which recognizes the need for not only planning objectives and content but for specific classroom implementation.

Nunan refers to Gass and Varonis who observed that most negotiations occur between learners from different language backgrounds and different levels of acquisition. Nunan explores Doughty and Pica's research finding that two-way interaction and group work provide more opportunity for speech adjustments and negotiation of task outcome. According to Pica, Kanagy and Falodun (1993), jigsaw-type instructional tasks and convergent outcomes promote more negotiations and interaction modifications. These research findings reflect the interpersonal and interactive dimensions of the instructional task and demonstrate the large body of literature available for task-based syllabus designers.

Skehan (1996), elaborates on Long and Crook's emphasis on the importance of a needs analysis that show how learners need to use language in real-life, in order for task design to support a developmental relationship to such non-classroom activities. Long and Crooks emphasize a clear pedagogic relationship that tasks should have with out-of-class activities. For the purpose of vocational language teaching and learning the task's relationship with the real world has to be clearly defined in the task design.

The Task-based Syllabus

Breen (1987) points out that planning for language teaching and learning is executed within the context of the broader curriculum of which syllabus design forms only a part. The general characteristics of contemporary syllabuses can be subscribed to two major paradigms for design: analytic and synthetic syllabuses. Long and Crooks (1993) maintain that although not one syllabus would be considered exclusively analytic or synthetic, depending on the units for analysis a syllabus can be placed on a continuum between these opposing poles of characteristics.

According to Long and Crookes (1993) analytic syllabuses do not focus on linguistic aspects, but rely on the L2 learners' analytic abilities to recognise linguistic patterns in the target language (TL) and to internalise it. Task-based teaching recognizes the role that focus on form plays in SLA to speed up the acquisition process and to promote development through consciousness-raising. Murphy (1993) asserts that a task acts like a catalyst for learning. Long and Crooks conclude that task-based syllabuses provide opportunity for focus on form (not focus on *forms* or language structures)

and acknowledge research findings on learners' interlanguage, according to which modified language is used as examples of the TL's code, especially in the beginning phases of acquisition.

According to Long and Crooks (1993) task-based syllabuses use *tasks* as units of analysis, but do not attempt to introduce language linearly, one task at a time. A task is used as an instrument whereby relevant examples of the TL are revealed. Through language-in-use the learner becomes aware of form-function relationships in the TL. Long and Crooks explain that learners internalize input, which is not destabilized by negative feedback, and incorporate this input in their long-term language faculty with other form-function relationships. In this way learners' grammar becomes more complex and their L2 develops.

Long and Crookes (1993) identify a six phase design programme for task-based teaching. Firstly a learner's needs identification is required – this is conducted according to the real-world target tasks that learners are preparing to undertake. Secondly, the specific target tasks are identified and classified according to more general task types; pedagogic tasks are derived from the task types, which are graded and sequenced to form a task-based syllabus. Thirdly, pedagogic tasks are graded according to the number steps and possible outcomes, the apparent cues, and the context in terms of time and place. Fourthly, task type and classroom routine also effects task grading. Fifthly, pedagogic tasks become increasingly complex, along with the learners' developing abilities, approximating target tasks in communicative success, semantic accuracy, pragmatic appropriacy, and grammatical correctness. Finally, evaluation is important in order to establish the degree of learning that has taken place, and to identify problem areas.

According to Long and Crooks the problems with task-based syllabuses relate to difficulties with task selection and grading, and sequencing tasks. Selecting tasks that represent learners' reality and relating these real tasks to their abilities are problematic. The potential of task-based L2 teaching for language learning for specific purposes is indisputable. Task design for language teaching and learning for specific purposes raises questions about the finiteness of tasks which represents the vocational eventualities. Long and Crooks note it is difficult to identify the target tasks and to differentiate tasks and sub-tasks.

Specific Purpose Course Design

Grenfell (2000) asserts that by recognising that language learning is part of the same process whereby humans learn socio-cultural behaviours and the cognitive skills for living in a certain language community, we gain a different understanding of language. Such a view of language and language learning encourages an approach to language learning and teaching which is both strategic and communicative.

Vocational Language Teaching

Vocationally orientated language learning, as an instance of language-learning for specific purposes has become increasingly important in modern societies. Certain vocational fields require proficiency in a language, whether it is to serve a certain language community, or to pursue an education or training, or whether it is to interact with colleagues. Multilingualism is required for specific purposes (Garcia Mayo 2000, Wieden 1998, Zemach 2003).

According to Thorogood (2000) vocational language teaching focuses on specific communication contents and therefore tends to limit the scope of the interaction. Thorogood explains that while national vocational qualification programmes address circumscribed vocational needs, they do not give sufficient linguistic grounding for language learning. He refers to statistics of language content that show only 20% of vocational communication is "technical" or domain specific, where foreign language training for work purposes regularly includes language intended for social interaction. At many levels social interaction forms an important part of transacting of business.

Thorogood (2000) notes existing vocational orientated programmes are based on situations that cover occupational eventualities. He argues that the range and scope of tasks may be so vast and unpredictable that it does not seem to prepare learners for real communication. Within task-based teaching tasks are seen as an instrument for language learning and not as the object of learning. The objectives of task-based language learning for specific purposes depend on the specific context of learning, but have remained general in terms of communication skills. The target tasks are selected from real world tasks that the learner would eventually undertake.

This guarantees relevance and authenticity. The essential language is related to the target tasks and essential structures for carrying out the task should be listed as priority. Wieden (1998) explains that although categories of vocabulary or domain specific words are recognized for vocational teaching programmes. These are mostly already acquired along with training and are often trade-specific rather than language-specific. He explains that language for specific purposes depends on domain-specific knowledge. The acquisition of this domain-specific knowledge and language is often one process. There is a matter of expertise involved that has to be made explicit. Vocational language is pertinent to a subculture that holds its own norms and conventions and requires a socially constructed pragmatic ability, which presupposes domain-specific knowledge.

Henry and Roseberry (1998), invoking the genre-based approach of Bhatia (1993), describes a genre-based approach to teaching languages for specific purposes. They define *a genre* as a text, either spoken or written, that serves a specific communicative purpose. They analyse the segments of the text, called *moves*, according to the communicative purpose of the genre. Henry and Roseberry explain that certain moves are obligatory, while others are optional and only contribute to the effectiveness of the communication. The aim of genre-based teaching is to raise learners' awareness of the organisation and linguistic features that are associated with the genre. Henry and Roseberry present evidence that awareness of the information structure allows learners to concentrate on combining information in a more textured manner.

Task Design for isiXhosa for Specific Purposes in Local Government

This section explores a framework for task-based course design for isiXhosa second language learning for specific purposes in the context of local government. The communication task analysed represents one example from a series of target tasks identified for task-based vocational language teaching in local government. A study conducted at the Overstrand Municipality in the Western Cape forms the basis for identifying the scope and range of the task-design.

The target task is analyzed according to the task typology, as described by Pica, Kanagy and Falodun (1993), and Yule's (1997) principles

of referential communication. The generic structures and underlying lexical phrases, which are considered to be task essential for obligatory generic moves are explored. The purpose of such an analysis is to provide a basis for developing learning tasks, which focus on form, and to possibly illustrate tentative task complexity.

To specify the scope of the task design for task-based second language teaching is problematic. The pedagogic tasks have to equip the learner with the communication skills needed for real world activities. Second language teaching for specific purposes prepares the learners for the occupational eventualities. As Thorogood (2000) explains, the range and scope of tasks to accomplish this may be so vast and unpredictable and the broader range of work-based communication regularly includes language intended for social interaction.

Local government departments, or municipalities, include a large variety of professions and specialists in distinct fields. The domain-specific words vary not only from one department to another, but from internal language to external language. Some departments and specific professions within those departments communicate more with the public than others. The study at Overstrand Municipality, which provided the empirical data for this article, has shown that all the departments, and almost all municipal workers, communicate externally to a certain extent. More significantly, the Overstrand Municipality study has revealed that internal communication among different departments is a general occurrence. What seems essential is that the areas of communication that are shared by all the domains of the local government departments, and the communicative skills that constitute communicative competence for a municipal worker to communicate with colleagues, junior or senior workers, and the public, and the learning strategies to continuously develop one's ability, should be covered by the task design.

The isiXhosa task analysed below, representing one of the target tasks that were selected from real world tasks of municipal workers, is discussed according to considerations relating to task type and the requirements for communication tasks as described by Pica, Kanagy and Falodun (1993). The interactant relationship, interaction expectations, goal orientation, and outcome options are discussed. The potential of the task to elicit referential communication are noted, as well as the participants' roles

as described by Yule (1997). The task is first formulated in the target language, isiXhosa, with the English translation directly afterwards. The task typology analysis follows the task description, and is aimed at demonstrating the potential of each task to bring about negotiation of meaning and task outcomes as to promote isiXhosa second language acquisition.

TASK DESCRIPTION

Ilungu lasekuhlaleni litsalela umnxeba umasipala licele ukuthetha nomntu ophethe icandelo, uMnumzana Burger. UMnumzana Burger uzazisa ngokwakhe kwaye anike uncedo. Umntu uthi abuze malunga nokucima kombane kwaye umbane ungawulindela ukuba ungabuya nini. UMnumzana Burger umchazela uhlobo lwengxaki kwaye umxelela umntu ukuba kukho injineli elungisa ingxaki. Umntu aye akhalaze esithi uxakekile uyapheka kwaye akakwazi ukuqhubeka ngaphandle kombane. UMnumzana Burger unika ixesha loqikelelo acinga ukuba ukulungisa kuya kulithatha. Ilungu lasekuhlaleni kwakhona lichaza nesibane sasendleleni esophukileyo endlini yakhe. UMnumzana Burger ubuza malunga neyona ndawo yesibane sasendleleni. Umntu ubuza ukuba isibane esi siyakulungiswa nini. UMnumzana Burger umchazela inqubo kamasipala yesibane sasendleleni kwaye umchazela umntu ukuba iya kuba lithuba. Umntu uye akhalazele malunga nokulibaziseka. UMnumzana Burger uyaxolisa kodwa ecacisa ukuba umntu kufuneka abe nomonde. Bathi bebulisana.

(A member of public phones the municipal electric services and asks to speak to the head of the department, Mr Burger. Mr Burger introduces himself and offers assistance. The person inquires about the nature of the power failure and when the power can be expected to be switched back on. Mr Burger explains the nature of the problem informs the person that there is a technician who is fixing the problem. The person complains that she is busy cooking and cannot continue without electricity. Mr Burger gives an estimated time that the reparation would take. The member of public then reports a broken streetlight at her house. Mr Burger inquires about the exact position of the streetlight. The person asks when the light will be fixed. Mr Burger explains the municipality's streetlight programme and informs the person that it could be a while. The person complains about the delay. Mr Burger apologizes but explains that the person has to be patient. They greet.)

The first part of this task is a typical information gap task, with the municipal worker holding the information and the member of public asking for information about the power failure. The goal orientation is divergent for the member of public expects immediate restoration of the electricity or a satisfactory explanation for a delay; while the municipal worker expects appreciation for the circumstances and patience from the member of public. The only acceptable outcome is the member of public's satisfactory understanding of the problem and its expected duration. The second part of the task is a typical jigsaw task, with both interactants holding information needed to complete the task. The member of public has information about the location of the broken streetlight and the municipal worker has information about the procedure of streetlight maintenance. The goal orientation is convergent in the sense that the municipal worker and the member of public want to be satisfied that the report is properly submitted and would be attended to. When the member of public is giving directions and identifies the position of the broken streetlight, the task could be elaborated with more detailed instructions or even tracing a route, where the information follower has to create specific referents or landmarks in town.

Rhetorical Move-structure Analysis

The rhetorical move-structure for each of the target tasks is analysed according to obligatory and optional moves for the given genre (Bhatia 1993, Henry and Roseberry 1998). Each genre-type represents one or more communicative purpose and employs general conversational moves to realize those purposes. The analysis is based on an authentic dialogue that illustrates the tasks described above. The dialogue is recorded for reference with the numbers of the moves as it is analyzed. It should be noted that this is not a complete list of all the conversational moves that occur in the recorded dialogue, but that only those moves which are required for the successful completion of the tasks, or which contribute to the effectiveness of the communication, are represented.

TASK DIALOGUE

Ilungu lasehlaleni (L)
UMnumzana Burger (B)
B: *Inkonzo zombane eOverstrand*

(Overstrand Electrical Services)
L: *(4) Molo, (1) [ndingathetha noMnumzana Burger?]*
(Good morning, may I speak to Mr Burger?)
B: *(4) Molo Nkosikazi, (2) [nguMnumzana Burger othethayo.] (5) [Ndingakunceda ngantoni?]*
(Morning Madam, this is Mr Burger speaking. How can I help you?)
L: *(3) [Ndingathanda ukwazi ukuba yintoni ingxaki nombane.] (6) [Kutheni umbane ucimile?]*
(I would like to know what the problem is with the electricity. Why is the power off?)
B: *Nenekazi, (7) [sinengxaki neengcingo zombane] ezilele phantsi emhlabeni (10) [ngenxa yemimoya emikhulu] ebekhe sanayo. (11) [Sixakekile sijonga yona – enye yenjineli seyilapho ukuyokujonga ukuba eyona ngxaki yintoni.] (13) [Sakuyilungisa ngokukhawuleza nangokungxama.]*
(Lady, we have a problem with electrical lines which are lying on the ground because of the strong winds we have had. We are busy to see to it – one of our technicians is already there to see what the exact problem is. We will repair it as quickly as we possibly can.)
L: *(12) [Ndixakekile ndiyapheka.] (8) [Uya kubuya nini umbane?]*
(I am busy cooking. When will the power come back on?)
B: *Nkosikazi kunzima ukutsho: (9) [ungathatha isiqingatha seyure okanye iyure.] Sisebenza ukutsho, malunga neeyure ezimbini, kodwa kunzima ukubuyisela umbane kwangoku. Kukho umsebenzi okufuneka wenziwe kwaye kufuneka ugqitywe kuqala phambi kokuba sibuyisele umbane.*
(Madam that is difficult to say: it could take a half an hour or an hour. We work on say, about two hours, but it is impossible to put the electricity back on right away. There is work to be done and it has to be finished first before we can restore the power.)
L: *(14) [Ndiyaqonda Mnumzana,] (15) [enkosi.] (16) [Ndifuna ukwazisa malunga nesibane sasendleleni ngaphandle kwendlu yam, esingasebenziyo] (20) [kwezintsuku zimbini zigqithileyo.] (22) [Ndingakubuza ukuba uza kuza nini ukuza kusilungisa?]*
(I understand Sir, thank you. I also want to inform you about a streetlight outside my house, which has not been working for the last two days. May I ask when are you coming to repair it?)

B: *Nkosikazi, (17) [unganceda undinike idilesi ethe ngqo kunye nendawo yesibane.]*
(Madam, if you can please just give me the exact address and position of the streetlight.)
L: *(18) [Isibane sisesitalatweni sesixhenxe kwisangqa sezithuthi.] (21) [Ndihlala kwanombolo weshumi elinesithandathu kwisitalato wesixhenxe kwaye esi sibane sophukileyo siphambi kwendlu yam.]*
(The streetlight is in Seventh Street at the traffic circle. I live in number sixteen Seventh Street and the broken streetlight is in front of my house.)
B: *Nkosikazi, (19) [ewe, singeza sizokusijonga], kodwa (23) [sinenkqubo yesibane zasendleleni ethe yayohlula idolophu yayimimandla emine. Into eza kwenzeka ngoku siza kwenza i-odolo yomsebenzi yokulungisa eso sibane sasendleleni. Emva koko iya kuthi ifakelwe ngexesha elilodwa elabelwe lo mmandla.] Ngendlela yokuba (24) [ingakule veki izayo.]. Ndiza kukhe ndijonge ukuba ingeniso yenkqubo, kodwa ndicinga ukuba uhlala eVoëlklip uwela kwiveki yesine enyangeni, kwaye kuya (25) [kufuneka ube nomonde kuba ingathatha ixesha.]*
(Madam, yes we can come and have a look at it, but we have a streetlight programme according to which the town has been divided into four areas. What will happen now is that we will make out a work order for repairing that streetlight. Then it will have to be fitted within the specific time allocated for that area. So, that can be next week. I will just have a look at how the programme proceeds, but I think that if you stay in Voëlklip you fall into the fourth week of the month, and you will just have to be patient because it could take a while.)
L: *(26) [Kodwa Mnumzana Burger, kwesi sithuba kumnyama tshu ngaphandle kwendlu yam, kwaye ndihlala ndedwa!]*
(But Mr Burger in the mean time it is pitch dark outside my house, and I live alone!)
B: *(27) [Ndiyaxolisa kakhulu ngaloo nto Nkosikazi,] kodwa njengokuba bendikuchazele malunga nenkqubo akukho nto endinokuyenza malunga nayo.*
(I am very sorry about that Madam, but as I have explained we work according to a programme and there is nothing that I can do about it.)
L: *(28) [Kulungile Mnumzana Burger,] (29) [uhlale kakuhle.]*
(Alright Mr Burger, good bye.)

B: *(29) [Ube nemini emnandi nawe Nkosikazi.]*
(Good day to you Madam.)

Communication Purpose One: *Establishing a telephone conversation between the head of the department (B) and a member of public (L).*
Obligatory Moves:
  (1) asking for person B
  (2) identification of speaker(s)
  (3) identifying the purpose of the call
Optional Moves:
  (4) greeting
  (5) offering assistance

Communication Purpose Two: *Inquiry about a problem*
Obligatory Moves:
  (6) requesting reason for problem
  (7) stating problem
  (8) inquiring about duration of problem
  (9) stating time approximation
Optional Moves:
  (10) describing nature of the problem or describing the reason for the problem
  (11) explaining procedure for rectifying problem
  (12) complaining about the consequences of the problem to establish urgency
  (13) making excuses for delay or reassuring that repair is in progress
  (14) indicating comprehension
  (15) stating appreciation

Communication Purpose Three: *Reporting a problem*
Obligatory Moves:
  (16) reporting problem
  (17) asking the exact location of the problem
  (18) identifying location of the problem
  (19) agreeing to attend to the problem
Optional Moves:

(20) describing exact nature of problem
(21) instructions for how to get there
(22) requesting exact time of repair
(23) explaining procedure for repair
(24) stating approximated time for repair
(25) requesting patience
(26) complaining about inconvenience caused and establishing urgency of problem
(27) sympathizing or apologizing for inconvenience caused
(28) acceptance of apology
(29) greeting

Essential Language Structures of Target Task

An analysis of the authentic dialogue which demonstrates the target task for language learning for the specific purpose of communicating in local governmental departments, serves to identify language structures that are essential for effective task participation. Consciousness-raising activities, which increase learners' awareness of the form of language, have to take account of generic structures and underlying lexical phrases of referential communication tasks. Not all the morphological and syntactic features of the different moves for every genre in the isiXhosa task are included in the following analysis; only those that are task-essential for the purpose of focus on form in the instruction process, are noted.

Requesting to speak to someone: imvume (permission)
Ndingathetha noMnumzana Burger?
potential morpheme –nga- + verb –thetha and prepositional phrase with na-, as head, + noun phrase

Identification of speaker: ukufanisa (identification)
NguMnumzana Burger othethayo.
identificative copula concord ng- + noun phrase and verbal relative as nominal modifier

Offering assistence: uncedo (assistance)

Ndingakunceda ngantoni?
potential morpheme –nga- + second person object concord ku- + verb –nceda and prepositional phrase with nga-, as head, + question word -ntoni

Identifying purpose of call: injongo (purpose)
Ndingathanda ukwazi yintoni ingxaki nombane.
potential morpheme –nga- + verb –thanda with clausal infinitive ukwazi and copulative clause yintoni ingxaki with prepositional phrase with na- as head.

Requesting reason for problem: ubango (cause)
Kutheni umbane ucimile?
question word kutheni with a situative clause as complement

Stating the problem: ukubika (reporting)
Sinengxaki neengcingo zombane.
associative preposition –na- + noun ingxaki, as well as with the noun iingcingo with descriptive possessive, which is formed by possessive concord + noun umbane

Describing the reason for the problem: unobangela (reason or cause)
Ngenxa yemimoya emikhulu.
sentential preposition ngenxa ya-,which denotes cause, + noun phrase with adjective –khulu, as a nominal modifier

Inquiring about the duration of the problem: ukubuza (questioning)
Uya kubuya nini umbane?
A stylistic movement of the subject to sentence final position emphasizes the question with question word nini. Future tense is formed by morphemes –ya with ku- + verb –buya.

Stating time approximation: ubude bexesha (length of time)
Ungathatha isiqingatha seyure okanye iyure.
potential morpheme -nga- + verb –thatha and coordinated noun phrase with conjunct okanye between descriptive possessive and noun.

Indicating comprehension: ukuqonda (understanding)

Ndiyaqonda Mnumzana.
The morpheme –ya- with the present tense indicative verb -qonda indicates emphasis.

Reporting problem: ukwazisa (to inform)
(i) [*Ndifuna ukwazisa malunga nesibane sasendleleni*] (ii) [*ngaphandle kwendlu yam*] (iii) [*esingasebenziyo.*]
(i) verb –funa with causal infinitive ukwazisa, as the head of the subordinate clause, with malunga na- + noun + descriptive possessive in the locative form
(ii) prepositional phrase with nga- + -phandle with possessive concord kwa- + noun indlu, denotes location and possessive concord + first person pronoun
(iii) negative verbal relative is nominal modifier of noun isibane

Asking the exact location of the problem: ukubuza (asking)
(i) [*Unganceda undinike idilesi ethe ngqo*] (ii) [*kunye nendawo yesibane.*]
(i) subjunctive mood -nike coincides with the purposive clause of verb and verbal relative –thi introduces ideophone ngqo as nominal modifier for object noun phrase idilesi
(ii) coordinated noun phrase with conjunct kunye na- + noun with descriptive possessive.

Identifying the location of the problem: indawo (position)
(i) [*Isibane sisesitalatweni sesixhenxe*] (ii) [*kwisanqa sezithuthi.*]
(i) noun with copulative verb + s + locative noun with descriptive possessive, which forms an ordinal number
(ii) locative preposition ku- + noun isanqa with descriptive possessive

Explaining the procedure for repair: ukucacisa (explaining)
(i) *Into eza kwenzeka ngoku siza kwenza i-odolo yomsebenzi…*
(ii) [*Emva koko iya kuthi ifakelwe*] (iii) [*ngexesha elilodwa…*]
(i) noun + relative in the future tense with neutro-passive and adverb of time ngoku and future tense morphemes –za ku- + verb –enza with noun and descriptive possessive

(ii) conjunctive of time emva koko with situative clause, which denotes future tense, with subjunctive mood for the successive action, i.e. passive verb –fakelwe
(iii) prepositional phrase with nga- + noun ixesha and quantifier –odwa, as nominal modifier

Sympathizing and apologizing: ukuxolela (apologizing)
Ndiyaxolisa kakhulu ngaloo nto Nkosikazi.
–ya-, which denotes emphasis, + verb –xolisa with adverb kakhulu and prepositional phrase indicating reason with nga- + demonstrative + noun

Conclusion

The analytic framework of course design for isiXhosa for specific purposes in local government presented in this article aimed to demonstrate how a major challenge for effective communicative language teaching, namely the integration of *focus on meaning* and *focus on form* can be accomplished in course design. Thus, the pedagogical norms proposed by Valdman (1989) which emphasize the importance of authentic language input and use, while taking into account factors of learner processing can be introduced in a planned manner. Pedagogical norms guide the selection and sequencing of target language features, as shown in the analysis of the isiXhosa communication task. Many questions however remain relating to research of pedagogical norms for actual language use and the implementation of those norms for pedagogical purposes, from designing materials to instructional methodology. A wide range of issues as regard the processing of language specific forms and natural developmental acquisition of morphosyntactic forms by learners in SLA from a communicative approach promises exciting future research.

Department of African Languages
University of Stellenbosch
mwv@sun.ac.za

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Enriching Xhosa Culture: The Transference of Social and Material Culture in the isiXhosa Translation of *The Prisoner of Zenda*

S.G. Mlonyeni and
J.A. Naudé

Introduction

This article's concern is the material and social cultural aspects in the isiXhosa translation of *The Prisoner of Zenda* by Anthony Hope. *The Prisoner of Zenda* was written in 1894 and was translated into isiXhosa by G.B. Sinxo in 1958. The aim of this article is to investigate the translation strategies used to transfer aspects of culture. Of particular note, is the fact that translation strategies used in translating a novel often result in translation shifts. This article will therefore make the attempt to cast some light on translation shifts in this novel and to relate these to consequent isiXhosa literary development. Thus the research problem may be formulated: How is the foreign culture (food, clothes and social customs) represented in the target text? The authors hypothesize that the English material and social culture is transferred to isiXhosa, with no attempt at acculturating the original work to the material and social circumstances of the target culture. Otherwise put, the translator retained as many of the foreign cultural codes as possible. This article therefore attempts to address why Sinxo translates the way he does. In other words, the key question in this exploration is: why is the foreign culture retained in the isiXhosa translation?

The analysis takes the form of a comparison between a source text (ST) and a target text (TT) derived from two different cultures. In analysing

Sinxo's work, *Umbanjwa waseZenda,* Lambert and Van Gorp's (1985) descriptive model is used as a framework for the analysis. The analysis and comparison to be made will be contextualised within the prevailing Xhosa cultural norms and customs at the time when the book (*Umbanjwa waseZenda*) was translated.

The Nature of the Problem

Newmark (1988:94) defines culture as the way of life and its manifestations peculiar to a community that uses a particular language as its means of expression. Culture shapes people's behaviour and is reflected in the language they speak and write. Language and culture are therefore two sides of the same coin. Although there is an element of universality in languages, they differ in many ways as a result of their respective cultural embededness. Each language is firmly rooted in its own conceptual system and it follows, therefore, that what is acceptable in one culture may not be so in another. Hence, translating a novel is no simple matter as the original is embedded in the cultural literary system of the source language, which is often different from the cultural literary system of the translated text. In translating from English into isiXhosa there are cultural phenomena and expressions not readily available to the target culture, with resulting translation problems or constraints as an inevitable outcome.

As stated above, the research problem is formulated around the question as to how the foreign culture (food, clothes and social customs) is represented in the target text. The many differences in convention between the Western source and the Xhosa target culture are to be expected, and these directly concern food, clothing and social customs. Consider the following sentence: the King and his advisers are drinking wine while having dinner. In Xhosa culture, it is not customary for people to eat food and drink liquor at the same time. They would rather eat first and have drinks afterwards. Furthermore, they would also not drink wine but *umqombothi* (African beer) or brandy. Here is another example: the King is wearing canvas shoes and a pair of knickerbockers. This attire would certainly not suit an African King. The King usually wears *izidabane* (clothes made from animal skins). According to the source text, the King also wears a uniform. In Xhosa culture, there is no equivalent term for

uniform. The term *isinxibo senkosi* (king's attire) is normally used. By the same token, the Xhosa king would call his advisers by their clan names and not by their first names as is the case in the source text. When the King and his advisors fought Duke Michael's people they used helmets for protection. Xhosa men do not protect their heads when fighting as this would be regarded as a show of cowardice. In fact, the term *helmet* does not exist in isiXhosa. Xhosa men fight with sticks and spears and not with swords (Mlonyeni 2004:3-4).

The Nature of the Comparison

Descriptive Translation Studies determines the norms and constraints operating on the texts in a specific culture at a specific moment in history (Bassnett and Lefevere 1990; Hatim 1997). The relationship between translations and their originals may be described in terms of shifts or manipulations that have occurred (Hermans 1985). This approach is target-orientated as it examines the role of translations in the target culture.

Translation is a norm-governed activity. The term *norm* refers to an official standard or level of achievement an individual is expected to reach (Collins Cobuild Dictionary 1988:977). Norms can also be defined as evaluative measures for a certain behaviour or activity. Hence, norms were formulated to guide the translator and to perform certain functions, such as those in (1).

1 (a)   determining the selection of text for translation;
   (b)   determining the decisions made in the translation
          process (additions, omissions and stylistic preferences);
   (c)   determining the basic choice translators make between
          adherence to the source system on the one hand and striving
          to meet the expectations of the target system on the other.

According to Lambert and Van Gorp's model, the description of the comparison of a source and target text occurs on four levels, as in (2) (Lambert & Van Gorp 1985:52-53):

2 (a)   Preliminary date (for example)
          -title and title page (for example, presence or absence of

genre, author's name, translator's name);
-metatext (on title page, in preface, in footnotes in the text or separate);
-general strategy (partial or complete translation).

(b) Macro-level (for example)
-division of text;
-titles of chapters, presentation of acts and scenes;
-internal narrative structure;
-authorial comment, stage directions.

(c) Micro-level (i.e. shifts on phonic, graphic, micro-syntactic, lexico-semantic, stylistic, elocutionary and modal levels (for example))
-selection of words;
-dominant grammatical patterns and formal literary structures
(metre, rhyme);
-perspective and part of view of narrative modality.

(d) Systematic context (for example)
-oppositions between micro and macro levels and between texts and theory (norms and models);
-intertextual relations;
-intersystematic relations.

Within Lambert and Van Gorp's (1985) descriptive model the specific characteristics of a translated text (or multiple translations of the same original) are described in terms of constraints or norms governing from within the target system at a particular time. This may have influenced the method for translating the ensuing product.

Analysis of the Source and Target System
Analysing the System of The Prisoner of Zenda
The following information on Anthony Hope, was provided by De Villiers (1894:viii): Hope was born in 1863 in Upton, England, from a middle class

background and a religious home. His father was a minister and the headmaster of a school for the sons of poor clergymen. Hope was educated at Marlborough School and later at Oxford University where he graduated with a first class in Classics, whereupon he qualified and practised as lawyer. During his professional career, Hope developed an interest in writing and wrote numerous short stories and sketches, published in various periodicals. This was followed by the publication of a number of books, amongst which was *The Prisoner of Zenda*, which appeared in 1894. England of this period, as now, was ruled by a monarchy. The executive powers were seated in the person of Queen Victoria. The Crown was inherited by strict rules of descent, which provided a privileged position to the direct lineage of the Sovereign: sons before daughters in order of succession, and always according to seniority. When the daughter succeeded to the throne, as in the case of Victoria, she became Queen Regnant and the executive powers of the Crown were vested in her as fully and effectively as though she were a male heir to the throne (Central Office of Information 1971:3).

Hope's publications had a positive reception. Encouraged, Anthony Hope gave up his professional career and concentrated exclusively on his writing. He spent the rest of his life writing, but never equalled the success achieved by *The Prisoner of Zenda*. During the First World War he served in the Ministry of Information and was knighted for his services in 1918. Hope died in July 1933.

Analysing the System of Umbanjwa Wasezenda
Early Translation into isiXhosa
Most of the early material written in Xhosa was translated by missionaries from English, as no written literature preceded their arrival in the Cape Colony in 1779. The language barrier proved a serious obstacle for both English and isiXhosa speakers (Satyo 1993:65). The Bible, and any additional literary material at their disposal, was written in English. A huge challenge was to devise a set orthography for isiXhosa, up till then an exclusively oral language. John Bennie, a missionary, accomplished this by December of 1923 (Satyo 1993:68). This is considered the dawning of a new era for isiXhosa literature. Meanwhile, the earliest Bible translation into Xhosa, mostly the work of the Wesleyan missionary William B Boyce (Smit

1970:203), was done in 1833. The translation of the New Testament was completed in 1854 and that of the Old Testament in 1869, both by J. W. Appleyard (Satyo 1993:69). The translation of the Bible into isiXhosa had almost as great an influence on the isiXhosa language as the authorized version had on the English language. It was firstly a momentous contribution to raising the level of literacy amongst the amaXhosa and, secondly, it had a great influence on the standardisation of the isiXhosa language. It therefore comes as no surprise that Bible translation and Christianity either influenced or dominated entirely, the work of the isiXhosa writers coming from this milieu. Christian themes predominated and so did themes centred on western and traditional culture. The pioneers in this field were the disciples of Ntsikana kaGabha, a convert to Christianity under the guidance of Dr van der Kemp (Satyo 1993:73). These writers may be regarded as the forerunners of isiXhosa literature (Vilakazi 1945:257).

Tiyo Soga, the first ordained black minister, was the most prolific isiXhosa translator of the time. His literary output includes *Uhambo lomhambi*, a praiseworthy translation of the first part of *The Pilgrim's Progress*. Jordan considered his translation the greatest contribution to isiXhosa literature (1973:39). At the time of his death in 1871, Soga was working on a translation of the *Acts of the Apostles*.

Among the amaXhosa were also the first vernacular authors to compose original works in the new genres introduced by the Europeans, such as the novel and formal drama (Gérard 1981:35).

Translation into isiXhosa in the 1950s

Translation into isiXhosa has been popular since the 1950s. The driving force was the shortage of isiXhosa books and translated books were needed to fill that gap. It is therefore not farfetched to suggest that translation thus came to play a crucial role in the development of isiXhosa literature. Most well-known and prominent isiXhosa writers such as G.B. Sinxo, S.E.K. Mqhayi, B.B. Mdledle, A.C. Jordan, J.J.R. Jolobe and R.L. Peteni, to mention but a few, have made a significant contribution in the writing of isiXhosa texts and the translation of English works into isiXhosa. Authors such as R.L. Peteni and A.C. Jordan translated their own books. R.L. Peteni is one prominent isiXhosa author whose novel first appeared in English as

Hill of fools. He then translated it into isiXhosa, entitled *Kwazidenge*. A.C. Jordan translated his isiXhosa original, *Ingqumbo yeminyanya*, into English entitled, *The wrath of the ancestors*. This work emphasizes the theme of conflict between traditional and western values (Jordan 1973:41). These translations were carried out as a result of interest and a love of literature as motivating factor, and were not necessarily motivated by financial gain. Their translated versions were published and read in African schools.

The translators mentioned above, belong to the old generation of isiXhosa literary authors who are still very popular. Their works are frequently prescribed in schools and at tertiary institutions and are regarded as classics. The original isiXhosa versions are still frequently re-issued. G.B. Sinxo stands out as the person that has translated more books than any other isiXhosa writer.

According to Even-Zohar's polysystem (Even-Zohar 1990:45-47), three main socio-historical moments are identified in which translated literature may acquire a central position in the literary system of a minority language and could furnish canonized models for the entire system:

3   (a)   When a literature is 'young' or in the process of being established;
         (b)   When a literature is either "peripheral" or "weak" or both;
         (c)   When a literature is experiencing a "crisis" or turning point.

The statement in 3(a) is relevant to this article. Translation has boosted isiXhosa literature when there was a shortage of isiXhosa books to fill the demand, especially in school. *Umbanjwa waseZenda* was translated during this crucial period.

The Translation of Umbanjwa Wasezenda

The translator, Guybon Budlwana Sinxo (1902-1962), was born at the Holy Trinity Mission, Tini Location, in Fort Beaufort, Eastern Cape. His father was a teacher in one of the schools established by the missionaries. Sinxo's grandfather served as a leading councillor of Chief Kama. Sinxo qualified as a teacher in 1920 and taught at various schools in the Eastern Cape. He also worked as a clerk for an attorney, as editor of an isiXhosa paper *Umlindi*, as

casual interpreter and as temporary social welfare officer. During this time he worked in Port Elizabeth, East London and Johannesburg.

In 1958, when *Umbanjwa waseZenda* was translated, South Africa was no longer officially a British colony, but under governance of the Apartheid rule of the then South African government. Nonetheless, the Queen of England (Elizabeth II) was still the ceremonial head of South Africa. As was the case for other languages, British colonisation greatly influenced isiXhosa, in this particular case, via the Glasgow missionaries. Outwardly, the influence is best indicated by the many towns in the Eastern Cape that were given names by the British Government, such as King William's Town, Adelaide, Queenstown and Grahams Town. Even today older people refer to this area as "Kolonie". This might have influenced G.B. Sinxo in selecting *The Prisoner of Zenda* as a source text.

Polysystem theory stresses the fact that translated literature operates as a system in that translation norms, behaviour and policies are influenced by other co-systems. In this instance the source text cultural system influenced the translation. As stated in (4) there are two factors, among others, which may have influenced the translation.

4 (a)   The translator wants to introduce the source text cultural system to the target text system as both English and isiXhosa have high regard for royal families.

(b)   The historical background of South Africa and of the translator.

The Macrotextual Systems of The *Prisoner of Zenda* and *Umbanjwa waseZenda*

Anthony Hope was a good novelist. He managed to grab the reader's imagination and was also very good at keeping his readers in suspense. For example, when Rudolf goes to the castle of Zenda on Antoinette's orders, one cannot help but wonder what is going to happen next. Even the titles of chapters trigger curiosity. The fact that Rudolf is a person of royalty is clear from the very first page. In terms of the focalisation, Rudolf Rassendyll is an internal focalizer. He is both the narrator and the character playing the leading role. He is the one who causes the main action in the story. This

information is linked to the plot, the main event of which is the King's coronation.

The theme of the book is about the celebration of the virtues of loyalty, honour and devotion, and the condemnation of the wickedness of betrayal and deceit. Rudolf Rassendyll takes the risk of impersonating the King to save him from embarrassment because he is too drunk to be crowned. This shows loyalty. Princess Flavia, after discovering that the man she loves (Rudolf Rassendyll) is not the King, ends up having to marry the real King for the sake of her country even though she does not love him. This shows devotion and loyalty to her country. Black Michael is a cruel, brutal hypocrite. He kidnaps the King and imprisons him. He professes to be ignorant of the fact that Rudolf is impersonating the King. He intends to assassinate Rudolf Rassendyll and the royal advisers so that he can become King.

The book is a novel and both texts are narrative prose. The source text has twenty-two chapters while the target text has thirteen. The setting of the book in both the source text and the target text is the same, namely the country of Ruritania. The structural components of a novel such as story level, events, characterisation, theme and focalisation, among other things are the same in both the source and the target texts.

There are not many differences as the translator moves close to the source text. In *Umbanjwa waseZenda,* the story is told by Rudolf Rassendyll as in the source text. The translator transfers the names of the characters and the setting. The events of the story are also arranged chronologically as is the case in the source text. The only difference is that some chapters of the source text are combined to make one chapter in the target text. Sinxo has proved himself as a skilful author. His creative ability to translate *The Prisoner of Zenda* without distorting the message and his impeccable use of language bears testimony to his linguistic prowess. The theme of *Umbanjwa waseZenda* is the same as in the source text.

The Micro Structural Analysis of *The Prisoner of Zenda* and *Umbanjwa waseZenda*

As the translator is translating from a foreign language (English) into his mother tongue (Xhosa) he has to devise some cultural compromises by

selecting and balancing the characteristics common both to source and target cultures (Baker 1992). Transference (5) and omission (6) are the two main translation strategies used.

5   Transference
    (a)   ST: *Zenda* (Hope 1894:53)
           TT: *EZenda* (Sinxo 1958: 47)
    (b)   ST: *Cellar* (Hope 1894:37)
           TT: *Isela* (Sinxo 1958:23).
    (c)   ST: *Cigarette* (Hope 1894:5)
           TT: *Isigarethi* (Sinxo 1958:10), (instead of *umdiza*).

Transference is the process of transferring a source language item to a target language text unchanged; the source language item then becomes a loan item in the target language (Naudé 2000:18). The implication is the enriching of the target culture.

6   Omission
    ST: *I took my dear Michael and kissed him on the cheek* (Hope 1894:30).
    TT: Deleted.

The source text phrase *kiss him on the cheek* is deleted in the target text, because this gesture is offensive in the target culture.

Transference and Omission of Social Culture
Proper Names

Naming is a very fundamental phenomenon because life revolves around objects with names. Naming is part of the social framework of reference. Note that names in Xhosa/African culture carry specific meanings as opposed to naming practices in English/Western culture. Raper (1987:78) refers to the proper name as the *designator* when referring to the sound system, the inherent meaning as the *designatum* and the entity to which the name refers as the *denotatum*. Proper names in isiXhosa have lexical meaning, but this is not the case with English names. Personal names in

Umbanjwa waseZenda have been transferred from the source text. In this case the referring function becomes primary as in (7).

7   (a)   ST: *Michael (Hope 1894:97)*
           TT: *Michael (Sinxo 1958:45)*
    (b)   ST: *Rupert (Hope 1894:97)*
           TT: *Rupert (Sinxo 1958:45)*

In fact all personal names in the ST are transferred to the TT unchanged and there are no phonological adaptations.

Place Names

Place names also play a significant role in a novel. The setting or the place in which the events occur has a bearing on the development of other elements of the novel like plot, characterisation and the language use or the novelist's style. The forest of Zenda is a battlefield where Rudolf (the King's cousin), Sapt and Fritz are locked in combat with Michael and his adherents. The castle of Zenda is Duke Michael's hideout. Each place name is used purposely in this novel. Most place names are transferred from the source text to the target text as they are, for example. Alps, Ruritania, Paris, Strelsau, etc. Most of the action in this novel occurs in three areas, i.e. the forest of Zenda and the castles of Zenda and Strelsau. There are a few place names that have been domesticated, perhaps to serve accessibility as in (8).

8   (a)   ST: *England* (Hope 1894:1)
           T: *Ngilani* (Sinxo 1958:2)
    b)   ST: *German* (Hope 1894:1)
           T: *Jamani* (Sinxo 1958:2)

These place names have been domesticated to suit the target text culture. This strategy is very similar to transference, but is used when an item is adopted from the source language with slight modification to remove some of the foreignness (Naudé 2000:18). The translator does not perceive a problem in transferring or domesticating names because of the English colonised background. Most isiXhosa speakers who were born prior 1990

have two names, one English and one isiXhosa name. This practice stems from the time of the missionaries, who referred to the English names as Christian names.

Terms of Address

Terms of address are the words and phrases used for addressing one another in spoken or written communication. Depending on the structure of the language, such words comprise pronouns, verbs and nouns (Ndlovu 1997:92). In isiXhosa, as in Zulu, the main forms of address are nouns. Forms of address also express kinship and relationships between people. The King addresses Sapt, Fritz and Rudolf as in (9) by saying,

9   ST: *"Gentlemen, my friends – Rudolf, my cousin"* (Hope 1894:19).
    T: *"Manene, zihlobo zam, Rudolf, mntakwethu"* (Sinxo 1958:11)
          (Gentlemen, my friends, Rudolf, my brother).

The form of address in (9) indicates the relationship of these people to the King. However, the translator translates *my cousin* as *my brother*, perhaps to indicate with greater clarity their proximity to each other. Terms of address also include personal titles as in (10).

10 ST: *Colonel Sapt* (Hope 1894:15)
    T: *Khenele Sapt* (Sinxo 1958:9)

The personal titles have been maintained in the target text as they appear in the source text.

Gestures and Habits

This category refers to the behavioural patterns that are practised by a particular community. Consider the examples in (11)

11 (i)   ST: *The Cardinal Bishop slipped in front of Black Michael,*

      and kissed my hand and presented me with a letter (Hope 1894:30)
      TT: *Wavova wanga isandla sam* (Sinxo 1958:19)
      (He curtsies and embraces my hand)

(ii) ST: *I took my dear Michael and kissed him on the cheek* (Hope 1894:30)
      TT: *Kweza ke ngoku uMichael omnyama* (Sinxo 1958:19)
      (Black Michael then comes.)

The translation strategy used in (11) is omission. This strategy means that the source text term is not rendered in the target text at all. The translator does this when he feels that the information is offensive to the target readership. The source text terms *kiss* and *kissed* are omitted, because isiXhosa men do not greet each other by kissing one's hand. This gesture is only applicable to the source culture.

Organisations

This category deals with customs, activities, procedures and concepts. Customs refer to all the arts and social activities and behavioural aspects that are unique or practised by a given community. The amaXhosa and English as mentioned, have different customs, rituals and ceremonies. The translator has to use certain strategies in order to translate these cultural specific items as in (12).

12 ST: *"Let those in front ride on", said I, until they are fifty yards ahead. But do you, Marshal, and Colonel Sapt and my friends, wait here until I have ridden fifty yards" (Hope 1894: 28).*
    TT: *"Mabahambele phambili, abo baphambili", ndatsho, "mabahambe bade babe ziinyawo ezingamashumi amahlanu phambi kwam. Wena, mphathiswa, nawe Khenele Sapt nani zihlobo zam, yimani apha ndide ndisuke kuni amanyathelo angamashumi amahlanu" (Sinxo 1958:18).*

The source culture custom in (12) is transferred into the target text. As reflected in this extract, other people were moving in front of the King and his aides, who are riding in the middle of the procession. This reflects respect for the King and the way security is conducted in the source culture. In Xhosa culture the King and his aides, as leaders, are supposed to be in front.

There are different procedures and social or political activities in the source culture and the target culture. Consider the examples in (13).

13   (i)   ST: *Of what followed next, I remember nothing. I knelt before the altar and the Cardinal anointed my head.* (Hope 1894:29).

                  TT: *Ndiphantse ukungakhumbuli nanye into kule mithananangu, ngaphandle kwelo xesha ndasithathayo Isithsaba kuMbingeleli omkhulu ndasibeka entloko.* (Sinxo 1958: 19).

                  (I almost don't remember any of those events except when I was crowned by the Cardinal).

    (ii)   ST: *Then back we went through the streets to the Palace* (Hope 1894:30).

                  TT: *Emva koko ke sabuyela eBhotwe sihamba ngezo zitalato* (Sinxo 1958:19).

    (iii)   ST: *I was in a carriage now, side by side with Princess Flavia* (Hope 1894:30).

                  TT: *Ndandikhwele ekarini ngoku sigudlene amacala Nenkosazana* (Sinxo 1958:19).

In (13) a transference strategy is used. The translator has translated the source culture procedures and activities into the target text unchanged. In the past the King's coronation used not to be combined with church procedures, the Cardinal would have no role to play in the target culture (see 13(ii)). In relation to 13(ii) it would not be practical for the Xhosa King to move up and down the streets because he would be expected to preserve his dignity. In 13(iii), the King moves side by side with the princess. In the target culture the expectation is that the princess will be with other women after the coronation, and not side by side with the King. The King would be with other men, specifically his aides.

Transference in Material Culture

Culture specific terms unique to the source language are transferred into the target text as reflected in (14).

14   ST: *Wine* (Hope 1894: 18)
       TT: *Iwayini* (Sinxo 1958: 11)

(iv)   ST: *Cigarette* (Hope 1894: 17)
       TT: *Isigalethi* (Sinxo 1958:18)

(iii)   ST: *Uniform* (Hope 1894: 23)
       TT: *Iyunifomi* (Sinxo 1958: 15)

(iv)   ST: *My Helmet* (Hope 1894:25)
       TT: *Ihelmet yam* (Sinxo 1958:16)

(v)   ST: *Revolver* (Hope 1894: 41)
       TT: *Ivolovolo* (Sinxo 1958:18)

(vi)   ST: *Cellar* (Hope 1894: 38)
       TT: *Isela* (Sinxo 1958: 23)

Conclusion

The conclusions are summarised as follows:

(a)   The translator decides to translate a novel *The Prisoner of Zenda* and manages to transfer it into the target language as a novel *Umbanjwa waseZenda*.

(b)   In the translation process he decides mostly to transfer source text items into the target text.

(c)   The translator chooses to adhere to the source text system in trying to introduce the source culture royal life system into the target culture.

The source text material cultural specific terms as well as the source text customs and royal procedures are transferred into the target text. In the

process source text words are transferred to the target text unchanged, the source language word becomes a loan word in the target language. This is done to *enrich* isiXhosa and to introduce the target text readership to the source text royal life. A striking example is the order of the procession of the King, his aides and dignitaries after the coronation. The King is in the middle, amongst other people, and not in front as would happen in the target culture. This shows that security is highly regarded in the source culture more especially for the royal family. These royal procedures are nowadays practised in the target culture to ensure the security of the royal family. Sinxo omits those aspects that are culturally offensive according to the target culture and those he feels are not important. As a result the message is not distorted.

Research into the translation tradition of isiXhosa novels is necessary before more general conclusions can be made regarding the norms that determine the way foreign material has been imported into the isiXhosa narrative system.

Afroasiatic Studies, Sign Language and Language Practice
University of the Free State
Naudej.hum@mail.uovs.ac.za

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Swamp-donkeys and Rippers:
The Use of Slang and Pejorative Terms to Name 'the other'

Vivian de Klerk and
Richard Antrobus

Introduction

The term 'slang' is defined by the Collins English Dictionary (1979) as vocabulary and idiom that is not appropriate to the standard form of a language or to formal contexts. While the notion of 'standard' is itself problematic, in that it is associated with connotations of prestige and power, it usually refers to a codified form of language (usually written), which is commonly understood by most or all the members of a linguistic community. In contrast, slang is more typically restricted and localised in relation to social status or distribution, and is characteristically much more metaphorical and transitory than standard language. This is quite a loose and general definition, however, as the notion of slang is not stable and precise, but 'is a relative concept ... [and therefore] changes in neutral or formal usage will lead to changes in what is seen as slang' (Anderson & Trudgill 1990:69). Other, more creative, definitions have been used to describe slang. Carl Sandburg, for example, calls slang 'a language that rolls up its sleeves, spits on its hands, and goes to work' (cited in Anderson & Trudgill 1990:69), and Hayakawa (1941:195) refers to it as 'the poetry of everyday life ... [it] vividly expresses people's feelings about life and about the things they encounter in life'.

Slang is typically localised and largely verbal, and functions primarily in order to show that one belongs to a particular sub-culture, to be witty or humorous, or to break norms, shock and show disrespect for authority. Creativity is also an essential aspect of slang and the 'constant desire to create new and dramatic expressions' (Anderson & Trudgill, 1990:84) means that slang is often short-lived, since many slang words are 'local in both time and place' (Anderson & Trudgill, 1990:79). As old expressions become stale, so they are replaced by fresh, new alternatives, but this aura of freshness attached to slang may instead have something to do with the fact that it is constantly recycled in new groups, as well as its rarity in formal contexts. Slang is therefore often used in an attempt to creatively break away from stereotypical language and thus slang words vary in their longevity and influence. Some slang words becomes so entrenched that they are accepted as colloquial (or even acceptable in formal contexts). On the other hand, some terms come and go in only a week or so.

Distinguishing slang from swearwords or expletives, including profanity (in which the name of a deity is used to express negative affect or disrespect) is not always a simple task. While swearing is thought to be 'language in its most highly charged state' (Hughes, 1991:4), and expletives are generally connected with taboos of some kind, slang terms are not restricted in such a way (Anderson & Trudgill 1990), and for most Western middle and upper classes, swearwords and slang form a continuum of non-standard forms, with expletives comprising the more shocking or taboo range of words and slang coming closer to acceptability. Research over the years confirms this hypothesis: Dumas and Lighter (1978:9) found that most speakers could not clearly distinguish slang from expletives with any degree of reliability. More recently, Linda Hall (2002) reports that even educated, well-read people tell her that slang words are 'not slang at all. They are the way we speak now'. And according to Tweedie (2003) only 16 of the 70 taboo words listed in the earlier edition of Collins Dictionary remain taboo, and the rest (e.g. 'bollocks') have been downgraded to mere slang or informal expressions on the basis of frequency of use and of the 'majority' view of perceptions of the shock value of these words. Increasingly, erstwhile 'shocking' words such as 'fuck' are used so liberally on the media and in some subcultures that we scarcely notice them.

Slang is typical of any tight-knit linguistic community where a relaxed atmosphere among peers or people of equal status provides a space where language is liberated from the conventions and pretensions of

politeness and formality that govern the ideal standards for language use in society. Thus, slang may be found amongst factory workers, sailors, and miners, for example, and the more isolated a particular social group is from mass social intercommunication, the higher the propensity that group has for using language that deviates from formal standard language use. For this reason, slang is often found amongst younger generations of people, especially adolescents. Educational institutions such as secondary schools often provide and promote an environment where a common identity is established in terms of attitude and language use.

Adolescence is in this sense a social and linguistic hothouse, involving intense preoccupation with clothing, other adornments, and general social behaviour, of which language is an important part. As Milroy (1992) says, it is in adolescence where linguists discover the highest levels of linguistic innovation, because of the high density of their social networks.

Adolescents' slang is imaginative and innovative and is frequently derived from their social context as well as their need to have their own 'private language', often with the intention of being ambiguous and misunderstood in order to exclude outsiders from that particular group. Here, slang is not generated for lack of a lexicon, but from the need to create an identity specific to a particular social group. For adolescents, slang forms part of a shared linguistic code, reinforcing group membership, and indicating shared knowledge and interests and the all-important sense of belonging (de Klerk 1992, 1997; Matthews 1997:343). As Crystal puts it, 'the chief use of slang is to show that you're one of the gang' (1987:53). Evidence for this comes from the fact that there are many slang terms for adolescents who do not fit in this way, such as *geek or nerd*. Thus while this shared code reinforces group membership, at the same time it excludes those who do not use it (such as parents and teachers), and signals a certain level of rebelliousness and disrespect for authority.

The less appealing aspect of slang is its pejorative and abusive side. While it can indeed be used to reduce seriousness and to be witty and clever, it is often devastatingly cruel and harshly critical of deformity or inadequacy of any kind; its words aptly summarise group attitudes to outsiders and towards the unfortunate fat, ugly or mentally retarded people of this world. There are no holds barred, particularly in areas of social taboo. In his questionnaire-based research, surveying 377 high-school adolescents,

Thurlow (2001) received 100% percent responses to one question: 'what words do people at school use for slagging someone off?' (2001:27) (*slagging* means to criticise harshly or speak disparagingly). Derogatory and pejorative names, such as those ascribed to certain individuals or groups, can be extremely hurtful to the recipients (Valentine 1998:2 cited in Thurlow 2001:26), marking them as deviating from some sort of externally imposed 'norm'.

Attitudes Towards Slang

Slang and expletive usage are commonly associated with confidence and rebellion against adult norms. For this reason, these words are more strongly associated with men, although, as this paper will point out, such a view is probably no longer accurate. As early as 1943, Schlauch (1943, p. 287) regretfully notes tendencies for women to encroach on this all-male precinct, and Hertzler (1965) and Maurer (1976) make the same point.

In consonance with social expectations of masculinity and toughness, men stereotypically use more abusive language than women, and even tend to over-report their use of it in order to enhance this reputation (Sutton 1995). Thurlow (2001:35) cites several other studies in this regard. It is likely that they also fear being labelled so negatively, so in an effort to distance themselves from ostracised groups, potential members of these very groups use these same pejorative terms in a chameleon-like effort to disguise themselves.

It would appear that with shifts in power, norms and habits of pejorative and expletive usage are being challenged. Signs of change are revealed in more recent studies by Oliver et al. (1975), Bailey et al. (1976), Staley (1978), Risch (1987), de Klerk (1997) and Sutton (1995), all of whom indicate a growing resistance by women to conform to expectations about the use of slang and swearwords. In their use of slang and expletives adolescent women reveal a need to do so, while ironically most male adolescents might know and use more slang and expletives than female adolescents, not because they want to, but simply because they have very little choice: society expects them to. Linguistic behaviour in adolescence is not simply a matter of conformity to clear and unambiguous role models, and there is plenty of evidence suggesting that linguistic differentiation is neither

smooth nor consensual. We also need to acknowledge that while it is tempting in such articles as these to over-generalise and give an impression that all adolescents behave in the same way, there are adolescents who do not use slang, and who assert their identities in ways which are their own, and which reflect their intelligence and personalities uniquely.

Methodology

This paper centres primarily on the use of slang at two local private schools, School A (a boys school) and School B (a girls school), in order to report on the usage of selected slang and derogatory terms, analyse its variation, and observe any trends or developments which may be underway. De Klerk (1989, 90, 91) reports on slang and expletives elicited from pupils in the same schools 13 years earlier, and the primary method for data collection was a questionnaire closely based on that used by de Klerk (1989), with slight modifications in terms some of the examples of slang, to avoid those which had become dated or obsolete (e.g. the suggestion for 'an ugly/ fat/ unattractive girl' in 1989 was 'blort', and this was changed to 'bus' / 'grunter'). While 26 items were elicited in the larger study (Antrobus 2003), this paper reports on only 7 of these, all semantic areas that name the 'other' in some way, and are potentially pejorative or abusive. These items include ugly/fat/ unattractive people, unpleasant people, social misfits and effeminate men.

Since both of the target schools are private English-medium schools, which charge significantly higher fees than state schools (full boarding fees for 2003 were R70,000 per annum), it can be assumed that the majority of scholars come from middle to upper-class socio-economic backgrounds and have a reasonable command of English. This eliminates a number of independent variables and therefore increases the validity of the research data. Altogether 188 pupils were issued with the questionnaire, and although there was a gender imbalance in responses (71 women and 117 men), results have been calculated so as to represent them proportionately.

While the methodology used to elicit words may legitimately be regarded as somewhat artificial and decontextualised, since it reflects reported rather than actual usage, responses nevertheless give some insight into exposure to and familiarity with such words, and into the informant's

willingness to write them down. Also, while the questionnaire may have elicited known or general slang not currently in use at the schools, it is hypothesised that since the schools are predominantly (over 90%) boarding schools, outside or 'exotic' slang is unlikely to survive in such strong multiplex social networks, unless it is adopted and becomes absorbed by the majority.

Results

Section 1: Naming the 'other'

Space constraints prevent a report on all 26 lexical items which were elicited, so the focus will fall only on those items which relate to naming 'the other', those who do not 'fit in' socially for a range of reasons. Responses are classified according to the gender of the informant, spellings are based on the written originals, and numbers in brackets indicate the number of times a word was proffered if greater than 1.

a.   An ugly / fat / unattractive girl (193 responses)
Terms suggested by males:
gravel (49), siff (30), swamp donkey (10), whale (6), tuckshop (5), grunter (2), bus (2), 18-wheeler, 1st team prop, amoeba, biscuit barrel, bitch, blimp, brak, brick, plank, bungu, cow, dog, fat fuck, feta, fotloza, gorilla, gravel pit, grot, grotweiler, growler, large-and-in-charge, mbimbi, miff, minger, monster, mountain goat, muck, mule, pie, pig, ripper, road kill, roller, sghughu / sghukhu, slut, snorter, steamroller, swamp, tank, vacuum, vuyani (= 47 terms, 146 responses).

Terms suggested by females:
beaut(y) (11), grunter (5), siff (4), whale (4), bus (2), swamp donkey (2), gravel (2), bongo, butch, cold, looker, lorry, mare, nasty, picasso, pig, plonker, porky, rip snorter, ripper, slob, slut, special, swampy, troll (= 25 terms, 47 responses).

b.   An ugly / fat / unattractive boy (135 responses)
Terms suggested by males:
pie (30), tuckshop (21), gravel (9), siff (6), beefcake, blimp, blob, boing-boing, boulder, elephant, fat ass, fat fuck, feta, fridge, fudge-packer, growler,

gwere, heavyweight, nasty sghubghu / sghukhu, slob, Spar, stroll, tuck-box, tuckus, vet gat, whale (= 27 terms, 90 responses)

Terms suggested by females:
siff (8), tuckshop (7), ripper (7), nasty (4), beaut, cold, donkey, dork, geek, grunter, loser, mountain ogre, nerd, pearl, peasant, plonker, porky, rash, runt, special, swamp donkey, troll, wanker (= 23 terms, 45 responses)

c. An unlikeable / unpleasant woman (199 responses)
Terms suggested by males:
bitch (52), cow (14,) hoe (13), whore (9), slut (7), beaut (2), cunt, dick-head, dog, fat cow, gravel, gwere, hoer, hog, ice-packer, old goat, pussy, cat, rash, siff, skank, sour, swamp donkey, teef, write-off (= 25 terms, 116 responses).

Terms suggested by females:
bitch (38), cow (24), hoe (5), slut (3), beaut (2), B.O.B[1], brat, cruella, hog, idiot, pain in the arse, pratt, rash, skank, ripper, whore (= 16 terms, 83 responses).

d. An unlikeable / unpleasant man (182 responses)
Terms suggested by males:
dickhead (15), prick (14), bastard (11), arsehole (8), idiot (5), wanker (3), bashi, cock-sucker, cunt, duckweed, fag, faggot, fudge-packer, gay, gravel, gweru, jackass, jew, loner, loser, motherfucker, numbnuts, pig, POTA[2], penis eater, poes, ripper, scrotum, shithead, siff, snorter, steek, toss, troll, winner (= 35 terms, 85 responses).

Terms suggested by females:
bastard (28), arsehole (24), prick (11), wanker (6), pig (5), dickhead (4), idiot (4), beaut, brak, brat, dog, fag, gay, nasty, nerd, rash, ripper, son of a bitch, special, toss, weirdo, winner (= 22 terms, 97 responses).

e. An effeminate/cowardly male (128 responses)

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[1] An acronym for 'Bitches over Buddies'.
[2] An acronym for 'part of the action', pronounced [p ctc].

Terms suggested by males:
pussy (19), fag(got) (14), gay (8), weed (4), chicken (3), wimp (3), beauty, bitch, chicken-shit, coward, duckweed, dude, fudge-packer, gay-dog, germ, homo, loser, moffie, packer, poofter, ripper, sprout, tit, wanker, white-trash, winner, woosey, write-off, yellow, yellow bellied.(= 30 terms, 75 responses).

Terms suggested be females:
gay (8), fag(got) (6), loser (7), weed (5), wimp (5), chicken (4), baby, beaut, drip, dweeb, fudge-packer, geek, gerkin, nerd, pansi, poofter, ripper, runt, slow, soft, toss, winner, wuss.(= 23 terms, 53 responses).

f. One who joins in a social situation when not wanted or uninvited (123 responses)
Terms suggested by males:
POTA (84), gay (8), third wheel (5), lurker (3), rash (2) ABC, ABC your way out, beached whale, blocked, bog-fly, given the bat, Kudu, latch-on, leuer, loner, outsider, parasite, spare(wheel), suckshine (suction?), trailing, vacuum, wannabe(= 22 terms, 119 responses).

Terms suggested by females:
attachment, bog-fly, gay, leech (= 4 terms, 4 responses).

g. Prefects (65 responses)
Terms suggested by males:
wankers (14), cops (7), pigs (5), ass/arseholes (4), cock-suckers, detectives, dicks, 5-0, f(i)lchers, faggots, fagmasters, flimters, fuckheads, gomas, lost ones, wankholders (rankholders), rankies, ranks, suck-ups, top-dogs, traitors (= 21 terms, 44 responses).

Terms suggested by females:
cops (9), pigs (3), bitches, bastards, godzilla, goodie-goodie, killers, patrols, policemen, prefects, raters (= 11 terms, 21 responses).

Table 1 summarises numbers of responses (tokens) and table 2 lexical items (types) in order to demonstrate differences between gender groups. Altogether 188 questionnaires were processed, of which 38% (71) were females and 62% (117) males. In the tables actual frequencies for each

gender group have been converted to percentages, and the final column shows the difference between actual scores and 'ideal' or expected scores. For example, since they were in the majority, males would be expected to supply 62% of the tokens for 'ugly female' (item one), but they actually supplied 14% more than this (and females conversely supplied 14% fewer).

Table 1: Tokens

	Actual frequency	M	F	Difference
Ugly female	193	76%	24%	M +14%
Ugly male	135	67%	33%	M +5%
Unpleasant female	199	58%	42%	F + 4%
Unpleasant male	182	47%	53%	F + 15%
Effeminate male	128	59%	41%	F + 3%
Uninvited person	123	92%	8%	M + 30%
Prefect	65	68%	32%	M + 8%
Total	1025	66%	34%	M + 3%

Table 2: Types

	Actual frequency	M	F	Difference
Ugly female	72	65%	35%	M +3%
Ugly male	50	54%	46%	F +8%
Unpleasant female	41	61%	39%	F + 1%
Unpleasant male	57	61%	39%	F + 1%
Effeminate male	53	57%	43%	F + 5%
Uninvited person	26	85%	15%	M + 23%
Prefect	33	64%	36%	M + 2%
Total	332	62%	38%	0

Discussion

Much research (reported in Spender 1980, Graddol and Swann 1989 and Gibbon 1999) has been done on the 'ugly' names for women and men, with most of it reporting that there are far more negative terms for women than men, most of which carry sexual connotations. These results, however, reveal interesting developments, especially in the terms that females are using to refer to themselves. While there were more terms proffered for ugly females than ugly males, and more tokens as well, in the 'unpleasant /

unlikeable' category there were actually more words for males than for females, and it was females who were leading in terms of frequency (proportionately, they suggested 14% more of the names than males did). This goes strongly counter to Sutton's (1995) claims that women are more linguistically conservative, adhering closely to the standard.

In the 'physically unattractive/fat/ugly' category, the terms suggested are harshly critical, and animal or dehumanising metaphor abounds. Most animal comparisons express negative attitudes, and these are no exception, and as expected, there are more that refer to females. For girls we have *swamp donkey*, *brak* (Afrikaans term for an ill-bred dog), *cow, dog, gorilla, grunter, (g)rotweiler, mare, mountain goat, mule, pig* and *whale*. For males we have *elephant, whale, donkey, grunter*, and *swamp donkey*. Other dehumanising metaphors for females (e.g. *steamroller, lorry, pie*) and males (*e.g. fridge, boulder, tuckshop*) are similarly harshly critical, and the majority of these again label females more than males. Only one term (*slut*) has sexual overtones. It is also interesting to note that amongst the words suggested by the girls are several which have strongly ironic or sarcastic overtones (e.g. *beaut, looker, pearl, special*), which are notably absent from the male examples.

In the 'unpleasant' category, far more sexual terms have been suggested by males to refer to females (*hoe* (a play on the sound of 'whore'), *hoer* (Afrikaans for whore), *whore, slut, cunt, dick-head, pussy*)). Terms referring to males have similarly strongly negative sexual overtones and some are unambiguously homophobic (e.g. *faggot, gay*). It is also evident that many of the words used refer to both males and females by synecdoche, reducing them to a mere body-part, usually scatalogical or strongly sexual (e.g. *cunt, prick, dickhead, poes* (Afrikaans for cunt), *penis, arsehole*). These terms are not reserved to derogate females only, and are in fact more prevalent in reference to males. However, in keeping with Sutton's claim that 'it is extremely rare to hear one woman refer to another as a cunt' (1995:281), it was almost solely the males in this study who used these terms.

Terms for effeminate males elaborate on the homophobic terms of the 'unpleasant' category by including *homo* and *moffie* (an Afrikaans term for homosexual), and once again females are generally far less harsh in their judgements of males. Thurlow's (2000) findings were similar: the vast majority of homophobic terms reported referred to male homosexuality, with only 14% referring to female homosexuality. 'Ugly' names for women reported by Sutton are similarly devoid of female homophobic terms. This is attributable either to a proportionate lack of available homophobic terms for females, or broader issues of inequality which disregard women in general.

Fairly high numbers of responses, in the 'outsider' and 'prefect' categories reaffirm the important function that slang can play in delineating membership of the in-group and the out-group among both genders. The words used to refer to social misfits are particularly hurtful and derogatory.

Overall, contrary to expectations, when viewed proportionately males supplied only 3% more tokens than the females, and each group supplied *an equivalent* number of actual lexical items (types). This reinforces the growing view that females are not avoiding pejorative words at all, at least not in terms of numerical frequency. Where there is an undeniable difference, however, is in the strength or 'shock-value' of the items supplied, and data consistently reveals that females have suggested milder and less offensive items on the whole. Thurlow's (2000) findings were similar: boys reported only slightly more items than girls, but there was no significant difference in terms of their self-rating of how offensive these words were. He also found that the boys ranked these pejorative terms as more taboo or 'hard-core' than girls, recognising their potential for hurt, especially with regard to homosexuality. In addition, male terminology seemed more creative than female words. For example, girls' words like *lorry, porky* and *slob* to refer to ugly females are not nearly so evocative as the boys' words: *heavy vehicles engage in lowest gear*, and *keep it in the zoo*.

Section 2: Slang Borrowed from Other Languages

The schools which were sampled are both private English medium schools, which have accommodated learners of all racial groups since the early eighties. The data contains a number of slang words which have been borrowed from other languages, specifically from Afrikaans and isiXhosa (both local languages of the Eastern Cape Province). These levels of usage may be attributable to the shifting demographics in the schools, which, while still 65% white, increasingly reflect a wider range of other population groups. In addition, as South Africa strives towards equality in a post-apartheid era, language bias is probably lessening as a result of

increasing media exposure to a wider range of varieties and languages, along with the rising status and acceptability of indigenous Black South African languages.

Code-switching and code-mixing has also lost some of its negative stigma and is celebrated and encouraged through television and the media as an acceptable means of cultural exchange and interaction (as is evident in its use in sitcoms and advertisements). The increases in non-English words at these English schools may well reflect some of these changes in attitude toward language.

The high number of borrowed words representing slightly taboo areas is also to be expected: borrowed words, because they are unfamiliar to the user, lack the connotations and emotive effect of a mother-tongue equivalent. This explains why mother tongue (MT) English speakers use Afrikaans swearwords (e.g. *donner* or *bliksem*) with little awareness of their shocking effect on MT Afrikaans speakers. Similarly *gwere* and *vuyani* are taboo words in the Xhosa community which don't carry the same shock-value amongst the second-language users. (Below are alphabetical lists of this 'borrowed' slang). Although it is difficult to ascertain whether the borrowed words have shifted in meaning (given the vagueness of slang), it would seem that these adolescents have embraced the lexicon of other languages to find new and exciting forms of language expression as a symbol of overarching solidarity.

While words have been faithful to the original spellings provided, in several cases those borrowed from Xhosa have retained their original phonetic properties. For example, the word *costile*, is actually derived from the English word *cost* which describes a mistake or failure, and has the past tense verbal suffix from Xhosa *(-ile)* added, to indigenize the word so that it fits in with the sound and rhythmic structure of the 'other' language, thus disguising itself as a non-English word. In the same way *wacooka* is based on the English word 'cook', with a Xhosa prefix. Similarly, *nqooze,* pronounced to rhyme with 'booze', is a Xhosa-isation of an English slang word,[3] and *mnca* and *nqube* are pronounced with an alveolar and palatal click respectively.

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[3] In similar vein, 'overated' has become *nqovarated*, and 'overboard' has become *nqovaboard*, each with a resounding click at the start.

Slang terms from isiXhosa

banga	attractive girl	bixa	hectic / exciting
Bungu	ugly girl	costile	detrimental
chonga sticks	cigarettes	fotloza	ugly girl
(u)gwayi	cigarettes	gwere	ugly boy
gwere	unlikeable woman	imbadla	party
inkwoza	cigarettes	kopwa	nice
layisa	make out / kiss	mbimbi	ugly girl
mnca	nice	mnyama	drunk
nqooze	alcoholic drink	ntoza	alcoholic drink
sghubhu / sghukhu	ugly girl / boy	tsau /tsaw	nice
tsu	drunk	masheshe	alcoholic drink
nqube	party	vuyani	ugly girl
walala	rugby side-step	wacooka	'hot', cooking,
zol	cigarettes		expert

Slang Terms from Afrikaans

babbelas	drunk	babelaas	alcoholic drink
Ballie	old man	blom	hang around, relax
bossies	cigarettes	brak	ugly girl
brak	unlikeable woman	donker	nice
dop	alcoholic drink	doppies	cigarettes
duidelik	nice	eentjie	cigarettes
fontein	hard worker	gaar	drunk
gefokked	drunk	haare	party
heldrank	alcoholic drink	hoer	whore
jol	party	joil	kiss and cuddle
kind	pretty girl	klap 'n dos	have a snooze
kops	cigarettes	lekker	nice / enjoyable
leuer	outsider	lus	want / effort
moffie	effeminate male	mooi	pretty girl
nooit bru	unbelievable	ou	nice chap
pomped	drunk	scafe	cigarettes

skeef	disapproving look	steek	unlikeable man
stekkie	pretty girl	stompies	cigarettes
swak	unfair / distasteful	teef	bitch
twak	(stick) cigarettes	vetgat	ugly boy
vry	kiss / cuddle	witrus	nice chap

Attitude Survey

At the end of the questionnaire, respondents were asked to rate people who use a lot of slang, on a 5-point scale in which 1 implied strong disapproval and 5 strong approval and admiration. They were asked to rate each of the following groups independently as slang users: junior school boys, junior school girls, senior school boys, senior school girls, adult males and adult females. 179 of the 188 learners responded to this section, of whom 40% (71) were female. Table 3 reports the average ratings attributed by males and females to the use of slang by each of the groups (e.g. it shows that male respondents were more disapproving of junior girls (2.2) who use slang than female respondents (2.4)) While there are some minor differences within categories, the overall trends amongst males and females are the same as were reported in de Klerk (1989): general disapproval of those younger than the peer-group and even stronger disapprobation of those older than the peer group (i.e. adults). It would seem that only group members are sanctioned in their use of these words, with slightly more leeway given to males by both males and females. Clearly such attitudes are strongly linked to social power, and to in-group and out-group status.

Table 3: Attitudes towards slang users

Slang users	Male	Female
junior boys	2.7	2.6
junior girls	2.2	2.4
senior boys	4.0	3.9

senior girls	3.5	3.2
adult males	2.6	2.0
adult females	2.1	1.8
Average	2.7	2.7

Concluding Remarks

Waksler (1995) predicts a steady linguistic neutralisation of gender, going into the future, with words which were previously reserved for males and/or females being used more freely across categories (e.g. *guys* to refer to both males and females). This is only evident to a limited extent in the terms elicited in this study, several of which (e.g., *slob, ripper, porky, special, swamp donkey, troll*) referred equally to both gender groups. However, none of the terms with any sexual connotations had this versatility.

This small-scale study has shown that females and males alike indulge in the hurtful practice of criticising and excluding those who are socially ostracised for one reason or another. Such language usage is undoubtedly a contributing factor in 'the reproduction of social inequalities and power relations' (Thurlow 2001:35), and can be harsh, abusive, critical exclusionary and coercive. Contrary to expectations, and claims that 'most studies in slang ... have seen women as linguistically conservative, adhering closely to the standard form of speech' (Sutton 1995:282), this study reveals a fairly vigorous pejorative vocabulary used by females. One has two options in interpreting this trend: firstly, it could be seen as an attempt by young women to mimic male behaviour, and associate with the socially dominant group. An alternative view would be to recognise that there is an increasing number of women who aim to assert a new image of women which runs contrary to stereotyped images of being pure, sensitive and caring. While the terms used by males in this study continue to devalue females and reinforce the dominant social order, the terms used by females do the same in reverse, and appear to be taking control (albeit tentatively) of a semantic space in which they formerly had no place at all. As Sutton puts it (1995:290), rather

than trying to appear like men by buying into these behaviours, one could interpret their behaviour as trying to construct a new identity which runs contrary to traditional definitions of femininity.

While a wide range of fairly hard-hitting words have emerged from this study, including derogatory and homophobic terms, notable by their absence are racist terms, possibly because of high levels of awareness in South Africa and strong social sanctions against using such words, and also because these learners attend a multiracial school, and have no doubt been sensitised to such issues.

Abusive naming practices reveal the social attitudes of the community of users, distinguishing the outgroup from the insiders, and implicitly or explicitly declaring who one is and who one is not. Thurlow (2001:26) points out that during adolescence, when belonging to the peer-group is vital, language (and naming) is a primary resource to constitute the self, social categories and social relations. Part of this is 'the continual, vocal branding of Other'. 'With apparently little concern for their antisocial ramifications, homophobic pejoratives, many of them vitriolic, constitute one of the most predominant categories of abusive language among adolescents' (Thurlow 2001:32). It is this combination of exclusion and bonding which makes slang and swearwords especially attractive to teenagers.

It is nonetheless important to remember that using a slang word, a pejorative term or an expletive does not necessarily imply that one knows its meaning. These words tend to be used in informal contexts among peers with a high degree of shared knowledge and common interests, as part of a shared, restricted code. Asking about the meaning of such words would be like admitting failure as a member of the group. In any event, clear definitions are often not readily available, and such words are inherently vague. As Sornig puts it 'It is extremely difficult ... to explain their [slang terms] real and complete meaning to an outsider ... the reason for their very existence lies in the connotative part of the meaning of slang terms and colloquialisms' (Sornig 1981:1). In addition, peer pressure alone or habit can dull the power of words that are strongly taboo for most speakers. These words may therefore not always be used with deliberate intent to exclude or criticise, although their careless use nonetheless has a negative effect.

Department of English Language and Linguistics
Rhodes University

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Different Ways of Speaking:
A Preliminary Investigation of
Creativity in a
South African Variety of English

Luanga Kasanga

Introduction

'Creativity' is the ability of speakers to innovate for a wide range of reasons and purposes and is recognized as part of the outcomes of using a language. According to Aitchison (2001:259) language change is a 'natural and inevitable' phenomenon that is irreversible. This view contrasts with that of self-proclaimed 'linguistic activists', such as the *New York Time*'s columnist William Safire (cited in Aitchison 2001:259), or the well-known editor in the British publishing industry, James Cochrane, who recently published a book in which he denounces the 'sloppy use' of English (Cochrane 2004). They are among several people who are reluctant to accept new usages. While purists attempt to protect a language by restoring respect for basic rules, among other things, most linguists argue that a prescriptive attitude stifles creativity.

Linguistic creativity is triggered by new situations, experiences and thoughts. New lexical items, extensions or restrictions of lexical meanings of existing items emerge, or adaptations of sound patterns, morphology and syntax occur. English, which preoccupies us in this article, is one case *par excellence* of a 'dynamic' language characterised by ever-growing innovations. It has thus been touted as 'a borrowing language' (Strevens 1980: 85) in view of the increasing stock of borrowings entering its lexicon. A borrowing (also know as 'loan word') is a vocabulary item adopted from

one language (donor) into another language (host) with some level of phonological, morphological, syntactic, or semantic adaptation. In comparison to a code-switched form which can only occur in the speech of bilinguals and which does not require any level of adaptation, a borrowing/loan word occurs in the speech of both bilinguals and monolinguals (Haugen 1992; Poplack, Sankoff & Miller 1988).

Besides borrowing, different types of change occur within the English language itself. The coinage of new words, called 'neologisms', is one of them. A neologism is a new word, created out of existing elements. An example a neologism is *fluddle* which is used to refer to 'excess water on the road after a storm bigger than a puddle but smaller than a flood' (Crystal 1995: 132).

The use of 'nonce borrowings' may also change a language. This refers to those linguistic items that belong to one language but are used in another language. These items are transitional and eventually become accepted as loanwords/borrowings when used constantly. Another common type of internal lexical creation is 'conversion'. This process involves changing the lexical category that an item belongs to. This means that an existing word is assigned to a new category. For example, the transitive verbs *to shoulder* (e.g. one's responsibilities), *to elbow* (e.g. one's way), and *to wrist* (e.g. a ball over the net) derive respectively from the nouns: *shoulder, elbow,* and *wrist* respectively; the intransitive verb *to stiff-upper-lip* (e.g. through a ceremony or event) derives from the noun phrase *a stiff upper lip* (i.e. an expression of seriousness). In the same way, the infinitive verbs *to summer, to winter, to holiday,* and *to honeymoon* were created respectively from the following nouns: *summer, winter, a holiday,* and *a honeymoon.* These examples are cited in (O'Grady, Dobrovolsky & Katamba 1997: 2) and presented in example (1) below:

(1)   X *summer*ed in Singapore, Y *winter*ed in Canada, Z *holiday*ed in New Zealand, and we *honeymoon*ed in China.

Internal creations can also result from historical feats, or events of great proportions. For example, the verb *to Houdini* entered the English lexicon as a result of the great feats of the American escapologist, E. Weiss, who performed under the professional name of 'Houdini'. The expression *to*

houdini therefore means 'to perform an ingenuous escape' (*The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English* 1995).

Similarly, innovations may also occur 'by analogy', a process involving either pattern deviation or pattern recreation. Illustrative of innovations by analogy is the expression *Out of the frying pan into the deep freezer* found in a corpus of naturally-occurring British English talk in the Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English (CANCODE) (Carter and McCarthy 1997). This expression was created, in casual conversation, by analogy to *Out of the frying pan into the fire*, a widely used expression for a new situation as bad as or even worse than a previous one.

Technological advances also trigger the coinage of new lexical items, or the semantic extension of existing ones to cover new materials. *Chip* is one such example of semantic extension that comes to mind. A 'chip' generally designates a small piece cut out of, chopped from, or fallen through breakage off wood, stone, or similar hard material. By extension, in electronics a silicon chip is a tiny wafer of semiconductor used in an integrated circuit. The choice of the lexical item *chip* was presumably inspired by the fact that a microchip is a piece chopped off a silicon plate. Note that although the term *microchip,* of which chip is a clipped form, is still in use, it occurs less frequently than 'chip'. Certain registers also create their own terms which are eventually incorporated into the lexicon and may sometimes undergo semantic shifts. In the travel industry, the verb *to waitlist,* derived through the process of back formation from *waiting list,* is probably as much part of the industry's lexicon as *to shortlist* (from *short list*) is of everyday English.

Finally, children, too, are credited with the ability for creativity. Below is an example of children's creativity in an interaction between two monolingual English-speaking pre-adolescent siblings:

(2)   S: Can you box?
        B: Oh, yes.
        S: Can you *karate*?

Operationalizing Linguistic Creativity

Studying linguistic creativity as a phenomenon in non-literary language is a recent trend. In the old tradition, 'deviation' in stylistics (Short 1996;

Widdowson 1992) for the purpose of attracting attention was often highlighted as a classical example of creativity. Studies of spoken English (e.g. Carter and McCarthy 1995, 1997, 2004; Carter and Adolphs 2003) mostly from corpora[1] of naturally-occurring speech data, are illustrative of the new trend. Research in cognitive linguistics (e.g. Lakoff and Johnson 1999) has also lent itself to revealing the naturalness of creativity in everyday language, as has research in metaphor studies (e.g. Cameron 1999; Cameron and Low 1999; Lakoff and Turner 1989). Creativity is, therefore, no longer the preserve of literary language, as opposed to non-literary language. As a consequence of the recognition of its existence in aspects of language use other than literary creation, creativity has been approached from different perspectives and has been defined in various ways to suit specific research frameworks, and sometimes, the type of data and their context of production.

Accordingly, in their analyses of corpus-based data Carter and McCarthy (2004) adopted a non-formalist definitional framework that recognizes functions and contexts of creativity. They identify a wide range of instances of functions of linguistic creativity, from humour to the expression of an attitude; to highlight one's identity; for entertainment; to mark a transition between bits of talk, or to maintain the flow of talk (Carter and McCarthy 2004: 63-4). Given the variability of creativity in such spoken data, a formal definition, i.e. one based on formal features, is eschewed in this type of analysis.

In the study of a relatively unexplored variety of a language such as a South African variety of English, a formal definition is forms the basis of this article. The choice of a formal definition does not restrict it to Chomsky's (1964) basic view on creativity as applicable to invented sentences. Nor does it extend to stretches of discourse or text, a framework that would be more useful in analyses where the consideration of joint conditions of production (e.g. interactional talk) is indispensable. To arrive at a formal definition to guide the study of creativity in the variety studied in

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[1] Corpora of South African varieties of English (e.g. de Klerk 2002a, 2002b) are being created. They will offer a wealth of insights into creativity and other aspects of peculiarities in, among others, BSAE, when they are readily available.

this article, we must look at recurring patterns of language use and structures. The occurrence of new features (lexical items, functional words and phrases, micro-linguistic structures, rules of use) must be unique to the variety under investigation. It requires 'systematicity' in the relevant variety rather than mere occasional occurrences in idiolects. In this way, we can solve the problem of indeterminacy between cases of genuine innovations and idiosyncrasies that may be a result of limited knowledge of English (see Bamgbose 1998; Chisanga 1995; de Klerk 1996; de Klerk & Gough 2002; Wright 1996). In other words, there is a need to draw a line between, for example, the use of *with* which may be seen as an instinctively considered idiosyncrasy in example (3) below (drawn from an essay by an English second language-speaking first-year student) and the systematic use of *with*-combinations discussed later in the article as cases of creativity:

(3)   A few days later, she receives a box from her husband. It was full *with* delicious foods and fruits...

The status of an innovation as a systematic new entry into a particular language/language variety is best established from corpus data, from which at least the first three of the following five criteria outlined by Bamgbose (1998:3) can be tested: 'authoritativeness' (status of users), 'demography' (number of users), 'acceptability' (attitude of users and non-users), 'codification' (sanction of use), and 'geography' (spread of use). This article, based on naturally-occurring speech by educated speakers in a South African English variety, is a prelude to corpus-based analyses which will take into consideration the criteria listed above.

Legitimate vs. Illegitimate Forms

According to Kachru (1985), innovations are regarded as the hallmark of varieties in the 'Inner Circle'. The 'Inner Circle' refers to those countries where English is spoken as a native language. It is claimed that the varieties spoken in these places are endowed with the ability and 'legitimacy' to create and/or borrow. Concurring with this view, O'Grady, Dobrovolsky and Katamba (1997:1) state that creativity is the ability to respond to the demand of human thought and experience, or a set of 'resources that a language

makes available to *its native speakers*, those who have acquired it as children in a natural setting' [*my emphasis*].

The following data drawn from CANCODE (Carter & McCarthy 1997) are examples of morphological creativity in casual conversation by English first language-speakers: in one episode, a student refers to a fruit bowl as *salady* (i.e. a bowl suitable for keeping salad); in another episode, a speaker describes some newfangled shoelaces as '*elasticky* sort of stuff'; and in a third episode, another speaker rejects a pub that her friend has proposed they should go to because she finds it *mewsy* (i.e., resembling a mews). In all three examples, the speakers exploit the *–y* suffix to create diffuse and evaluative meaning (Carter & McCarthy 1997:164). Similar morphological creativity is achieved by adding the prefix *un-* to *solid* to refer to a 'loose' or 'slack' baby-cot as a 'baby-cot made *unsolid*'. All the above examples of innovations are considered as natural, legitimate occurrences primarily because they have been created by native speakers of English.

Purists[2], such as Cochrane (2004), would probably tolerate some of these innovations. They would even welcome those which they regard as 'advantageous'—although it is a moot point what is and what is not advantageous. On the other hand, they would take a hard line against any forms or structures found only in varieties of English used by those who come from outside the Inner Circle. Such forms would be considered 'deviant forms'. For them, non-native varieties and their speakers are not entitled to the legitimacy of innovating that is recognized to native varieties and their speakers. From the purists' perspective, therefore, the following case of coinage by an English second language-speaking student at a US

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[2] Through centuries, 'purist' individuals and organizations, have rejected certain varieties of English which they believe to be 'substandard', i.e. inferior to 'standard' ones, and have advocated the maintenance of the latter to prevent what they see as 'the deterioration of English' (O'Grady, Dobrovolsky & Katamba 1996: 10). More recently, defenders of standard English, such as Prator (1968) and Quirk (1985, 1988, 1990), use the argument that a global standard form of English is necessary for comprehensibility. The use of the label 'purist' has no pejorative connotation. Aitchison (2001: 258) uses the euphemism 'Great Permitters' instead.

university (Hatch and Brown 1995:9), for example, cannot be considered as a case of creativity, because it was not created by a native speaker:

(4)   A Korean student says that after *undergraduation*, she will study law.

Proponents of the World Englishes paradigm (Kachru 1986, 1992a, 1992b, 1997; Platt, Webber and Ho 1984; Smith and Forman 1997) disagree with the purists' perspective. They see creativity differently, given the pluralistic contexts of the use of English and view new varieties of English as independent varieties with established norms. From this perspective, creativity is a fully legitimate phenomenon in new Englishes (Bamgbose 1998; Bhatt 1995; Kasanga 2001d; Makalela 2004). This is a perspective with which this paper aligns itself. It rejects the view that these innovations are merely 'deviations from native-speaker norms'. The rejection of the legitimacy of creativity in new varieties of English is indeed, more sentimental than factual. As Aitchison (2001:258) observes, 'the judgments about what is good and what is bad are usually idiosyncratic, often based on subjective feelings about new words'. Bamgbose (1998:1) concurs with this position when he bemoans the stigmatization of creativity in non-native Englishes. He sees these innovations as being 'torn between two sets of norms'.

> Innovations in non-native Englishes are often judged not for what they are or their function within the varieties in which they occur, but rather according to how they stand in relation to the norms of native Englishes.

I further argue that users of non-native varieties of English sometimes deliberately (rather than necessarily) use forms that are outside the norms of standard native varieties for various purposes. Educated non-native speakers (mostly bilingual or bi-dialectal) do innovate in this way. For instance, writers whose mastery of the English language is beyond question have deliberately used non-standard forms of English for the purpose of their stories. Mphahlele, one of the foremost South African black writers, uses 'nativized' forms of English in his novels to express local realities;

acculturation devices and short-cuts to preserve the reality of the African subject matter; and linguistic devices such as style-switching and nativization of speech functions to depict the richness of the multi-setting world of the story (see Kasanga 2002). Ngugi's use of non-standard forms of English in a novel written in standard English (see Kasanga & Kalume 1996) also typifies the deliberate nativization of English. Bamiro (1995:190) also considers the deliberate use of indigenised forms of English in West African literary works as 'testimony to the nativization of the English language'. These examples are innovations that should no longer be regarded as merely examples of inappropriate learning and use of English.

Black South African English: Collecting the Data

The South African variety of English in focus here is widely referred to as 'Black South African English' (BSAE). This label has not met with universal approval, presumably because of its racial connotation. It is used here (and elsewhere) for want of a better one (see de Kadt 2001). The denial of its existence is not unique to this variety, but generally common to non-native varieties of English at a stage of their expansion (Kachru 1982). Bamgbose (1982:99) cites some Nigerian scholars who refused to accept the existence of Nigerian English. In view of the wealth of empirical findings in the past decade (e.g., Buthelezi 1995; de Klerk & Gough 2002; Gough 1996; Makalela 1998a, 1998b, 1999, 2004), the existence of BSAE as a distinct variety, phonologically, semantically, syntactically, and pragmatically (Chick 1989; de Kadt 1992; Kasanga 2001a, 2001b, 2001c) is no longer much in doubt[3].

The present analysis of creativity is based on a small corpus of naturally-occurring speech data collected over the course of four years. All the data came from educated speakers of BSAE, of both sexes, aged between 20 and 50 years, students and professionals, whose level of education ranged from a high school qualification (the ex-Standard 10 or Matriculation Certificate) to university diplomas and degrees (BA, MA, LLM and PhD).

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[3]A question still remains, however, of what constitutes BSAE (de Klerk & Gough 2002), given the wide range of levels of competence among BSAE speakers (de Klerk 1996).

Although the qualification of speakers on television or on the radio could not be ascertained, they all spoke BSAE fluently. In most cases, these instances were produced in circumstances in which I was not involved in the interaction. My status as an anonymous observer, therefore, afforded me ample latitude to take note in a fairly neutral position and with minimal risk of influencing the production of the speech data. In some cases, however, examples were taken from written sources, especially official documents. Local print media were not considered as a useful source of examples of creativity other than borrowings from African languages (for example to toyi toyi) and coinages, such as to condomize, adopted in the ABC (i.e., Abstain, Be faithful, Condomize) AIDS campaign. Indeed, most neologisms depicting local linguistic flavours and all forms or structures outside the standard native forms are usually purged from texts once they fall under the red pen of copy-editors and sub-editors in South African mainstream print media[4].

Data Analysis

For ease and clarity of analysis, the new forms are discussed under the following three rubrics: with- combinations, conversion, and verb splitting. These constitute the most frequent features found in the corpus from which the data were drawn.

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[4]Where print media are run by speakers of new varieties, they (print media) certainly constitute an excellent source for data on the local variety of English. Chisanga (1987) and Kamwangamalu and Chisanga (1996, 1997), for example, found dozens of examples of forms peculiar to Southern African Englishes in print media in Zambia and Swaziland. Chisanga (2001) mentions also popular black print media in South Africa, such as The Sowetan and The Star, as a potential source of BSAE, something I have, nonetheless, not come across personally. In all these cases, indigenous editorial teams, speakers of new varieties of English, are more tolerant towards non-native structures than are English native-speaking editors in South Africa's print media, especially the broad sheets, who belong to a more normative breed of speakers of English.

With-combinations

With-combination as 'complement structures' are one of the most frequently observed features of creativity in South African Englishes in general, and most notably, in BSAE (see Kasanga 2001a). The activity of 'studying towards a degree or diploma' and its outcome ('graduating') are more often than not expressed in BSAE by *with*- combinations. The structure is over-generalised to 'graduate + *with* + institution'. The use of this combination is exemplified in (5) and (6):

(5)   I *graduated with* the University of [...]. I also have teaching responsibilities *with* the [Faculty of...] of the University of [...]. I am presently learning French *with* UNISA.

(6)   ... I have *completed* my [Degree] *with* the University of ... which was conferred to me on...

In (5), an excerpt obtained from biographical data of a candidate external examiner shows that the subject uses 'graduated *with*' instead of 'graduated *from*', the preferred structure in native varieties. Similarly, 'completed my [Degree] *with*' in (6), found in an e-mail, would instead be 'completed my [Degree] *at...*' in native varieties. The creation of these new structures appears to be the over-generalisation of *with*-combinations from the 'study + *with* + institution' generally used in non-native varieties.

The phenomenon of over-generalisation observed in the use of *with*-combinations in the academic field seems to extend to several other activities, including the domain of 'leisure' as illustrated in the following example:

(7)   Come and join us *with* the spring race that will take place on Saturday, 22 September...

A reasonable prediction is that the over-generalisation of the use of *with* would also apply widely to the domain of 'work' or 'occupation', both because it is an 'activity' and because of the existence of the common expression 'work + *with* + employer'. Similarly, the use of *with*-combinations is widespread in public notices announcing speakers or presenters at public lectures, artists at concerts in a 'Noun Phrase + *with* + Proper name' structure as in:

(8)   A public lecture/seminar/concert *with* Prof/Dr/Ms...

The structure above refers to 'a public lecture or seminar presented, or a concert performed, *by* Prof/Dr/Ms...'.

Outside the domains of 'studies' and 'work', over-generalisation of *with*-combinations encompasses cases of complements to apparently an unlimited range of verbs. An example is the following excerpt from a public notice:

(9)   Problems are being encountered *with* the recovery of costs...

In native varieties, a different combination, as shown below, would have been preferred:

(10)   Problems are being encountered *in* the recovery of costs...

Another common *with*- combination in BSAE is the structure 'be busy + *with* + Nominal' as exemplified below:

(11)   We *are* happy that the government *is busy with* him.

(12)   The South African Police Services *are* currently *busy with* the deceased...

The statement in (11) above was uttered in a television interview by a representative of land claimants in Mpumalanga, one who is regarded as highly proficient in English by his peers. In his statement, he refers to a white farmer, served with a notice of expropriation after having rejected the compensation offer. The interviewee meant '...the government is *dealing with* him'. The same structure, *be busy + Nominal* in (12), used in a live television coverage of the fatal stampede on 11 April 2001 at Ellis Park Stadium, is intended to mean '...*are dealing with*'.

The structure discussed above may well be a case of the generalisation of a larger structure found in several varieties of English spoken in South Africa, viz., 'be busy + *with* + V-ing' (Lass and Wright 1986). As this expression is not unique to BSAE only, it is not discussed further in this article. Lass and Wright (1986) dispute earlier assumptions of

contact as the origin of the expression and rather show that it is one of 'endogeny', i.e. a case of survival of standard English imported into South Africa centuries earlier (also see Mesthrie 1996, 1999).

Finally, some *with-* combinations occur through a mechanism of word formation similar to that of back formation. This is illustrated by the following example taken from an official document:

(13)   The University had *contracted with* a debt collection company...

The verb *(to) contract with* is arguably derived from *a contract with* as in: 'to sign, have, conclude a *contract with*'. Indeed, in the same document, this expression is repeatedly used as shown in (14) to (19):

(14)   The University must review *its contract with* ...
(15)   An immediate termination of the *University's contract with...*
(16)   The termination of the *University's contract with...*
(17)   *A contract with* [Company's name] should be reviewed and...
(18)   An immediate termination of the *University's contract with...*
(19)   The University has long terminated *its contract with...*

Presumably, the same logic would guide the creation of structures whose meaning is similar to 'have a mutual obligation *with*', 'have an account *with*' and 'have a debt *with*'. The following excerpt from a popular phone-in radio talk show seems to suggest the possibility of other similar back formation-like *with-* combinations:

(20)   Talk-show host: What happened to your...?
        Caller: You put money *with* the insurance company and subsequently...

Conversion

The morphological phenomenon of conversion is another mechanism used to create new words. This process involves changes to the lexical categorisation of a word. It mainly involves verbs that are created from adverbials, nominals, or particles (such as prepositions), as exemplified below:

(21)   Against the odds, she was able to *cum laude*
(22)   Ag, I didn't do well in that course during the year and in the final exam. I expect to *supplement.*
(23)   I will *via* your place.

The use of *to cum laude* in (21) is intended to mean 'she was able to pass her examination/degree *cum laude*' (Kasanga 2003). This expression is derived from the Latinate adverb *cum laude* (with distinction). In the same fashion, the verb *to supplement* (abbreviated as *to supp* in casual conversation), which means 'to sit for a supplementary examination', derives from the noun phrase '*supplementary* examination' (i.e. an examination offered as a second chance for a candidate to make up for a 'Fail' grade in the main examination). Finally, the verb *to via* is formed from the Latinate preposition *via*; therefore 'to *go via* some place' simply becomes 'to *via* some place'. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the innovation *to via* might be found in other African varieties, such as Ghanaian English. Closer to South Africa, *via* (used as a verb) has been found in a corpus of Chichewa (code-switched with English) in Malawi (Simango 2000:498). Note, however, that in the latter case, it means 'leave' or 'go'.

Verb Splitting

An increasing number of transitive verbs have undergone 'intransitivization' within what I call the process of 'verb splitting'. In BSAE, this process yields two sets of uses. On the one hand, some transitive verbs remain intact and new intransitive uses emerge. On the other hand, intransitivization can occur, implying restricted semantic collocations, as are shown in the examples below.

(24)   Can we talk about it tomorrow?
        - No, tomorrow I *am writing.*
(25)   I have four modules. And there are three assignments per module. I must submit them between May and November. What is good about it is that I *will* only *write* in January of next year.

(26)   X had some difficulty last semester. She may need our assistance to enrol this semester.
- No, she *wrote* last semester.

In the above examples, *to write* is object-less. This means that the verb is intransitive. The use of contextual clues may be either unproductive or misleading to a speaker of a different variety. In (24) which is an extract of a telephone conversation), the speaker means: 'No, tomorrow I *am writing* (= sitting for) *an examination*'. In (25), the speaker's intention (explaining over the phone to a friend the requirements for a course she had undertaken) is: 'What is good about it is that I *will not sit for the examinations* until January of next year'. To anyone unfamiliar with the use of *to write* in its intransitive use in BSAE, the utterance may be interpreted contextually as: 'What is good about it is that I *will* only *write my exam* in January of next year'. In (26) 'No, she *wrote* last semester' (a response by an instructor to the Head of Department enquiring *if a student had encountered difficulties in enrolling for the second semester*) is intended to mean: 'No, she *wrote* (= sat for) *the examination* last semester'. In BSAE, when used intransitively, *to write* always implies its semantic collocation with '(an) examination'. For any other writing activity, such as 'writing a letter, a motion, a complaint', the transitive use is required, i.e., '*write* + *object*'.

'*Write an examination*', itself, may be a typical expression in the local variety. In native varieties, the following collocations are preferred in 'verb [*write*] + noun [(*school*) *examination*]' structure as equivalent to BSAE '*write*' (i.e. take an examination): '*do, (re)sit (for), (re)take* + examination' (Oxford Collocations Dictionary 2002). Preference for verbs such as 'do, '(re)sit for' and '(re)take' is, presumably, to avoid the ambiguity that '*write*' may convey. The following example of a conversation at a dinner party between a non-native speaker (NNS) and a native speaker (NS) of British English testifies to the potential of confusing speakers of native varieties of English:

(27)   NNS: She [*NNS's wife*] has still to write a few examinations.
       NS: Do you mean she will have to *set* a few examinations?
       NNS: No, she will have to *take* a few examinations.

In (27) '*write* an examination' has different meanings for the NS and NNS. For the NNS examinations are written by an examiner, a person authorized to 'set examinations' (to '*write* an examination' = to compose an examination); whereas for the NNS, examinations are written by an examinee, a person who is required to 'take examinations' ('to *write* an examination' = to take a written examination). An inference can be drawn (speculatively, though, as this may be) that the action of 'writing' which collocates with 'examinations' in BSAE has more to do with an 'examination tradition' that is generally executed in writing. Speakers of native varieties (British English in particular) are accustomed to 'taking an examination' that may be oral or written examination or to 'sitting for a (usually written) examination'.

Intransitivization in BSAE is also exemplified in the use of verbs such as: *to complete, to submit, to attend*, especially when they are used in, or refer to, an academic setting.

(28)   I wish to advise that my doctoral work is proceeding well. I have submitted several chapters and I am writing the last two. I expect *to complete* by December.
(29)   When are you *attending*?

On the basis of the context, *to complete* in (28) would be understood by speakers of native varieties as a transitive verb meaning 'to complete the two remaining chapters'. Indeed, deploying the intuition about anaphora on which ellipsis of *chapters* occurs after *the last two*, speakers of native varieties would assume the repetition of 'the last two (chapters)' was avoided. The absence of the reference term viz., 'them' after *to complete* would be construed as either deliberate or involuntary. However in BSAE *to complete* in the academic context is always used intransitively to mean 'to meet the requirements for the awarding of the degree'. (I hasten to add that 'completing X chapters' whether or not they are the last ones, logically, is not necessarily equivalent to 'meeting the degree requirements'!) BSAE speakers refer to the completion of a homework, chapter, or anything other than 'course/degree (requirements)' usually by either adding the relevant object or by using an alternative transitive verb, for example *to finish* (without a complement where ellipsis can be inferred). In (29), *to attend* is

used intransitively. Its only collocates in BSAE are 'lecture', 'class' or 'lesson'. In contrast, *to attend* referring to any other activity such as a 'church service', 'court proceedings', a 'conference' or a 'wedding ceremony', is always used transitively in BSAE.

The intransitivization of verbs in BSAE is also illustrated in the use of *to owe*. The intransitive use of '*to owe (for) money*' in BSAE is coupled with a further constraint, viz., the use of the progressive aspect, as in:

(30)   I haven't received my (final) results because I *am owing*.

As in the case of the intransitive uses of *to write* and *to complete* which, in BSAE, always refers to 'examinations' and 'course/degree requirements', *to owe* means 'to owe money (to someone)'. In native varieties of English *to owe*, in contrast, used transitively to mean 'be under obligation to a person, or pay or repay money', can collocate with a range of nominals, such as: 'a drink', 'an explanation', 'thanks' or 'one's life'.

Another use of *to owe* found in BSAE data is: '*to owe + someone + in + money*', instantiated in the following excerpt from an official notice:

(31)   The following will not be accepted as adequate reasons for absence from examinations: 'Failing to receive examinations results because the student *owed* the University *in* fees'.

Compare the intransitive use of *to owe* (usually in *-ing* form) in (30) and *owe + someone + in + money* in (31) with the following use of *owing*, in a newspaper known for its scrupulous adherence to native norms:

(32)   The Johannesburg High Court ruled in November last year that Kebble had to pay the R862029 *owing* [*Sunday Times - Metro*, March 25, 2001, page 5]

The use of the structure '*sum/balance + owing*' in (32) is typical of native varieties. Another use of *to owe* in native varieties of English is in combination with *for* resulting in an '*owe + object + prepositional object*' structure as in:

(33)   Her employer still *owes* her *for* the over-time work of the past year.

Unlike in British English, for example, where it is used transitively, in BSAE *to owe* has been intransitivized. The intransitivization of *to owe* narrows its semantic power, as it were, because only one implicit complement viz., 'money/balance' is assumed, as is in the case of *to write*, in the academic context, where only 'examination' is understood as its only (implicit) collocate.

Conclusion

Linguistic creativity is a normal phenomenon which ensures the dynamism and evolution of natural languages. Speakers of native varieties of English innovate in casual speech for a wide range of functions, such as 'play functions', from humour to the expression of an attitude; social functions (e.g., to highlight one's identity); or discourse functions (e.g., to serve as conversational strategies such as marking a transition between bits of talk, or ensuring the maintenance of the flow of talk). In contrast, speakers of non-native varieties innovate to 'appropriate' or indigenize the English language by deliberately code-switching, style-switching, or borrowing from their own languages. They do this for a variety of purposes, such as: to preserve, reinforce, or achieve group identity, to express solidarity, or to mark choices and preferences. The choice of and preference for forms that suit their own variety of English appeal to a sense of identity which they ought to maintain in the same way they strive to maintain their own beliefs and cultural norms.

Following the World Englishes paradigm, I have argued in this article that creativity is a legitimate phenomenon in BSAE (as long as a clear demarcation is drawn between genuine cases of innovations and occasional idiosyncrasies or manifestations of incomplete knowledge of the language) as the so-called 'deviations' are from the speech and writing of educated non-native English-speaking bilinguals, usually with a good grasp of English. Denying the legitimacy of creativity in non-native varieties has been more sentimental than factual, an attitude that has ignored the pluralistic contexts in which these forms are used and the functions they fulfill in the written and oral speech of non-native speakers of English.

The findings offered in this article are tentative, pending confirmation on the basis of data from much larger corpora. This caveat does, however, offer evidence of on-going creativity in BSAE, further

strengthening the suggestion of the distinctiveness of BSAE as a variety in its own right. Investigating the structure of innovative forms in BSAE, the different processes by which speakers innovate, and the functions of these innovations offer the users are indeed exciting areas for further research.

Department of English
Sultan Qaboos University
Sultanate of Oman

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Tracing Gujarati Language Development Philologically and Sociolinguistically

Usha Desai and
Malini Ramsay-Brijball

Introduction

This article traces the gradual evolution of the Indo-Aryan languages and more specifically, the Gujarati language. This language is spoken mainly in Gujarat, a state in western India, where it is a regional language officially recognized by the Constitution of India. It is written in Gujarati script which is very similar to Devanagari (the script used for Sanskrit) but without the continuous line at the top of the letters. The origin of the Gujarati language lies in the Sanskrit language, the oldest known form of the Indo-Aryan languages. The Indo-Aryan languages are a sub-set of the Indo-European language family (Chatterji 1978:476). In tracing Gujarati language development, it is important to also trace the history of its root language, Sanskrit. Such a study of the historical processes of how a language was formed from an ancestor language to its present condition is called *philology* (Canonici 1997:37). With respect to the philological analysis of the evolution of Gujarati, data was drawn from primarily from secondary sources.

The article also outlines the dialects of the Gujarati language spoken in South Africa, and makes comparisons with the standard variety. Data for the analysis of the Gujarati spoken currently in South Africa was collected through interviews conducted with Gujarati home language speakers in four provinces of South Africa, namely, KwaZulu-Natal, Gauteng, Eastern Cape and Western Cape. It is worth noting that the speakers of the Gujarati language form a minority within the minority Indian population of South Africa. Interestingly, the 1980 and 1991 South African population census figures reveal that Gujarati is proportionately the most spoken Indian language in South Africa. A literature review indicates that there is a lack of information with regard to changes that have taken place in the various Indian languages spoken in South Africa to this day, including the Gujarati language.

Background Information

Known as 'passenger Indians' since they paid for their own fare, the first band of Gujaratis arrived in Durban in 1875. They came mainly from Kathiawad, Porbandar and Surat, areas that lie on the northwest coast of India and which form part of the Gujarat state. The majority of the immigrants were Muslim traders and some were Hindu traders. They settled mainly in the provinces of Kwazulu-Natal and Gauteng. Following the indentured labourers who came in 1860, these 'passengers' came primarily to serve the material needs of their compatriots. Besides the many prosperous Gujarati traders who sought this opportunity to increase their wealth, there were also those who had found it extremely difficult to eke out a reasonable living in India and they came as semi-skilled and skilled artisans. The 'passenger' Indians mainly spoke their mother-tongue, Gujarati. There were a few who had gone to Anglo-vernacular schools in India and therefore had some proficiency in English. Many of the interviewees stated that whenever they ordered goods for their small shops, the orders were made out to the European wholesalers in Gujarati who then had to get the orders translated into English.

Of the current minority Indian population which comprises approximately 1 million (3% of the total population of the Republic of South Africa), 30 000 Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Parsees and Jains constitute the Gujarati community in South Africa (Desai 1992). Klein (1986:25) refers to the South African Gujaratis as 'a middleman minority' group. Klein explains that a middleman minority is a minority in a minority group within a society who originate from a land other than their present home, or are descendants of those who migrated. Middleman minorities have strong ethnic ties and concentrate on entrepreneurial business.

While the speakers of the Gujarati language are spread all over South Africa, the majority of the speakers currently reside in the provinces of KwaZulu-Natal, Gauteng, Mapumalanga, Eastern Cape and Western Cape. In comparison to Gujarati-speaking Hindus, the larger Gujarati-speaking Muslim community played an important role in the maintenance of the Gujarati language in South Africa by using it in the *madressas* i.e., the schools conducted in the mosques of the Muslims in South Africa However, Gujarati language teaching was discouraged in these schools after the partition of India and Pakistan in 1947. With the Gujarati language not being taught to the children of the first and second generation Gujarati-speaking Muslims, the number of Gujarati speakers greatly diminished.

Theoretical Background

Aitchison (1991:6) has outlined three theoretical possibilities of language change. The first possibility is slow decay where a standard language is used in a formal setting but the same variety changes its form in an informal setting. Aitchison (1991:6) states that many scholars were of the opinion that European languages were on the decline because they were gradually losing their word endings. In this regard, she cites the popular German writer Max Muller who asserted that 'The history of all Aryan languages is nothing but a gradual process of decay.' The second possibility is that languages may be slowly evolving to a more efficient state by becoming streamlined and sophisticated. We may be witnessing the survival of the fittest with existing languages adapting to the needs of the times. Thirdly, a language remains in a substantially similar state from the point of view of progress or decay dominated by certain general laws. Aitchison (1991:7) cites a Belgian linguist (Vendryes 1925) who claimed that "Progress in the absolute sense is impossible, just as it is in morality and politics. It is simply that different states exist, succeeding each other, each dominated by certain general laws imposed by the equilibrium of the forces with which they are confronted. So is the case with language."

Over the centuries Indian civilisation has found its expression primarily through Indo-Aryan languages. Initially, it was through Vedic Sanskrit (Old Indo-Aryan) and then through Classical Sanskrit. Thereafter, the Middle Indo-Aryan dialects came into existence. These came to be known as the *Prakrits*, a term that was used to denote the authentic, spoken dialects. Next was the *Apabhramshas*. This term was used to refer to the dialects that were considered as 'corruptions of the norm'. These evolved in succession from spoken to literary forms and vice versa. Finally, the modern Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Punjabi, Gujarati and many others emerged after further changes. It is clear that Sanskrit is to India what Latin is to Europe.

According to Munshi (1967:14), one of the greatest Gujarati scholars of our time, there is a series of phenomena in the Indo-Aryan languages that attract our attention on account of its periodic recurrence. He has explained that any dialect that evolves from Sanskrit attains literary status by simply drawing from the charm and importance of the root language. As a consequence, it is standardised and enriched but the gulf between *desabhasha* (the spoken language) and *sahitya-bhasha* (the literary form) widens. When the literary form becomes archaic or unsuited for popular speech, the spoken language in turn receives literary polish with the aid of Sanskrit (ibid).

On returning to the evolution of the Gujarati language, the literate class knew and spoke what came to be known as the standard variety. On the other hand the masses were not literate and did not know the 'standard' form. Hence, the spoken language became distorted. As progress was also being made in many other fields (of civilisation) the language and its varieties would need to evolve to a more accommodating, efficient state than that of the past.

Typological Classification of the Gujarati Language

The Gujarati language falls within the category of the Indo-European family of languages and like other modern Indian languages, it belongs to the Indo-Aryan group (Chatterji 1978:476). Sanskrit (refined according to the rules of grammar) language is considered the mother of the Indo-Aryan group of languages. Among the world family of languages, the Indo-European language family is the largest. The Indo-European languages are so called since they have a common source in Proto-Indo-European language. This family covers practically all the languages of Europe, Iran and Northern India. The migration of the speakers of this language family is seen as the chief cause for differentiation and evolution of the separate languages e.g. English, German, Hindi and Danish (Lockwood 1972:1)

In the 16th century, the discovery by European scholars that the Sanskrit language possessed elements of basic vocabulary and grammatical features directly comparable to Greek and Latin called for further investigation. Subsequently, in 1786 Sir William Jones declared: "The Sanskrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than Greek, more copious than Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either; yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs, and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed that no philologer could examine them all three without believing them to have sprung from *some common source,* which perhaps no longer exists" (Lockwood 1969:22). The earliest documents in Sanskrit were the religious texts known as the Vedas which date from 1000 B.C. In the fifth century BC, Sanskrit had evolved somewhat, and the grammarian Panini codified and standardized it. By 200 B.C. emerged what is now known as 'Classical' Sanskrit. However, although this preserved the integrity of written language for a long time, the spoken language continued to evolve.

According to Lockwood (1972:1-2) the grammar of the Indo-European languages has developed on the following principles: a distinction between animate and inanimate objects being further divided into masculine, feminine and neuter; nouns and adjectives were declined as seen in Sanskrit, Latin and Greek languages and there were eight cases viz., nominative, vocative, accusative, instrumental, genitive, dative, ablative and locative. Each case is identified by a special suffix i.e., a word-ending component. The declension of adjectives was in principle identical with that of nouns. Adjectives agreed with nouns in number and gender. The distinction of two numbers i.e. singular and plural is also evident in the grammar; The verbal system has three basic tenses, namely, present, past and future and these can be categorised either as transitive or intransitive verbs. The past tense transitive verb agrees with the object in gender and number. By virtue of belonging to the Indo-European family, the Gujarati language shares such similarities in grammar.

Between 500 B.C. to 1000 A.D the dialects of Sanskrit had assumed importance and entered the Prakrit stage, 'unrefined' or naturally evolved further from the codified Sanskrit. All the Prakrits share a common ancestry, but they are not necessarily mutually intelligible.The development of the

First Prakrit occurred during the period of Buddha and Mahavira around 500 BC. One branch of this Prakrit is represented by *Pali,* the language used by Buddha for his religious teachings. Another Prakrit is represented by *Ardha-Magadhi* used by Mahavir, the Jain preceptor.

The Second Prakrit developed between 100 AD and 500 AD. These developed in various regions and came to be labelled accordingly. Its chief varieties were *Shaurseni, Magadhi* and *Maharashtri.* The first developed in the western region which is presently known as Mathura. The second, a Rajasthani dialect, developed in the districts of Bihar and Ayodhya with the following dialects emanating from it: Maithili, Awadhi and Bhojpuri. The third variety mentioned above was the language of the Maharashtra Districts of Kashmir and Ladakh.

The Third Prakrit developed between 500 AD and 1000 AD. By this era, the literary form was distinguishable from the spoken form. The new spoken forms came to be known as *Apabhramsha,* literally meaning 'to degenerate'. Through the course of time the *Apabramsha* was also standardised. From each of the above mentioned regional Prakrits developed an *Apabhramsha* form.

Most of the modern Indian languages trace their roots to the *Apabhramsha* languages spoken between 500 AD and 1000 AD. Gujarati, Hindi, Rajasthani, and the Pahadi languages find their roots in Shaurseni Apabhramsha. A formal grammar of the precursor of this language was written by the Jain monk and eminent scholar, Hemachandra-charya in the reign of the Rajput king, Siddharaj Jayasinh of Patan. This was called Apabhramsha grammar.

The language spoken in Gurjardesh in western India around the period 916A.D.came to be known as 'Gaurjar Apabhramsha'. In the 14th century the Gurjar Apabhramsha (the early literary medium of Gujarat) gave rise to Gujarati, Marwadi and the Malavi languages. The early literature in old Gujarati was written mainly by the Jain monks. The forces of change operating within the modern Indo-Aryan languages later separated Gujarati from the others. Although modern Gujarati evolved from old Gujarati spoken between 1200 AD and 1500 AD, far-reaching evolutionary changes have taken place and old Gujarati is no longer comprehensible to the speakers of modern Gujarati.

The Gujarati Language from 1850 A.D. Onwards (The Modern Literary Period)

The political situation had changed in India by the beginning of the 19th century. The British rule had become dominant and interactions among the Indians and those from Europe were heightened. Education, the great pioneer of all reforms, and other social advancements, had made rapid strides. The introduction of the printing press gave impetus to the development of language and literature. Newspapers and periodicals played a substantial role in shaping the ideas of the population.

Modern Gujarati literature may be divided into four periods, namely, *Sudharak Yuga, Pandit Yuga, Gandhi Yuga* and *Adhunik Yuga*. Each period expresses the fundamental values attached to the social, religious and political conditions of that particular era. Parallel with developments in Gujarati literature through these four periods, the Gujarati language also underwent significant changes.

Sudharak Yuga or the reformist age was the name given to the first part of the modern period in Gujarati literature. Social movements of this period influenced the writers of this period and the literature of a 'new era' appeared which was in great contrast to the medieval period. All over India there was a new spirit of re-awakening and reform. The old rigid dogmatic customs and beliefs had caused stagnation and the reformers proved to be a driving force leading the people out of the old to a new direction. Even the subject matter had changed from mainly religious and devotional to nationalism, liberation, education, science, philosophy, economics and description of nature and travel. Narmad, a poet, the founder of modern Gujarati literature as well as the father of Gujarati prose composed the first dictionary in Gujarati. In practicing social reforms, he himself married a widow against the wishes of his family and caste. Like the other writers of this period, Narmad was influenced by Shakespeare, Scott, Shelley and Keats. New words (e.g. sonnet) were borrowed mainly from the English language and other Gujarati dialects.

However by 1886 which was the beginning of the *Pandit Yuga* (era of the scholars), the scholars felt that there had been an overflow of western influence in the previous age which was contrary to their ideals. They endeavoured to bring about a change by reverting to the rich, cultural, traditional and hereditary Sanskrit language and Aryan ideology. This era came to be known as the period of Sanskrit revival. The University of Bombay had been established in the 1860's and by 1890 it produced a notable group of scholars. All the writers of this era belonged to what was considered at the time, an 'elite' group who maintained a high standard in their works and who drew words abundantly from the Sanskrit language.

There were certain inspiring forces that evolved in this age which affected the propensity of the writers. Narmad's reformist ideals were seen as a threat to the preservation of fundamental principles of Aryan culture and Gujarati language and literature. Most of the scholars of *Pandit Yuga* were proficient in both English and Sanskrit. Such scholars were not against reform but wanted to implement changes evolving out of 'Indian culture' rather than adopting 'Western culture'.

Following the return of Gandhi to India from South Africa in 1915 the period following *Pandit Yuga* was referred to as the *Gandhi Yuga* or the Gandhian Era in the political, social and literary contexts. Poets and writers of this time wrote about social order, the struggle for independence and especially about Gandhi himself. Gandhi did not claim to be a poet or a scholar yet he greatly influenced his compatriots. His language was direct, clear and simple. He motivated his contemporaries to write for the masses in their dialects and to use 'simple' language. He had firm convictions about teaching children in their mother tongue and also teaching them to respect their language. He emphatically stated that "I would not have a single Indian to forget, neglect or be ashamed of his mother tongue, or to feel that he or she cannot think or express the best thoughts in his or her own vernacular." (Narayan 1968:285).

Although there were regional and caste-based varieties of Gujarati, the standard variety used in education, literature and mass media was understood and respected by everyone. During this period, the Gujarat Vidyapith founded by Gandhi at Ahmedabad in 1922 became the centre of all literary activities where new values emerged and more emphasis was given to Indianisation. The Gujarati dictionary was endorsed by Mahatma Gandhi and published by the Gujarat Vidyapith in 1929. It has played a major role in the standardisation process of the Gujarati language in the twentieth century and has allowed for links to be forged across the diaspora.

Modern Gujarati and its Dialects from 1500 A.D. Onwards

Like other provinces in India, Gujarat may be distinguished from other provinces by a single dominant language, Gujarati. This has enabled its inhabitants to create an independent social and cultural identity.

The Gujarati language that is written and spoken today may be traced back to the fifteenth century (Munshi 1967:174) and Narsinh Mehta is said to be the *ādi kavi*, that is, the first poet of modern Gujarati literature. The Gujarati language has remained stable for the last five centuries. In modern times the printing press and progress in the educational field have primarily contributed to the standardisation of languages. The written or printed Gujarati language used in the media has maintained uniformity throughout Gujarat. Even though Gujarati was by no means a direct descendant of Sanskrit, the *Pandit Yuga* writers viewed it as having descended from the classical purity of Sanskrit. As purists they desired to protect it from distortion. However, people from different geographical areas are likely to have differences in speech in which socio-pragmatic and pragma-linguistic rules may alter slightly. There is a famous saying in Gujarati regarding dialects that *dar bār gāve bolī badalāy* (*At every twenty miles a dialect changes*).

In Gujarat three main regional dialects viz. Kathiawadi, Charottari and Surati have developed and these are widely spoken. A person's speech can identify him as being from a certain place and of certain caste. Along with regional variation, social variation has also been noted. The caste system also contributed to the language diversity in Gujarat. People of different castes had a distinct dialect. The Gujarati speakers of Parsi (Persian) and Muslim faiths living in Gujarat also had a peculiar dialect. The variations in both cases are notable in pronunciation, vocabulary and syntax. Six examples of Gujarati dialects spoken in South Africa as well as in India are discussed below. In each case comparisons are made between the standard variety and the dialect using the original Sanskrit Alphabet (see Antoine 1986). The diacritics used here are as per transliteration of the International Sanskrit Alphabet which is somewhat different from the International Phonetic Alphabet. Note: The 'N' at the end of a word is nasalized.

Dialects of Gujarati

1. ### *Kathiawadi (spoken in Northern Gujarat or Saurashtra)*
   The regional Kathiawadi dialect differs from the standardised form in some of the following ways.

Standard	*Kathiawadi*	
a	kyaN bharāyo	kyaN bharāṇo (*Where did you hide?*)

   The suffix *yo* in the past tense verb of the standard variety changes to *ëo* in the dialect which is a feature of old Gujarati.

b	javuN	jāvuN	*(to go)*

   In the Kathiwadi dialect the initial vowel is elongated.

2. ### *Uttar Gujarati/Patni (spoken in North Gujarat)*

Standard	*Patni*	
a	bhāi	bhai	*brother*

   The initial long vowel of the standardard variety is shortened in the Patni dialect.

b	nahiN	naiN	*no*
	ahiN	aiN	*here*

   The letter h of the standard variety is dropped in the Patni dialect. Subsequently, two syllables used in the standard variety becomes one syllable with an elongated vowel *ai*.

3. ### *Charotari (spoken in middle Gujarat in cities like Nadiad, Aëanda and Barodä)*

Standard	*Charotari*	
a	kem	cem	*why*
	ketalā	cetalā	*how many*

   The k of the standard variety changes to c in the Charotari dialect.

b	māre che	māre ch	*(he) is hitting*

   The auxillary verb che in the standard variety changes to ch in the dialect.

4. **Surti (spoken in South Gujarat)**

	Standard	Surti	
a	śāk	hāk	*curry*
	sāro	hāro	*well*
	daś	dah	*ten*

The s of the standard variety changes to h in the dialect.

	Standard	Surti	
b	āvyo	āyvo	*came*
	māryo	māyro	*hit*

In the dialect the consonants in the two syllables are switched.

5. **Parsi (spoken in areas that are inhabited by Persians)**

When the Parsis from Iran migrated to Gujarat they became assimilated within the Gujarati community and spoke Gujarati. Yet they maintained some of the Persian language features.

	Standard	Parsi	
a	padyo	pariyo	*fell*
	malyo	mariyo	*met*

The 'd' and 'l' consonants of the Past Tense suffix in the standard variety changes to 'r' in the Parsi dialect.

	Standard	Parsi	
b	pani	pani	*water*
	pan	pan	*but*

The cerebral nasal sound in the standard variety changes to the dental nasal in the Parsi dialect.

6. **Vahora (spoken in Vora)**

Voras, Memons and Khojas are said to be converts from Hinduism to Islam. These speakers of Gujarati cerebralise the dental consonants (Bakshi 1981).

	Standard	Vahora	
a	tamāruN	tamāruN	*yours*
b	badhā	baḍhā	*all*

All these dialects are still prevalent in South Africa. However, due to the Group Areas Act of 1950, the Gujarati speakers of various dialects were brought together in a specific area, making it difficult for the regional dialects to remain unchanged for any particular group. Only those who were first and second generation speakers could identify a specific dialect. The succeeding generations came to use a mixture of these dialects. Nevertheless, the Gujarati speakers are once again residing in different provinces of South Africa and the regional peculiarities are clearly emerging amongst the speakers in South Africa as will be outlined in the next section.

Gujarati as Spoken in South Africa

It is a natural tendency of humans to find ways out of difficult situations. Sanskrit is considered by many as a complex language and therefore, as other languages evolved from it, simpler words were 'coined'. Examine the transformation of Sanskrit words *grha* to *ghar* and *dugdha* to *dudha* and the Arabic word *farka* to *faraka* in Gujarati. Pronunciation of the transformed words is perceived to be easier than that of the Sanskrit and Arabic words.

Ignorance and illiteracy are also responsible for language change in the Gujarati language. At first, a chid acquires a language by hearing and observing a parent speak. Later when a child acquires formal education, he learns a standard language. A person who has not had formal education in a particular language will not be able to distinguish the correct pronunciation of a word. Therefore he/she begins to use other variations. Examples of such phonetic changes include the following: *krsna* which becomes *krusna* or *kisan; vanishā* becomes *vanesya; jñan* becomes *gnān*.

Aitchison (1991:27) discusses typological reconstruction which is based on the insight that languages can be divided into a number of basic types each with its own set of characteristics. This is a further development from what Lockwood (1972) had described about the salient features of the Indo-European family of languages. English, for example, can be categorized as a subject-verb-object (SVO) language, since it places the object after the verb e.g., *The boy eats an apple.* The reverse happens in subject-object-verb (SOV) languages such as Hindi, Japanese and Gujarati. In SOV languages,

the past tense transitive verb has to agree in number and gender with the object. For example, the English sentence, *Rama ate the bread*, when translated into Gujarati, becomes *rāme rotlo khādho*. Both *rotlo* (the object noun) and *khadho* (past tense transitive verb) have as their suffixes "o" reflecting the masculine categorization of the object noun and its agreement with the past tense transitive verb. Therefore if a noun from SVO language is borrowed and used by a SOV language there is likely to be a grammatical change since the borrower, being conscious of the importance of the gender categorisation of the borrowed word, may have to assign a male or female categorisation to a noun that may be gender-neuter in the language from which it comes. There are instances where the neutral categorisation of a noun may be maintained in the borrowing language.

Gujarati has undergone subtle language change after the standardisation process. During the British rule over India for almost two centuries all the Indian languages 'borrowed' words from the English language. Gumperz (1982:66) defines borrowing as the introduction of single words or short, frozen, idiomatic phrases from one language into another. In South Africa the Gujarati language borrows words from languages such as English, Afrikaans and the indigenous African languages. These have become part of the language, producing some interesting results. One of the reasons for borrowing could be that there are no suitable words in Gujarati which could express the exact meaning of the borrowed words.

Consider the word 'cake' in English which is a neuter noun. In KwaZulu-Natal 'cake' is used as a feminine noun by the Gujarati speakers. Therefore a person would say *men ek cake bana<u>vi</u>* (SOV) *(lit trans: I cake made)*. Here the feminine suffix *vi* of the past tense verb *bana<u>vi</u>* denotes the feminine category associated with the noun 'cake'. The same noun 'cake' is used as a masculine noun by Gujarati speakers in the Eastern Cape, resulting in *men ek cake bana<u>vyo</u>*. In this sentence, the masculine suffix *vyo* of the verb *bana<u>vyo</u>* denotes the masculine category assignment to the noun 'cake'. In the Gujarati language a transitive verb in the past tense must agree with the noun. Another example is the use of the English neuter noun 'bus'. In KwaZulu-Natal it is used as a feminine noun and one may say *bus āv<u>i</u> (The bus came)*. In Gauteng 'bus' is used as a masculine noun saying that

bus āv<u>yo</u>. In each case the past tense verb agrees with the noun in terms of the grammatical categories, gender and number.

The Gujarati dictionary lists these borrowed English words and assigns the neutral category to *bus* as well as *cake*. However, due to the sanctions applied by India during the Apartheid rule, South African Gujarati speakers had very little interaction with their mother country during this period and as a result of the absence of scholars, education books, newspapers and films, there was a gap in acquiring and passing on knowledge especially to the newer generations. As a result, there was no fixed rule about gender assignment when using 'borrowed' words. The borrowed words were intergrated morphologically and syntactically into the grammatical system of Gujarati. Semantically, in some instances (like the examples cited above), the gender category changed from occupying the neutral category in English to the feminine or masculine category in Gujarati depending on the geographical location of the speaker.

In South Africa some Gujarati words have been replaced permanently by borrowed words as the original words are now considered archaic. For instance, the Gujarati word *mej (table)*, listed in the Gujarati dictionary and originally borrowed from Portuguese, is not used in South Africa any longer. Gujarati speakers use the word 'table' nowadays, including those who know the Gujarati equivalent.

English is not the only language from which Gujarati has borrowed. There are many words that are borrowed from isiZulu. The Gujarati speakers, who lived in areas away from the city centres, were in close contact with the speakers of isiZulu language and employed many on their small farms. It is therefore not uncommon to find words from isiZulu, particularly those referring to food items when there were no precise Gujarati equivalents. Words such as *isinkobe* (a type of food preparation with beans and (stamp) mealies) and *uphuthu* (a food mixture like mealie-meal) are constantly used by the Gujarati speakers. Both these words have plural forms and are gender-neuter in isiZulu. Unlike the *cake* examples explained previously, these words maintain their gender-neuter feature when used in Gujarati. A person will say *kobe kahdhu<u>N</u>* or *puthu khadhu<u>N</u>*, the <u>N</u> denoting neuter gender. In this example the past tense verb agrees with the neuter noun. Morphologically, the prefixes *izi(n)* and *u* in the respective

examples are elided as Gujarati does not reflect number in the way that isiZulu does, that is, by the use of noun prefixes.

There are also words that are borrowed from Afrikaans. Some of the words that have appeared in Gujarati conversation are *ja* in place of *yes*, *bru* which may be understood as an abbreviation of *broer (brother)* and *swaar (brother-in-law)*. These borrowings occur not because there are lexical gaps in Gujarati. For instance, for each of the borrowed words cited here, there are corresponding Gujarati words, namely, *jī,bhāi* and *banevi* respectively. These words are used commonly among the younger generations for social reasons and are often labelled as 'Indian slang'.

There are also other features of Gujarati language change which have been noted in the spoken and written language. Over the decades of separation from the mother-country and also due to the influence of the western culture, the first names of persons in the new generations have undergone much transformation and have become anglicised. For various reasons, the younger generations are less willing to use the standard form. Some people deny and reject the origin of a name, preferring the 'transformed' name as the correct one. Consider the following:

a   śaran   > Sharon
b   kiśan   > Chris
c   magan   > Megan
d   jaśikā   > Jessica

An interesting development concerning language change occurred in the late nineteen seventies. There was a decline in the number of pupils attending the local Gujarati schools in South Africa (Desai:1992). There was also apathy among Gujarati speakers towards the language and the peoples' attitude had been negative towards maintenance. A prominent community member and author from East London, Mr R. L. Harry, presented a proposal to the Maha Gujarati Parishad Education Committee in which he attempted to modify the Gujarati language by omitting the muted and conjunct consonants from the language. He felt that the young learners of the Gujarati language found it difficult to write and speak the language because of the muted and conjunct consonants. There should be no strict rules about the long and short vowels in the spelling of the words. He called this a 'break-through' method.

The Maha Gujarati Parishad Education committee did not accept his proposal. There were many flaws in the proposal. If the language were changed then the future generation would not be able to read the rich treasure of Gujarati literature, written in the last five hundred years, which was the 'heart and soul' of the community. The language would not have a standard form of which the Gujaratis were extremely proud. The change in spelling could also mean a change in meaning which could further complicate the understanding of the language by the adults.

Conclusion

Desai (1997) has shown that though the Gujarati language is proportionately the most spoken language amongst Indian languages spoken in South Africa, there is a definite change in the patterns of usage among the different generations of Gujarati speakers in South Africa. Using a philological perspective, this article has outlined some of the changes in the Gujarati language through time, revealing the dialects spoken in South Africa. It has also probed some of the factors that have contributed to the eminent changes although this expose is neither comprehensive nor exhaustive. As is the case with other Indian languages, the next few decades may see a further decrease of the number of speakers of Gujarati language. The process and status of Gujarati language usage need to be documented. Research that traces the changes in Gujarati through time in a given community can make a significant contribution to Sociolinguistics in general and to the status of minority languages in particular.

School of Language, Literature and Linguistics
University of KwaZulu-Natal
ramsaym@ukzn.ac.za

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Lexicalization in Sheng

Nathan Oyori Ogechi

Introduction and Literature Review

This is an investigation into the way lexemes are created and how meaning (hereafter referred to as lexicalization) is encoded in Sheng. This unstable language variety has existed in Kenya for almost two decades. Various theories exist about its origins. For instance, Osinde (1986) and Abdulaziz & Osinde (1997) suggest that Sheng emerged as a peer youth code in the low socio-economic eastern suburbs of Nairobi in the 1970s. Kembo-Sure (1992: 26-27) claims that Sheng arose in the low-class estates of Nairobi where children coined a code to conceal their secrets from parents. Mazrui & Mphande (1990) and Mazrui (1995) suggest that a Sheng-like code came to exist in Nairobi in the 1930s among pickpockets. Further, Spyropolous (1987:130) posits that Sheng was used in the 1950s but became pronounced in the early 1970s. Regardless of this lack of consensus on the origin of Sheng, it is accepted that Sheng "sounds" like Kiswahili (Ngesa 2002) but has a distinct and an unstable vocabulary.

(1) is a conversation in Sheng[1].

1. **[[Hi-zo d*igolo* ni poa] [zi-na-*kindwa***
   DET-CL10 sunglasses COP cool CL10-NONPST-sell
   ***rwabi ngovo* duka-ni]]**
   hundred five shop-in

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[1] In all examples, Sheng is presented in **bold italics**, Kiswahili is in **bold** face while English is in normal font. Given that there is no standard Sheng orthography, I spell Sheng words the way they are spoken in Kiswahili.

'Those sunglasses are really nice. They go for five hundred shillings in the shops' (Waithira 2001:37).

Studies on Sheng have either concentrated on its sociolinguistic aspects (Shitemi 2002), word formation processes (Echessa 1990, King'ei 2001) or attempts to unravel its matrix language (ML)[2] (e.g. Mazrui & Mphande 1990, Kiessling & Mous 2001, Ogechi 2002). Concerning the ML, most scholars follow Myers-Scotton (1993:39) that Sheng is based on Kiswahili grammar:

> In Nairobi it is especially common in the Eastleigh area, a working class estate. A slang variety called 'Sheng' also exists in such areas; it is an innovative *melánge* of Swahili as a matrix language with English embeddings.

However, Ogechi (2002:89ff) asserts that the ML varies depending on the African language of wider communication in the environment where Sheng is spoken.

It is notable that besides Sheng there exists another language variety, Engsh, which is based on the English ML frame (Abdulaziz & Osinde 1997). The analysis of Engsh lies outside the scope of this article. However, it is worth noting that this variety is spoken in the much higher socio-economic class areas of western Nairobi. Engsh also has a high density of English surface morphemes as may be seen in (2) below:

2.   **Si** you **akina** pass for mwa morrows in your wheels, we do a swallow at them Vuras.

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[2] According to Myers-Scotton (2002), a matrix language in codeswitching is the language which sets the grammar of a clause:
ma-lecturer **wa-me**-strike
CL5-lecturer CL6-PRF-strike
'Lecturers have gone on strike'.
This is codeswitching between English and Kiswahili where Kiswahili is the matrix language (ML). This is because all the system morphemes (class and tense markers) are drawn from Kiswahili.

'Come for me tomorrow in your car so that we can go for a drink at the Carnivore' (*mwa* 'me'; *morrows* 'tomorrow'; *them Vuras* 'Carnivore Restaurant') (Abdulaziz & Osinde 1997: 55)

Sheng sources its lexicon from various Kenyan languages with Kiswahili, English, Dholuo, Kamba and Gikuyu as the prominent lexifiers. Other words originate from Hindi, American western cinema as well as karate and break dance films Spyropolous (1987:128). The borrowed lexemes are usually manipulated while more are continuously coined. Although Sheng has several lexifying languages (cf. Osinde 1986, Echessa 1990, Abdulaziz & Osinde 1997, Waithira 2001, Ogechi 2002), once the lexemes leave their source language(s), they assume a new meaning (sense) in the target language, Sheng.

How this new sense is encoded has, to the best of my knowledge, been rarely studied and when investigated, the description offered is either limited or lacks an in-depth explanation. Thus, even though one can safely argue that there is documentation of the structural and the sociolinguistic features of Sheng, lexicalization in Sheng has been least attempted.

In addition, it has been claimed that Sheng is largely identified at the lexeme level (Waithira 2001:109, Ogechi 2002:100) and that the lexemes are unstable since they keep on changing their meaning (sense). At times, their surface form might resemble that in the source language yet they carry a completely different sense from what they mean in the source language. Given this scenario, can one diagnostically identify the patterns and/or series of different lexemes used for a given concept? If so, in which parts of speech do the words manifest themselves? How is lexicalization achieved in the lexemes? Is serial change of meaning also attested in Sheng categories that are larger than the lexeme? The present article seeks answers to the foregoing questions but limits itself to word semantics[3]. Meaning in Sheng categories larger than single lexemes, e.g., sentence semantics falls outside the scope of my conceptualisation of lexicalization in this article.

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[3] Lipka (1990: 52) argues that word semantics is not confined to isolated items but focuses on lexical fields and paradigmatic semantic relations between words. I restrict myself to isolated items.

Lexicalization

I begin with an operational conceptualisation of lexicalization for two reasons. Firstly, there is no single definition of the term (Lipka 1990:95). Thus linguists do not use the term in the same way. Secondly, if not clearly explained, some readers might not distinguish between lexicalization and lexification.

With respect to lexicalisation, Trask (http: www.linguist.org/~ask-ling/archive-1997.10/msg01859.html. 14.11.03) identifies two senses of lexicalization. On the one hand, lexicalization involves creating a word to express some meaning. Silva (http: www.linguist.org/~ask-ling/archive-1997.10/msg01859.html. 14.11.03) concurs that lexicalization is the process through which concepts are put into words in a given language. In this case, Trask and Silva seem to be subscribing to Saussure's (1916:) dichotomy of 'signifie' and 'signifiant'. In the dichotomy, 'signifiant' is a concept, idea or thing while 'signifie' is a sound of language representing that idea or thing. Lexicalization occurs when humans either deliberately or effortlessly assign sounds of language to express phenomena.

On the other hand, Trask argues that in historical linguistics, the term 'lexicalization' refers to a process where a sequence of words is reduced to a single-word. In this case, lexicalization refers to a process of diachronic change in which a notion that had previously been expressed by more than one word is now represented by a single word. Lipka summarises:

> .....I would like to define *lexicalization* as the phenomenon that a complex lexeme once coined tends to become a single complete lexical unit, a simple lexeme. Through this process it loses the character of a syntagma to a greater or lesser degree. (cf. Lipka 1981b:120). In my definition an essential condition and a prerequisite for this gradual diachronic process is the fact that a particular complex lexeme is used frequently (Lipka 1990: 95).

Lexicalization is also used to show how Sheng vocabulary has been unstable (changed) over time either in form (emergence of new surface morphemes) or meaning (same surface morpheme assuming a new sense).

I return to the distinction between lexicalization and lexification. While lexicalization deals with encoding of meaning to words, lexification refers to the source and/or processes of creating the words. For instance, two languages lexify (3):

3.　　**-pata** *doo*　　*poa*
get money cold 'earn good money'

The source of **pata** and **poa** is Kiswahili. While **-pata** translates to 'get' in Kiswahili, it means 'earn' in Sheng. *Doo*, is sourced from English *dough* whose informal meaning is money. Sheng takes on this informal meaning. Finally, *poa* refers to cool in Kiswahili but lexicalization in Sheng changes its sense to *good*. This signals semantic borrowing from the informal use of *cool* in English to mean impressive or when used with an amount of money, to emphasise a large amount. In summary, it may be said that the Sheng phrase **-pata** *doo poa* 'earn good money' has undergone both the lexification and lexicalization processes.

In the present study, lexicalization and lexification are adapted according to the following procedure. A list of words used to refer to a concept is presented depending upon the words' diachronic evolution. Next, the words' lexifier(s) are identified. In this regard, I explain the manipulative procedures they undergo as well as how their meanings are encoded. Finally, I explain the condition(s) of use of the words in Sheng.

The Data

Only primary data comprising verbs, nouns and adjectives are analysed.

Lexical category	Number	%
Nouns	93	70
Verbs	37	28
Adjectives	2	2
Total	**132**	**100**

Table 1. Distribution of lexical categories in the data

The data was collected in October 2003 at Moi University, Kenya. Two Sheng-speaking university students, a male (aged 22) and a female (aged 21), collected Sheng vocabulary from fellow students. They collected 132

Sheng items and provided the literal glosses. From the translations, only three parts of speech were represented, namely nouns, verbs and adjectives.

The fieldworkers confirmed that regional dialects of Sheng exist. One assistant claimed to have collected Nairobi Sheng words while another claimed his data was from Mombasa. In some instances, two, three or four words were used to refer to the same concept or object. This was attributed to the regional Sheng dialects. However, in some cases, several words referring to the same concept or object could be used in the data collected from the same region. Some words could also be used with the same meaning in different regions. Since I could not concretely establish the dialects, I treated the words as synonyms.

Data Analysis and Discussion
Nouns
Table 1 indicates that nouns constitute the bulk of the items in my Sheng corpus (93 lexemes). Depending on the number of synonyms a word has, the items fall into four patterns. Some words have two, three or four synonyms referring to the same concept while other items have no synonyms:

4.   *dish ? mdemo* 'food'
      doo ? ganji ? manyamoo 'money'
      chik ? dem ? kenge ? manzi 'girlfriend'

The linguistic material on nouns had patterns distributed as shown in Table 2.

No. of synonyms	Frequency	%
1	39	42
2	30	32
3	12	13
4	12	13
Total	**93**	**100**

Table 2. Nouns and the frequencies of number of synonyms

Single Synonym Words
As Table 2 shows, this category constitutes 42% (N = 39). Lexicalization here constitutes a manipulation of the surface form of almost all the words

except direct loanwords from the lexifying language. Subsequently, five sub-patterns based on the processes of lexification and lexicalization emerge:

(i) Reversing of syllables
Sheng speakers resort to the reversal or swopping of syllables in a word (Ngesa 2002) in their attempts to keep Sheng a distinctive code for peers only. **Dika** ('card') is sourced from English *card* that is Bantuized[4] in pronunciation as **kadi**. The word's two syllables swop places so that **kadi** yields **dika**. Its meaning in English is however retained in Sheng.

(ii) Truncation
Truncation of the surface form of words is the most popular practice since it comprises 41% (N = 16). First, a word is borrowed from one of the local languages. Secondly, the word is adjusted to fit the target language frame. Thirdly, the resultant form of the word is truncated either in its initial or final syllable(s) depending on whether it is a compound noun or not. Fourth, the truncated form is either suffixed a coined syllable or sound to complete its marking for Sheng. Thus the meaning of the resultant word cannot be interpreted by the non-initiated speakers unless they learn it from the Sheng speakers. For example, *finje* ('fifty'), *buufee* ('bus fare'), *saaya* ('science'), *tizi* ('practice'), *preezo* ('president'), *hasii* ('husband') and *goe* ('ghost') among others are instances to cite in this category.

    Buufee is borrowed from English *bus fare* and undergoes several processes. First, **buu** is sourced from the English word *bus*. In its spoken form, the word could have surfaced phonetically as **bas** and therefore could have been "Bantuized" as **basi**. However, by surfacing as **buu** in Sheng, the word must have originated in the English written form *bus* and was Bantuized as **busi**. The second syllable is truncated and the remaining syllable takes on compensatory lengthening to yield **buu**. The second portion of the noun *fee* also has an English source *fare* in its spoken form *fea*. It loses its second syllable *a* while the first syllable undergoes

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[4] I use Bantuization to refer to the process through which a word whose syllable does not follow the Bantu primitive syllable of consonant-vowel (CV) is manipulated and conforms to the CV structure.

compensatory lengthening as *fee*. The final form of these processes is the Sheng word *buufee*. The word retains its English meaning.

Tizi is an interesting example. While most words sourced from English lose the suffixal syllables, *tizi* is retained from a prefixal truncation of *praktizi* sourced from the English noun *practice*. *Praktizi* loses the initial syllables while the penultimate and final syllables *tizi* are retained. However, the word does not refer to practice in its entirety. It has a restricted meaning in Sheng, namely, the physical exercises that one does in sports.

(iii) Coining

32% (N = 12) of the Sheng corpus consists of coined nouns as listed in (5) below:

burungo 'things'	*deepa* 'head teacher'
kerende 'crowd of people'	*mnoma* 'genius'
nyagu 'meat'	*rwabe* '200 shillings'
kifungu 'grandfather'	*tenje* 'radio'
blingbling 'jewellery'	*ocha* 'home'
mboch 'house help'	

It is difficult to speculate the basis of coining Sheng nouns. However, two observations can be made about the nouns. One, some of the coined nouns have a restricted meaning. For instance, while *rwabe* generally refers to two hundred, it strictly means a 200 Kenya shilling currency note. In the same vein, *ocha* specifically refers to one's rural home and not home in its general sense. (Most African Kenyans, especially those working in towns, have two homes – place of stay in town and a rural home where they were raised). Secondly, there is mimicry of the characteristics of an object in the coined noun, i.e. *blingbling* (jewellery). The reduplication of *bling* in the noun *blingbling* might be onomatopoeic of the echo made especially by metal jewellery.

(iv) Borrowing

Borrowing refers to instances where Sheng vocabulary is lexified by an existing stable language. My corpus has 10% (N = 4) of Sheng nouns borrowed.

Ngiri is borrowed from Gikuyu where it refers to the numeral *one thousand*. However, in Sheng *ngiri* is restricted in its meaning since it means one thousand shillings.

Stoori is sourced from English 'story'. However, it is Bantuized to *stoori* and the vowel in the first syllable is lengthened so that *stoori* surfaces. Its sense is expanded as follows. Basically, the word means story just as it does in English. However in its expanded meaning it may refer to news. When two people exchange greetings one might for instance ask the other, *Stoori? Stoori* here is a request for new information. *Stoori* also sometimes refers to remarks such as *What's up?* Or *What are your plans for the day?*

(v) Semantic Expansion

Semantic expansion comprises 15% (N = 6) of the Sheng nouns with no synonyms. All the nouns are sourced from either Kiswahili or English. For example, *chuo* refers to 'college' in Kiswahili. In the Kenyan context, *chuo* could refer to post-secondary institutions excluding universities. However, in Sheng *chuo* refers to school (either primary or secondary) and any middle level college where learners and teachers interact. Thus while the composition of learners and teachers in the Kiswahili meaning of **chuo** is retained, the *chuo* in Sheng is semantically expanded to refer to institutions of learning normally not included in the Kiswahili sense.

Semantic expansion is also seen in *keja* sourced from English 'cage'. However, to conceal the noun and fashion it in accordance with Sheng, it is suffixed and Bantuized to *keja*. A cage here refers to a wire mesh cage where domestic birds are kept. The Kiswahili translation of cage is **kizimba** or **tundu**, which figuratively refers to a prison. Sheng has expanded this Kiswahili figurative reference and applied it to an ordinary human abode so that *keja* implies a room that one inhabits in a big house or hostel in a college.

Bi-synonym Nouns

There are fourteen pairs of bi-synonym nouns in the corpus of data, represented in (6) below.

jamaa　　　　　　　*?*　　　*chalii* 'boyfriend'

mathee	?	*masa* 'mother'	
ndhom (bomu)	?	*shada* 'bhang'	
njaaro	?	*mchoro* 'plan'	
kobole	?	*ngovo* 'five shilling coin'	
ngoma	?	*mahewa* 'music'	
paoo	?	*bluu* 'twenty shilling note'	
soo	?	*nyanga* 'one hundred shillings'	
beshte	?	*beshti* 'intimate friend'	
ugangaa	?	*sembe* 'maize flour'	
msunye	?	*ngoso* 'white person'	
brathee	?	*bro* 'brother'	
sistee	?	*siz* 'sister'	
kazee	?	*kazoo* 'cousin'	

In line with lexicalization, it is possible to give a diachronic transition in that one of the two nouns was used at an earlier stage of Sheng than the other. For instance, *chalii* (boyfriend) in the pair *chalii ? jamaa* is a predecessor of *jamaa*. *Chalii*, was used at a time when *chik* (girlfriend) underwent transition through several synonyms (*chik ? dem ? kenge ? manzi*). *Chalii* persisted until *jamaa* replaced it. *Jamaa* is sourced from Kiswahili **jamaa** meaning 'fellow' or 'relative'. Only women/girls use *jamaa*. Hence when a lady says *jamaa wa maen* (literally, 'relative of mine') she does not imply her relative; rather her boyfriend.

Part of the *njaaro ? mchoro* pair is Kiswahili-sourced. *Njaaro* is coined while *mchoro* is sourced from Kiswahili where the latter means a drawing. In Sheng, the two words imply a plan - usually arrangements that a boyfriend and a girlfriend make for an evening or weekend outing. In the youth parlance, this is called a 'plot' because of the nature of the outing. That is, seldom is the outing given the parents' blessings. So they "plot" to go out.

Tri-synonym Nouns

My corpus yielded 12 nouns (as seen in 7 below0, which were categorised into four groups with three synonyms each:

ashara	*? ashuu*	*? kindee*	'ten shillings'

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doo	*? ganji/ganzi*	*? manyamoo*	'money'
motii/buu	*? dinga*	*? dai*	'vehicle'
mozo	*? fegi*	*? fwaka*	'cigarette'

The *doo ? ganji/ganzi ? manyamoo* (money) synonyms represent an English-Hindi-Gikuyu formation. *Doo* is sourced from English *dough* where it means money. *Doo* was used in Sheng for a long time. At some later stage, *ganji*, which means opium, replaced *doo*. *Ganji* is sourced from the West Indian *ganja*. It is an illegal drug in Kenya but fetches a lot of money in the black market. Hence *ganji* is a metonym for the large amount of money one gets from drug trafficking. *Manyamoo* is sourced from Gikuyu –*nyamoo* ('thing'). However, *nyamoo* takes the class 6 noun marker for plurality and *manyamo*'s expanded meaning in Sheng refers to money.

Mozo ? fegi ? fwaka represent tri-synonym nouns for cigarette. *Mozo* is sourced from Kiswahili **moto** ('fire') referring to the fire that burns a cigarette. Cigarette smoking is not encouraged among the youths in Kenya. Those who smoke, do so clandestinely. To ensure that the parents do not understand them when they are talking about cigarettes, the youth altered the sound patterning of the word and coined the word *mozo*. When the word was no more a secret, they changed to *fegi*, which is sourced from informal English *fag* (cigarette). This word is not commonly used in Kenyan English. Nevertheless, with time *fegi* became obsolete and a new word *fwaka* came into being. *Fwaka* might be sourced from the Kiswahili verb –*waka* that means 'burn'. This could denote the burning of a cigarette. However, to conceal the word, Sheng speakers have altered it phonetically to obtain *fwaka*.

Quadri-synonym Nouns

A quadri-synonym noun has four equivalents. My corpus has three such nouns (see 8 below):

chik	*? dem*	*? kenge ? manzi*	'girlfriend'
poonyi	*? pai*	*? karau ? koopa*	'police officer'
ushaago	*? shaake*	*? shags ? ocha* 'home'	

In *chik ? dem ? kenge ? manzi*, the equivalents of *chik* and *dem* in English are *chick* and *dame* respectively. The embedding of meaning in these two nouns is interesting. A *chick* is a tender, adored baby of a chicken. One who owns a chick jealously takes care of it so that it can grow to a mature chicken. These traits are applied to one's girlfriend. She is not only loved but also adored and jealously taken care of. Hence she is a *chik* to the boyfriend.

In the course of lexicalization in Sheng, *chik* was replaced by *dem* which is sourced from English *dame*. Dame is a woman who has been given special honour by the British government. Dame is used as a term of reference before the name of such a woman. Thus in Sheng, the characteristic of great honour for a British lady is bestowed on a girlfriend who is adoringly called *dem*.

Dem was later replaced by *kenge*. The word may be traced to the Kiswahili **kenge** ('monitor lizard'). A monitor lizard is not an ordinary reptile; rather it is a rare creature that lives in hot climates and even here, it does not expose itself carelessly. In the same way, a dear girlfriend is not considered an ordinary human being but someone special. Thus she is a *kenge*.

Kenge is often replaced by *manzi*. It is sourced from Kiswahili **manzili** ('house'), which must have undergone truncation of its last syllable –**li** to yield **manzi**. If that is the case, then the characteristics of **manzili** as a place that guarantees one warmth, security and homeliness are attributed to a girlfriend. These attributes are embedded in the lexicalization of *manzi*.

Verbs

Unlike nouns analysed in the foregoing section, verbs appear to have a high level of stability since 73% (N = 27) of those in the corpus have no equivalents. In addition, none of the verbs has changed from an earlier form to a new one. What seems to be happening is that new verbs are appearing where no known Sheng verbs existed before. Three patterns of verbs are identifiable, namely, verbs that are polysemous, verbs that have equivalents (synonyms) and verbs that do not have synonyms.

Verb Type	Number	%
Polysemous	2	5
Synonyms	8	22
No synonyms	27	73
Total	**37**	**100**

Table 3. Verb patterns

Polysemous Verbs

These verbs denote more than one sense. For instance, -*wahi* in Sheng means 'to outsmart' or 'up stage' one. Consider the following example: **Nilimwahi yule manzi** (I outsmarted that girl). However, -**wahi** in Kiswahili means to reach a place early. Thus the concept of early arrival is transferred to outsmarting a person. -*wahi* in Sheng also refers to beating up a person as in **Nitamwahi huyu mzee** (I will beat up this old man). The speaker is certain of not only outsmarting his rival but also of beating him up.

Verbs with Synonyms

Some verbs have equivalents as indicated in (9) below:

-hanya ? –katia 'seduce a girl'
-susu ? –nyoora   'urinate'
-wahi ? –samba   'beat up'

With respect to the first example here, *-hanya* preceded *-katia* in the *-hanya ? -katia* synonyms. *-hanya* is coined and refers to seduction (Ogechi 2002:100). However, when reduplicated as in *–hanya hanya* it means roaming around, flirting with men and women. Thus *–hanya hanya*, in its extended form, means 'prostituting oneself'. *–katia* has replaced *–hanya*. *–katia* is the applicative form of the Kiswahili verb *–kata* ('cut'). The act of seduction is associated with persuasion and the "cutting through the ice" (i.e., progressing from the unknown to the known) on the part of the seducer. Persuasion therefore is likened to careful selection of words in the act of seduction.

Verbs without Synonyms

72% (N = 37) of the Sheng verbs studied have no synonyms. These fall into three main patterns depending upon their probable lexifier:

Lexifier	Number	%
Dholuo	1	4
Kiswahili	12	44
English	8	30
Coining	6	22
Total	**27**	**100**

Table 4. Lexifiers of verbs

Dholuo-lexified Verb

Donjo means 'arrive' in Sheng. The most probable Dholuo (Nilotic language in south western Kenya) equivalent of the verb is also *donjo*. However the Dholuo verb has a different meaning in that it means 'to enter'. For *donjo* to be used, Sheng has lexicalized the Dholuo sense of entering through expanding and associating it with the sense of arriving.

Kiswahili-lexified Verbs

These constitute 44% (N = 12) of all verbs in the corpus. In all cases, the Kiswahili surface form of the verb is retained but the resulting Sheng word has a different sense. *-dara* when used in Kiswahili refers to touching without implying intimacy. However in Sheng *–dara*'s meaning is expanded to denote 'caress in a loving manner'. A similar lexicalization is followed on the verb *–sota*. When used in Kiswahili, *-sota* refers to crawling on one's buttocks using one's hands. It denotes a situation of difficulty and pain. One who has no money can experience this state of difficulty and pain. Thus *–sota* in Sheng refers to 'financial difficulties'.

English-lexified Verbs

These comprise 30% (N=9) of the material studied. Lexicalization of the verbs is based on semantic expansion of the English sense. *chop* when used in English refers to 'cutting', especially a piece of wood to make various shapes such as a cooking stick. Sometimes chop refers to the 'action of eating'. As one chops, s/he reduces a big piece into smaller ones. When used in Sheng, *chop* means 'studying'. Perhaps the act of reading and trying to learn is likened to 'choping' a big piece of knowledge into small understandable pieces.

Adjectives

My data had only two adjectives: *poa* and *noma*. This scarcity supports claims that most Bantu languages have few adjectives but that they can be used with multiple meanings. For instance, the surface form of *poa* is reminiscent of Kiswahili *poa* for 'cool'. However *poa* in Sheng evokes several senses largely due to semantic borrowing from English:

10. **mtu** *poa*   'good, nice person'
11. **pesa** *poa*   'good (a lot of) money'

Conclusion

The goal of this paper was to take Sheng studies a notch higher than the traditional focus on the sociolinguistics and structural aspects of Sheng. By so doing, I have delved into the lexicalization of Sheng as a preliminary step towards studying the semantics of Sheng.

The analysis of the corpus has shown that at the lexical level, there is a high tendency of forming Sheng nouns followed by verbs and adjectives than any other parts of speech. It appears that largely it is open class items that contribute to and identify Sheng lexicon. Since nouns and verbs are the basic carriers of content in any conversation, it is safe to conclude that Sheng as a peer group language succeeds in isolating the non-initiated speaker because of the language's innovativeness in creating these content words. The analysis has also shown that although the speakers coin, manipulate and use Sheng lexemes unintentionally, there is a high degree of logic involved in the process of lexicalizing Sheng lexemes.

The fact that there are synonyms that have developed over the years (according to my analysis) does not mean that the so-called predecessors are completely no longer in use; rather, some of them are still actively used or are being revived. This shows that Sheng behaves like any stable language that has its diachronic and synchronic aspects. However, the diachronic changes (as shown through bi-synonym, tri-synonym and quadri-synonyms) seem to be overwhelming within the 20 or more years of Sheng's existence.

This research leads one to identify other semantic aspects of Sheng (such as idiomaticity and sentence semantics) that require investigation. It would also be interesting to unravel the dialects of Sheng spoken in Kenya and the lexical features that distinguish one from another.

Dept. of KiSwahili and other African languages
Moi University, Kenya

List of Abbreviations

CL	noun class
COP	copula
CS	codeswitching
DET	determiner
NONPST	nonpast
PRF	perfective aspect

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'Yes sir, no baas, three bags full'

Rita Ribbens

Introduction

In this article forms of address are contrasted with preferred forms of address in research that was undertaken in 1993, months before the dawn of the new democracy in South Africa. In this large-scale study the opinions of 1870 respondents in the mining communities of Khutsong, Wedela and Kokosi on the West Rand were recorded. The respondents were mainly speakers of Sotho, Shangaan, Tswana, Xhosa,and Zulu[1].

The use of first names (FN) versus titles plus surname or 'last name' (TLN) are examined by applying the models of Brown and Gilman (1960) and Brown and Ford (1961). Terms of address are symbols of social structure and encode positions of equality, status or of dominance versus subordinance. Apart from terms of address, status can also be expressed by means of pronouns for example *tu* and *vous* in French, *du* and *Sie* in German, *o* versus *le* in Sotho, *ty* versus *vy* in Russian (Fay 1920; Friedrich 1964) and so on. In most languages status and respect structures expressed by means of complex forms of address markers and these are well documented, e.g., Korean (Martin 1964) and Japanese (Howell 1968), to name but two. English does not have a differentiating pronominal form of address as *you* is used in the vertical status dimension for both superiors and inferiors.

Intercultural Contact in S.A.

In South Africa intercultural contact dates back to the contact between the colonists and the Khoikhoi at the Cape in the seventeenth century, and to the

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[1] Because the names of the languages were called in this manner at the time, and agreed upon by the members of the community who were co-owners of the project, they have not been changed to reflect current usage.

first decades of the nineteenth century in the farming communities of the Eastern Cape (Kaschula 1989). One of the earliest references to terms of address during contact between cultural groups is to be found in Giliomee's (2003:50) account of relationships:

> Slave and burger children played with each other as friends but when they grew up the master-slave hierarchy came into place. The burger child became the master; the slave remained a slave. Even in adult life a slave continued to be addressed as a *jong* (boy) or *meid* (girl), to be called by his or her first name and to go barefoot.

In the years that followed the first contacts very little changed as far as relationships and forms of address are concerned. During the opening ceremony for the first democratically elected Parliament in 1994, President Nelson Mandela pleaded for an end to racism in forms of address. He said: 'No more should words like Kaffirs, Hottentots, Coolies, Boy, Girl and Baas be part of our vocabulary' (http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/mandela/1994/sp940524.html).

"No more should words like 'kaffirs', 'Hottentots','coolies','boy', 'girl' and 'baas' be part of our vocabulary" (*The Pretoria News*, 25 May 1994:11).

Until places of learning and sport opened their doors to all members of society in the mid-1990s, cultural groups had very few opportunities for social interaction as the bulk of intercultural contact occurred in the workplace. An investigation into Intergroup Relations (Marais 1985) found that most intercultural communication took place in the workplace. It transpired that more than half of the respondents had not had contact with someone from a different culture the previous day, and where this had taken place, it was generally task-oriented and occurred in structured, vertical situations (such as supervisor/worker or customer/shop assistant).

These relationships in terms of address systems have never been researched in any depth. Van Jaarsveld's (1988) research, conducted at universities across the country, comes closest to a large-scale investigation. By means of 550 questionnaires, translated into Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho, Tswana, Xhosa and Zulu, he obtained responses from undergraduate and post-graduate students. Amongst others, his findings shed light on how

directives in Afrikaans cause confusion and misunderstanding and how politeness, forms of greeting, values and phatic communication differ cross-culturally. At the other end of the data collection continuum as far as size and method are concerned, we have Gough's (1996) report on his informal meetings with six farmers he befriended. He reports that in the past the term 'baas' (boss) was used in jocular fashion among this group of close-knit farmers. Apart from these two studies, we have no hard evidence of how the asymmetrical social structure of the 'old' South Africa was expressed verbally. As for methodology in South African sociolinguistic research, Chick (1992) voiced his suspicions about the 'narrowness' of the empirical base of studies conducted at universities. He expressed reservations as to whether it was possible to generalise findings from micro-interactional contexts to the macro-context of a wider society. Therefore, when it became possible to gain access to a particularly large contingent of people in the mining industry, the opportunity of obtaining data of a sociolinguistic nature was regarded as an important opportunity for research.

In this article the data that was obtained is reported on, after a description of the mining project and a short discussion of suitable and less suitable methods of data collection. Because of the research design employed in the investigation, the findings can, according to the statisticians contracted for the project, be generalised to the 152 000 people of the four communities. Anshen (1978:1) mentions the lack of statistical sophistication of some linguists, saying 'the only numbers in Bloomfield's *Language* appear at the top of the pages' but the tremendously rich body of research in linguistics that has made use of sophisticated statistical research designs obviously invalidates this statement. I was very fortunate that the mining company that commissioned the major research project also footed the bill for the statisticians that advised on procedures and interpretation of data obtained by means of close on two thousand questionnaires, because that made it possible for me to overcome statistical hurdles I would not have been able to face on my own, as I, too, lack statistical sophistication.

The Research Context

The research opportunity arose when the management of a mining company commissioned the Adult Basic Education Unit at the Human Sciences Research Council to conduct research to establish the aspirations and

educational needs of mining communities at its West Rand operation (Wydeman and Ribbens 1993). The management of the mine wanted to involve the hostel dwellers who worked in the mine as well as the inhabitants of three mining communities in a project aimed at fostering a culture of learning.

Data Collection in the Gold Mine Project

In order to establish the educational needs of the people on the West Rand, great care was taken to identify the leaders and representatives of various stakeholders. Meetings were held to ensure that all interested parties were involved, and the culture-of-learning concept was addressed by means of workshops. When all concerned were satisfied that all issues that needed to be investigated had been identified, an interview schedule was drawn up. Questions on home language, the preferred medium of instruction, and English language skills deemed necessary for work, all formed part of this questionnaire.

In his well known research on three department stores in New York in the 1970s, Labov avoided the observer's paradox because the respondents had no inkling that he was interested in the pronunciation of [r] and not in their 'fourth floor' answers. (He found that the variant correlates with socio-economic groupings and levels of formality.) Similarly, a section entitled 'Effective communication in the workplace' was included in the research by Wydeman and Ribbens (1994) to ascertain how learners wanted to be addressed in the envisaged Learning Centre. The question consisted of five sub-questions (see below and Appendix 1). As the sociolinguistic question in the interview schedule was slipped into a much larger survey that focused on issues of adult education, it may be assumed that the respondents were not consciously alerted to issues of social status. The sociolinguistic nature of the question perhaps explains why many of the respondents ignored some of the sub-questions, as the figures below illustrate:

1. How are you currently addressed?   1109 respondents
2. How do you *want* to be addressed?   1153 respondents
3. How do you address your superiors?   1161 respondents
4. How do you *want* to address your superiors?   1158 respondents
5. How do you want to be called when you cannot hear because

of noise in the environment? (Beckoning movement)   1048 respondents

The field workers/ interviewers were all members of the community, elected by the community to represent them and all spoke at least one of the local languages. A total of 2 300 structured interview schedules were distributed systematically in a manner prescribed by the statisticians. Of these 1 870 were returned. This exceptionally high response rate (81,3%) can be ascribed to the co-ownership of the project by the field workers and respondents, since the project had the potential of improving their lives.

The sample drawn from each community took into account variables such as age, sex, educational level, status of employment, and living conditions. Responses were received for the whole spectrum of age groups from 16 to over 59 years. The largest number of responses was in the age group 20 to 49 years, with the highest concentration (23.6%) between 30 and 34 years. In total 1306 men and 563 women responded. The largest number of responses was received from the mining division, while workers employed elsewhere represented 39 different occupations.

The interview schedule was prepared in English only, but every respondent was interviewed in the language of his or her choice because the field workers from each community who had volunteered to interview members of their respective communities, acted as interpreters. The schedules were completed by the field workers on a one-to-one basis because of the high rate of illiteracy among the population surveyed. As far as level of education is concerned, the responses were distributed more or less evenly from Standard 1 (i.e. Grade 3) or lower level up to standard 10, with the highest concentration around Standard 1/lower level (18.9%) and the Standard 6/7 level (18.5%).

Methodological Issues

In the quest for the most suitable sociolinguistic data collection instruments, the analogy of the net used for fishing is appropriate: it is known that the size of the holes in the net and the size of the net determine the size of the fish caught. No pronouncements can be made about smaller fish that escape through the holes.

When weighing up methods of elicitation versus those of observation, many factors come into play, and as yet no magic formula for

research methodology can be prescribed, as illustrated by Wolfram and Fasold's explanation (1974, in Coupland and Jaworksi 1997:92) of field methods used in the study of social dialects. They say,

> The question of optimal sample size for the study of [social dialects] is still undetermined. On the one hand, there is the tradition of linguistics which generally relies on very small samples. In some cases, one or just a few individuals serve as informants, and sometimes the linguist acts as his own informant. On the other hand, the tradition of sociological surveys is to have rather substantial numbers of subjects, often in the hundreds or thousands.

In their discussion of methods for studying language in society, Coupland and Jaworski (1997:69) caution against 'safe places' such as colleges and universities as data sources and contrast these with 'field methods'. In the latter case researchers engage in real world activities, such as conversations. Gough's (1996) close observation and report of terms of address of six farmers is probably the closest to what Coupland and Jaworski (1997:69) had in mind. Although it would have been impossible to observe or record and then analyse conversations in the Culture-of-Learning Project commissioned by the mining company, the stratified sample is representative of the real world and does not draw on the 'safe' audience of a student body, as in other cases on terms of address mentioned below. The disadvantages of questionnaires / structured interviews have been documented as not being natural data, but at least they do present a picture of informants' awareness (Braun1988:71-76).

Braun's (1988) publication *Terms of address: Problems of patterns and usage in various languages and cultures* refers to the research done by Gilman and Brown (1958), Brown and Gilman (1960) and Brown and Ford (1961) as the 'standard works' as they were regarded as initiators of modern sociolinguistic investigations of forms of address. Brown and his colleagues reported how FN (first names) and FN versus TLN (titles plus last names) were used in American plays. For a study of terms of address in Hindi, Misra (1977) too, uses literature (four novels by a prominent novelist of the 1930s). As Misra was familiar with the region described in the novels, he was able to supplement the information contained in the works of literature and present an accurate picture of social relationships determined by family status, caste and official hierarchies. Today researchers are able to capture delicate nuances of oral interaction and non-verbal gestures by means of technology, the Göteborg project being a case in point. It is now possible to do fine-grained analyses by replaying video and audio tapes of real interaction (Allwood, et.al. 2001).

Towards the end of the twentieth century Givon (1997:vii) complained that human language is acquired and used most commonly in the context of face-to-face communication, yet most theory building does not benefit from the study of face-to-face communication. Fortunately this lament does not apply to the model developed by Brown and Ford (1961) on forms of address, as they backed up their initial research of American literature by gathering data through observation of spontaneous interactions of people in work-related environments. They recorded these interactions between men and women of different occupational status, and in their observation discovered a 'reciprocal pattern' in dyads. They noticed that both interlocutors used FN to each other, or that both used TLN to each other, and that it was the superior who initiated the step towards intimate forms of address.

Braun's (1988) monumental work, carried out in Kiel, reports on research of terms of address with foreign students in 17 languages. In these studies, one to four native speakers per language were interviewed originally, but because it was felt that a high degree of subjectivity could skew the findings in data of such small samples, more comprehensive investigations were carried out and twenty to thirty informants were interviewed to satisfy the need for statistical representativeness.

Against this history of data collection in terms of address research, the findings of the mining project are presented.

The Findings of the Mining Project

In order to interpret the 1 870 schedules that were returned, appropriate statistical techniques were applied by statisticians appointed for this purpose. For the final phase of the statistical analysis, they recommended relevant multivariate techniques to be applied to enable a more nuanced analysis of the data.

In total eleven languages were represented by the responses received. They are given below in alphabetical order, together with the percentage they represent of the total response.

HOME LANGUAGE	Number of speakers	Percentage
Afrikaans	10	0.5%
English	24	1.3%
Ndebele	12	0.6%
Pedi	52	2.8%
Shangaan	134	7.2%
Sotho	479	25.9%
Swazi	86	4.7%
Tswana	434	23.5%
Venda	12	0.6%
Xhosa	477	25.8%
Zulu	128	6.9%
Other	1	0.1%

The statisticians advised that it would not be possible to apply statistical tests or to make meaningful inferences when groups are small; consequently the smaller language groups (Afrikaans, English, Ndebele, Pedi, Swazi, and Venda) were lumped together in a category termed 'Other' instead of each being treated on its own. After this was done the order of representation (in terms of number of speakers) of the languages was the following:

Sotho	479	25.9%
Xhosa	477	25.8%
Tswana	434	23.5%
Shangaan	134	7.2%
Zulu	128	6.9%
Other	197	10.7%

While all the other languages of the sample were distributed more or less equally between the hostels and towns, Tswana was well represented only in the towns and not in the hostels.

The general findings of the Culture-of-Learning Project commissioned by the mining company are beyond the scope of this article, but what may be of interest to language planners is that English was chosen as the preferred medium of instruction although less then 2% of the respondents were English speaking. The respondents were told that they would be instructed in the medium of their choice provided that there was a demand for this (Wydeman and Ribbens 1994:43). Of the 1 648 respondents who answered this question, more than two-thirds (68,4%) indicated that they wanted English as medium of instruction, while Sotho (9,4%) and Xhosa (8%) were the only other languages selected enough times to be of any statistical significance. Together these two language groups account for roughly half of the respondents.

The Sociolinguistic Questions

The model developed by Brown and Ford (1961) was used to test the use of FN (first or familiar name), versus TLN (title and last name). 'Title' ranged from 'mnumzane' to 'inkosikazi', 'morena', 'Mister', 'mosadi', 'Miss', 'Ms', 'meneer' and 'madoda'. Respondents first had to answer how they, as subordinates in the workplace, were currently addressed and how they in turn address a supervisor (or superior). They also had to express their preferences for each category.

How Subordinates are Addressed

	Current usage	Preferred form of address
First name (FN)	66%	57.7%
Surname only (LN)	20.6%	31%
Title plus surname (TLN)	11%	10.9%

Generally respondents seemed satisfied with the informal mode that was used when they were addressed. Two-thirds indicated that their first names were used, and 57.7% indicated that they wanted to be addressed in this way. Of the 1 153 respondents, only a fifth were called by their surnames, while 10% more would have liked this to be the case. This possibly indicates some dissatisfaction and a desire to be awarded more status.

The breakdown of how superiors are addressed compared with how the respondents would like to address them follows:

How Superiors are Addressed

	Current usage	Preferred form of address
First name (FN)	33.4%	41.7%
Surname only (LN)	32.2%	31.3%
Title plus surname (TLN)	32.3%	25.7%

A desire to decrease social distance and to use more familiar terms becomes apparent when we study the responses. A third of the respondents called their seniors by their first name, while slightly more than two-fifths wanted to do so. A third of the workers used titles, while only a quarter wanted to use this form. When the two formal terms (T + LN) are grouped together, the picture that emerges shows that almost two-thirds used formal terms, while slightly more than two-fifths wanted to use more familiar first-name terms.

As this information was obtained by means of a questionnaire, I was not able to probe why interviewees did not use more familiar FN terms.

According to the 'reciprocal pattern' model proposed by Brown and Ford (1961) it is the 'right' of the superior to initiate more intimate forms of address. They identify the two major dimensions which condition the choice of address as power and solidarity. Power is associated with social status. Wolfson (1989) describes Brown and Ford's (1961) model as 'extraordinarily powerful' as it was tested successfully not only in English, but also in a number of European languages. The findings of the four mining communities do not fit the common mould, because the reciprocal pattern is conspicuously absent. What the analysis confirms is a social structure of dominance versus sub-ordinance. Can we say that this was a reflection of South African society at that time? It is revealing that the answers supplied by the respondents for *preferred* forms of address approximate the reciprocal pattern identified by Brown and Ford more closely.

It is acknowledged that Brown and Ford observed dyads in live interaction whereas the data for the mining project was obtained by means of a questionnaire. It is common knowledge that one of the weaknesses of data collection by means of a questionnaire is that respondents do not necessarily do what they say they do. However, in the case of the mining project where questions about FN versus TLN were not the focus of the investigation, we probably are closer to the 'truth' than would have been the case if other sociolinguistic features were being examined.

'Number Crunching' (The Value of Statistical Analysis)

When numerical data is viewed without recourse to statistical analysis, the picture that emerges is not as clear as when interpretive statistical procedures are used, because some procedures allow for the investigation of the interactive effects of a number of independent variables simultaneously, to indicate which relationships are not due to chance. In Van Jaarsveld's (1988) comprehensive study that also investigated address forms in a number of African languages, statistical procedures were not used, with the result that we are able to compare differences across language groups only for isolated features, without being able to come to a decisive conclusion about differences across the language groups as a whole. The present study, however, set out to determine whether there were significant differences that could be detected by means of statistical procedures. In order to determine whether a particular language group differed greatly from another in respect

of their preferences, statistical tests such as *McNemar's test of symmetry*, the *Kappa* test and a procedure known as *Logical Regression* were applied to uncover relations which may obtain between pairs of variables. (See Appendix 1.) These tests made it possible to ascertain whether the speakers of a particular language group preferred a specific from of address that differed from the choice of another group.

If I had been working independently from the Culture-of-Learning Project I might have been able to delve deeper as far as the sociolinguistic sub-questions were concerned. This would have enabled me to avoid lumping together the English and Afrikaans speakers with the speakers of African languages in the statistical analysis as these six groups had little representation. Had I been working on my own, I may have been able to ask the statisticians to use Varbrul (a multivariate analysis software that Variationist linguists use) to analyse the data that would have enabled me to present a picture of the preferences of these language groupings. I am nevertheless grateful that my co-partner allowed the inclusion of the sociolinguistic question in the form of ascertaining acceptable practice in the workplace.

The analyses revealed that the only variable that was statistically significant on the 5% level was the response to Question 3 (How do you address a senior?). An analysis of the responses revealed that the Tswana speakers and Zulu speakers were more formal when addressing seniors. Three-quarters of the Tswanas and Zulus indicated that they use formal terms (TLN or LN) when addressing superiors (cf. Appendix). Only half of the Sotho speakers, on the other hand, indicated that they used formal terms. It may have been expected that the Sotho group would be closer to the Tswana group on this issue, so finding a closer correlation between the Zulu and Tswana speakers was interesting. A variable that could have played a role and affected the data is that of the of duration of acculturation, in other words, the length of time spent working in an industrialised society away from rural roots, or place of residence. The Zulu respondents were mostly hostel dwellers, whereas the Tswanas were residents of the communities under investigation.

The Variables of Age, Education, Home Language and Forms of Address

In order to determine the relationship between the variables age, education

and home language and the various forms of address, a statistical procedure called Logistic Regression was used. The independent variables that were used are the home language, with categories Sotho, Tswana, Xhosa, Shangaan and Zulu combined, and a combined variable of age and education with categories < 30 years and < Std 6, < 30 years and std 6 +, 30 + years and Std 6, and 30 + years and Std 6+. These combinations were used to provide for the interaction that may exist between age and education. In other words, the model would reveal whether persons older than thirty, who had not completed Std 6, responded differently from someone older than thirty who had completed Standard 6.

From the first table in Appendix 2 we are able to conclude that the way in which a person was addressed by a superior varied across the age and education categories. It was found that older, less educated people were addressed less formally by their senior at work. This behaviour could be a source of unhappiness for age is highly respected in African culture. When we study the second table, we observe that the probability of being addressed formally increases when the addressee falls in the higher education categories. Without recourse to sophisticated statistical analysis, this would not have come to our notice.

Non-verbal Communication: Body Language (cf. Question 5 in Appendix)

During the pilot phase of the another study on sociolinguistic relativity, I stumbled upon an interesting feature of non-verbal communication. While explaining what was meant by 'forms of address', the synonymous phrase 'how you are called' was used. Respondents who were being interviewed (in English) mentioned that a certain *gesture* was offensive. It transpired that 'calling' someone by beckoning with the hand was offensive to speakers of African languages. This form of beckoning entails pointing to someone and then indicating with one or two fingers of the hand that the person must come to the person who is beckoning. On further probing, I was informed that the finger beckoning form was the way one called dogs; to call people one was to make a large sweeping movement from the elbow. This corroborates the findings of Birdwhistell (1970), Ogden (1988:13) and Haworth and Savage (1989:238) who report on differences in use of non-verbal gestures

and indicate that there are other cultures in which this particular gesture is also regarded as suitable for calling dogs and not human beings.

In his comprehensive study on terms of address, Braun (1988:7) excludes aspects of non-verbal initiating contact (such as the beckoning gesture) but this feature was nevertheless included in the mining project. The non-verbal gesture of beckoning was therefore surreptitiously slipped into questionnaire of the research project commissioned by the mining company. More than two-fifths (44% of the 1 048 respondents) indicated that they found the non-verbal gesture offensive. Slightly more than a quarter (26.8%) indicated that they found the calling movement in which the whole hand was used offensive. When these two figures are added, it totals 70.8% of respondents that are repelled by this form of calling, while only 15.1% indicated that neither the head movement nor the hand gestures were offensive.

The findings obtained by means of the questionnaire were confirmed by another study where 50 people were interviewed on the factory floor in the East Rand (Ribbens 1994). (The aim of this more comprehensive study was to find ways of improving communication among members of the multicultural workforce.) A Discourse Completion Test was used. The respondents were given a range of choices from which they had to select the least appropriate form of behaviour. The scene described was very close to their daily experiences on the work floor. It was put to the respondents that, because of the noise on the work-floor the supervisor could not be heard when he had to call someone, that he therefore had to use some form of non-verbal communication to call the subordinate urgently. Various beckoning gestures were demonstrated and each respondent was asked which one(s) were not acceptable. I witnessed expressions of disgust passing over the faces of the people being interviewed when the hand movement commonly used by speakers of Afrikaans or English was demonstrated. One or two shuddered or looked away. Some said immediately that this form of calling was abhorrent to them. Others said that no gesture was acceptable and that the supervisor was compelled to call the operator by name. It had to be explained again that in the imaginary situation described, the noise level on the work-floor ruled out any possibility of a name being heard and therefore some kind of gesture was the only option. Reluctantly, the whole arm movement was then declared to be acceptable. The following gestures were considered inappropriate:

Arm movement	2%
Hand movement	72%
None of the above	8%
Other	10%
Both arm and head	8%

For 'other' respondents said that whistling, shouting and pointing were not acceptable forms to use for calling someone. Ways of attracting someone's attention, such as *Hey you!* or *Hey, boy!* or whistling, were also mentioned as sources of irritation.

Conclusion

The research reported on was conducted 'in the field' and not in a 'safe place' (Coupland and Jaworski's (1997: 69) categorization). The data was obtained empirically in the variationist tradition that Cameron labels the 'Labovian quantitative paradigm': a random sample was identified and findings judged to be representative of the community were studied. Under investigation were various forms of address and a non-verbal gesture as a means of initiating contact. Sophisticated statistical procedures were used to analyse the 1 870 responses. The research design and methodology employed in the project enabled the statisticians to rule that the findings could be generalised to represent the 152 000 people in the communities on the West Rand.

Cameron (1997:59) points out that descriptions without explanations result in what she calls 'butterfly collecting' (meaning, interesting, but to what avail?). With Cameron's observation in mind, we have to ask what was gained by studying the answers to the sociolinguistic question (actually 5 sub-questions) slipped into a large-scale investigation on adult education.

What was established was that a commonly used beckoning gesture by white people is regarded as offensive, and that this holds true for Sotho, Tswana, Xhosa, Shangaan and Zulu speakers. This finding is important for

successful intercultural communication in an industrial society, and cognisance should be taken of this for intercultural training courses. The literature on intercultural communication training and the many courses available world-wide for multi-racial workforces acknowledge the need to adapt to the dynamics of working and living alongside cultures that are different from one's own (Baird and Stull 1981; Crane 1986; Bush-Bacelis 1987; Armstrong et al. 1988; and Setliff and Taft 1988). There is an expressed need to sensitise participants to the importance of own-cultural awareness, other-culture awareness, understanding and appreciation, as well as to the need to develop skills such as listening, empathy and attendance to the non-verbal signals required for harmonious interaction.

When the research was conducted in 1993 it was established that the reciprocal pattern of address, identified by Brown and Ford (1961), was absent in the communities under investigation. An analysis of the responses revealed that respondents wanted to decrease social distance between superiors and subordinates as they expressed a desire to be on more familiar terms with them. Cameron (1997:57) rejects the notion that language reflects society as 'the correlation fallacy' in the light of the absence of an acceptable theory of the relation of language and society. She also claims that patterns identified are essentially descriptive statements about society and do not explain anything. Therefore, unless we are able to reduplicate the research, we are left to speculate whether the patterns identified in this study were a reflection of power relations as they existed in the 'old' South Africa. A theoretical contribution could be made if a similar study were to produce findings that support the Brown and Ford (1961) model.

The data presented is a record of the past, a snapshot of 'the way it was then'. As a result of the moves to transform power structures in South Africa, relationships have changed during the past ten years. Since the research was conducted, a democratically elected government has come to power and a more egalitarian society has been forged. When Nelson Mandela addressed parliament in May 2004, he proclaimed confidently, in sharp contrast to his plea ten years earlier, that after ten years of democracy, human dignity and respect had been achieved in a 'non-racial inclusive democracy' (SABINET). If a study on address terms were to be reduplicated and the findings proved to be closer to the patterns identified in Brown and Ford's (1961) tried and tested model, it would be able to say with

confidence, as Nelson Mandela boldly stated in 2004, that we have become an 'inclusive society'.

Department of Linguistics
University of South Africa

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Appendix 1

To apply the tests, variables that have bearing on address forms were identified and codified as 'informal' (first name) and 'formal' (surname only or title plus surname).

The frequencies of the four categories and their percentages are indicated in the table below. In each **I** in the first column equals **Informally**, and **F** = **Formally**.

Question 1: How are you addressed by a senior?

	Sotho	Tswana	Xhosa	Shangaan	Zulu
I	69.04% (136)	72.95% (89)	66.84% (125)	60% (125)	53.45% (31)
F	30.96% (61)	27.05% (33)	33.16% (62)	40% (32)	46.55% (27)

$X^2 = 0.066$

Question 2: How do you want to be addressed by a superior?

	Sotho	Tswana	Xhosa	Shangaan	Zulu
I	58.01% (105)	63.87% (76)	61.20% (112)	51.76% (49)	49.15% (29)
F	41.99% (76)	36.13% (43)	38.80% (71)	40.24%. (33)	50.85% (30)

$X^2 = 0.413$

Question 3: How do you address a superior?

	Sotho	Tswana	Xhosa	Shangaan	Zulu
I	44.38% (79)	24.35% (28)	36.93% (65)	42.68% (35)	26.32% (15)

	F	55.62% (99)	75.65% (87)	63.07% (111)	57.32% (47)	73.68% (42)

$X^2 = 0.003$

Question 4: How do you want to address a superior?

	Sotho	Tswana	Xhosa	Shangaan	Zulu
I	49.45% (90)	36.52% (42)	46.67% (84)	45.12% (37)	36.21% (21)
F	50.55% (92)	63.48% (73)	53.33% (96)	54.88% (45)	63.97% (37)

$X^2 = 0.150$

Question 5: Which gesture do you find offensive?

	Sotho	Tswana	Xhosa	Shangaan	Zulu
Head	10.61% (21)	18.5% (11)	7.69% (16)	12.82% (10)	15.25% (9)
Hand	29.80% (59)	27.41% (31)	29.33% (61)	29.49% (23)	18.64% (11)
Fingers	44.44% (88)	45.19% (61)	50% (104)	41.03% (32)	47.64% (28)
None	15.15% (30)	19.26% (26)	12.98% (27)	16.67% (13)	18.64% (11)

$X^2 = 0.621$

<div align="center">

Appendix 2
</div>

LOGISTIC REGRESSION MODELS

Response	Independent	P Value
Question 1	AGE, EDUCATION	0.0002
Question 2	LANGUAGE, AGE, EDUCATION	0.0120 0.0011

ESTIMATED PROBABILITIES OF BEING ADDRESSED FORMALLY

Response to the question How are you addressed by a senior?

Independent variable	N	Prob.	Significant difference	P. value
Age, Education				
1. <30 yrs & < std 6	68	0.500	1 VS 3	0.0384
2. <30 yrs & std 6+	142	0.360	1 VS 4	0.0001
3. 30+ yrs & < std 6	268	0.362	2 VS 4	0.0110
4. 30+ yrs & std 6 +	267	0.240	3 VS 4	0.0022

A Critical Discourse Analysis of Forms of Address in Letters between Batswana Chiefs and British Administrators

Mompoloki M. Bagwasi

Introduction

In the late 1800s Bechuanaland, now Botswana, and other neighbouring countries were in danger of being annexed into South Africa by the powerful Boers. Bechuanaland asked for protection from the British government and in 1885 it was declared a British protectorate (Campbell 1979). Before British rule the country was ruled by chiefs who had a lot of power over the people and the land. The chiefs were responsible for land allocation and the issuing of mine prospecting permits. The advent of the British in 1885 called for the redefinition and regulation of the powers of the chiefs, a step that naturally bred misunderstanding and strains in the relationship between the local chiefs and British administrators. Brown and Gilman (1960:255) point out that power is a relationship between at least two persons, and that it is non-reciprocal in the sense that both cannot have power in the same area of behavior (in Mesthrie et al 2000). This non-reciprocal relationship is evident when the British administrators used signatures such as 'your obedient servant' when addressing each other and the address term 'friend' when addressing Batswana chiefs. *Friend* is associated with solidarity and *obedient servant* is associated with an absence of solidarity and differential power relations.

Objective and Methodology

Using a corpus of about 200 letters written by and to the British administra-

tors on one hand, and letters written to and by Batswana local chiefs on the other hand, this paper aims to explore the type of relationship that existed between British administrators and Batswana chiefs during the protectorate period (1885-1966). This paper is about language and power. It examines the relationship between language use and the unequal relations of power between Batswana chiefs and British administrators. The paper adopts a critical discourse analysis approach where written texts are seen as a form of social practice in which social structure and social practices are constructed. This approach requires attention to be paid to the form, structure and organization of the text. The paper illustrates the significance of language in the production, maintenance or change of social relations of power.

Fairclough (1995:19) rightly points out that critical discourse analysts sometimes fail to historicize their data or specify the historical conditions within which their data is generated, and to indicate how these conditions contribute to the meaning and form of the data. Indeed, Wodak and Meyer (2002) claim that every discourse is historically produced and interpreted. The historical perspective that this paper provides is important in foregrounding the social context in which the letters were generated as well as 'legitimizing' some viewpoints and ideologies that are expressed in the letters. The letters demonstrate the kind of negotiation for social identity and position that British administrators and Batswana chiefs were engaged in as they found themselves having to define their power relations. The letters serve an illustration of the way discourse is sometimes used to create and sustain inequalities in society. Fairclough (1995) is a strong advocate for an approach that links analysis of samples of language with the understanding of conflict in society.

In this paper the relationship between Batswana chiefs and British administrators is assessed by examining the type of address forms used in the salutations and signatures of the letters. Mesthrie et al (2000:319) contend that titles, names, pronouns and address forms are clear and well defined subsystems of language that reveal inequalities of power or solidarity between individuals and the institutions they may represent. Differences of power are likely to determine the choice of one address form over another. Further, Brown and Levinson (1987) define solidarity in terms of personal relationships and degree of friendliness between speakers and addressees.

The letters are divided into two broad categories. The first category consists of letters written by the British administrators who mostly worked as officials in the British administration as High Commissioners, Deputy High Commissioners, Resident Commissioners, Governors, Magistrates, etc. Though the missionaries were not necessarily part of the British administration or native speakers of English, their letters are analyzed in this category. This category is divided into two parts: letters written by the British administrators to other British administrators and letters written by British administrators to Batswana chiefs. The second category is that of letters written by Batswana chiefs. This category too has two parts: letters written by Batswana to the British administrators and those written by Batswana to other Batswana.

No effort on the part of the researcher was made to revise or make any corrections on the texts in terms of language or grammar save for those features that hinder intelligibility. The letters are authentic, collected from the Botswana National Archives, in Gaborone, between August 2000 and May 2001 and are presented in this analysis as they were written by their authors.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis according to Phillips and Jorgensen (2002:61) provides theories and methods for the empirical study of relations between discourse and social and cultural developments in different social domains. Fairclough (1989, 1992a, 1992b, 1995) uses the term critical discourse to describe an approach that he has developed which is a broader movement within discourse analysis. Fairclough (1992b) advocates for a critical interpretation of texts in order to recover the social meanings that are expressed in discourse. This is achievable by analyzing the linguistic structures in discursive texts in the light of their interactional and wider social contexts. Fairclough believes that the analytic method that he proposes may be used by people who may not be specialists in linguistics but in other fields such as history.

Fairclough proposes to regard discourse as a form of social practice, rather than a purely individual activity or a reflex of situational variables. He believes that discourse is determined by socially constituted orders of discourse or sets of conventions that are associated with social institutions.

He argues that discourse has an effect upon social structures as well as being determined by them. Fairclough (1992b:63) asserts that 'discourse is shaped and constrained by social structure, by class and other social relations at societal level and by relations specific to particular institutions'. Fairclough further argues that critical discourse analysis views discourse as a domain in which social struggles take place, where the effects of discourse upon social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and beliefs are shown to be shaped by relations of power and ideologies. Indeed, language is a social practice that is determined by social structure and the changes in discourse often reflect a dimension of wider and social and cultural change. This view is shared by Gee (1990:23) who argues that discourses are inherently ideological because they involve a set of values and viewpoints about the relationships between people and the distribution of social goods. Gee asserts that 'one must speak and act in terms of these values and viewpoints while being in the discourse'.

This does not mean that people are often aware of the ideological dimensions of their discursive practices because ideologies that are built into conventions of a particular group's speech may become so naturalized that people may find it difficult to accept that their normal practices could have specific ideological investments. However, even where discourse participants may not be aware of the ideological import of their language, aspects of their style are often ideologically significant. For instance individuals or public bodies such as government ministries often produce personal and public information about their schemes and activities in a style that is partly based on the image they want to construct for themselves.

Fairclough (1989:2) argues that ideologies are linked to power because the nature of the ideological assumptions in particular conventions and the nature of the conventions themselves depend on power relations which underlie them. He says ideologies are a means of legitimizing existing social relations and differences of power through recurrence of ordinary familiar ways of behaving which take these relations for granted. Hodge and Kress (1993:203) believe that

> a text (a record of language in use) is always the product of socially situated participants operating with relative degrees of choice in situations where discursive behavior is constrained to different

degrees by specific structurings of power and domination ranging from equality (dimension of solidarity) to inequality (dimension of power).

Wodak and Meyer (2002:11) too believe that 'texts are sites of struggle in that they show traces of differing discourses and ideologies contending and struggling for dominance'. Different users of language in discourse or a text have different orientations to degrees of access to a given set of meanings in a language and the selections they make are determined and based on the social circumstances and positions of the speakers in the social structure. Discourse thus assigns 'subject positions' which may be accepted or rejected.

Language is always at the core of social relations and social processes given that power relations are often expressed implicitly or explicitly through language. Power relations involve struggles in which those who have and those who do not have power are constantly engaged in a struggle to exercise, maintain, or defend their position. Fairclough (1995:76) sees this struggle in which there is leadership as well as domination across economic, political, cultural and ideological domains as hegemony. He argues that 'hegemony is about constructing alliances and integrating rather than simply dominating subordinate classes. This may be done through concessions and ideological means to win consent, but it is never achieved more than partially and temporarily, that is it is, at best, an 'unstable equilibrium.'' In this way discursive practice is a struggle that contributes in varying degrees to the reproduction or transformation of the existing order of discourse and through existing social and power relations.

When it comes to critically analyzing discourse Fairclough (1992a:10) proposes that every discursive instance has to be looked at from three dimensions. First there is the spoken or written language or text and its description. Second, there is interpretation of the interactional process between how texts are produced and interpreted and social action. Finally, there is the social action or social context on which the text and its interpretation are dependant. The explanation of the nature of the text and its interpretation depend on the social context or social action in which it is embedded. Thus the relationship between social action/context and text is mediated by interaction.

Using a critical discourse analysis approach the relationship between Batswana chiefs and British administrators is investigated by analyzing address terms found in the letters that they wrote to each other. The address terms are interpreted on the basis of the history and social context in which the letters were generated. The address forms that are investigated are seen as linguistic realizations or traces of discourse.

Letters by British Administrators to other British Administrators

Salutations and Openings

Of the forty-five letters written by a British administrator to another, 43 (or 95%) of them employ a formal salutation such as: *dear sir, sir, your honour,* the addressee's name or official title. It is only in two cases that elaborate praise or greetings such as *"May it please your excellency"* is used in the salutation. This suggests that the relationship between the addressee and the reader is formal and professional, allowing very little intimacy. The following examples illustrate the kind of salutations and opening sentences of letters from one British administrator to another.

Excerpt 1

> **My dear Colonel,**
> It appears Bathoen became infatuated with a local girl who is no class and she seems to get control of him.
> (Signature of letter not legible, To Colonel Sir Carrington, 6 February, 1929 S 5/5)

Excerpt 2

> **Sir,**
> I have the honour to inform you in reply to yours of 15 inst. with reference to the inquiry as to whether we intend charging a commission on sums of money transferred to the credit of the deputy commissioner in Bechuanaland at Kimberly, that we have much pleasure in making the said transfers at par.
> (Letter from imperial secretary, signature not legible, to High Commissioner 25 April 1884 HC 65/14)

The letters written by British administrators to other British administrators do not only have formal salutations but they also have direct opening sentences that immediately present the issue that the author wants to present. Merkestein (1998) remarks that British letter writing style is more direct because the norms of British English dictate that expositions must be rational. Since reason and emotion are felt to be diametrically opposed, the overt expression of feelings, attitudes and emotions must be avoided as much as possible.

Signatures and Endings

The signatures of these letters are also simple, formal and formulaic. In the current data the most popular signature is *"your obedient servant"* which is employed in 22 out of 45 letters (or 45%). This signature seems to convey reverence and respect for the high status of the addressee and is therefore mostly used by a low status person writing to a high status person. It is also formulaic, used by most of the writers and sometimes not even written in full but abbreviated to *"I am your etc"*. The rest of the letters, 23 out of 45 (or 51%) use other formal signatures such as *"yours sincerely, yours truly* or *with kind regards I remain"*. Once again, the formal and formulaic endings and signatures in these letters suggest a formal, professional and faceless type of relationship in which colloquial and intimate language do not have a place between the British administrators. The letters have one function: to convey official business. The following examples illustrate the type of endings and signatures found in the letters of the British administrators writing to other British administrators.

Excerpt 3

> It occurs to me that perhaps some of the sentences in this communication may appear at a distance to be too strongly expressed. My apology, it could be due to my sense of magnitude of the imminence of the question, which alone could have induced me to write at all.
> With every expression of respect, I remain.
> **Your excellency's humble servant,**
> John Mackenzie
> (From John Mackenzie to Sir Henry Berkly, 2 May 1876 HC 48/1/2)

Excerpt 4

> I asked him if he is satisfied, he said "no" and then again he said if you are only riding past it is all right, but you must do nothing.
> **I have the honour to be etc**.
> J. Vosthurgen
> (Letter from J.Vosthurgen to High Commissioner, 19 February, 1889 HC 25/42)

Letters by the British Administrators to Batswana Chiefs

It is through these letters that we get insights into the power struggles between the British administrators and Batswana chiefs. It should be noted that between 1800 and 1900 when these letters were written, white people were considered to be superior to black people, so the relationship that existed between the British administrators and Batswana chiefs had its roots in the relationship that existed between Blacks and Whites. Although Bechuanaland did not have a White government in the way that South Africa and Rhodesia did, it was a British protectorate and the British administered and oversaw the country by means of a small white administration based in Mafeking (sic), South Africa. The terms of the protectorate were that the British protect Batswana country from annexation to South Africa but leave the governance of the country to the local chiefs. However, that situation could not be maintained, and the British ended up assuming more power than the chiefs had anticipated (Tlou and Campbell 1984). This caused overlaps and conflicts in the duties and powers of the British administrators and Batswana chiefs, who before the advent of the British administration, were the sole rulers of the land and people. The address forms found in the correspondence between the British administrators and Batswana chiefs offer insights into the relationships that existed between these two groups.

Salutations and Openings

The address forms in the salutations of letters written by the British administrators to the Batswana chiefs reflect a less formal type of relationship. The letters mostly employ an informal and intimate address form *my friend*. Of the 23 letters written by the British administrators to Batswana chiefs, 18 of them (or 78%) employ the salutation *my friend*. This

finding is significant and interesting since it is rare in British administrator to British administrator correspondence. The use of such an informal and intimate address form shows that although the British administrators were very formal in their correspondence with other British administrators they did not need to be formal in their correspondence and interaction with the Batswana chiefs.

At this stage we can argue that the use of the salutation *my friend* establishes solidarity and a closer relationship between the British and the local chiefs and bridges the gap of subordinate and boss between the two groups. *My friend* is a neutral address form which connotes solidarity, equality, intimacy and informality and it seems that, in this case, it was deliberately adopted by the British administrators to mask the power strife and the gap between them and the local chiefs as well as a cover up for British dominance. It is only in a few instances that formal salutations such as *dear sir* or title of addressee or their name is used. The following exemplify the kind of salutations and openings found in letters from British administrators to Batswana chiefs.

Excerpt 5

> **My friend Sechele,**
> When I visited Molepolole last month an address of welcome was presented to me by you and your people and I told you in reply to certain points therein that I was unable to say anything relative thereto without first consulting Mr. Barry.
> (Letter from assistant commissioner to Chief Sechele, 24 February, 1912 S 43/2)

Excerpt 6

> **Chief,**
> Herewith I give you notice and forbid you absolutely from trespassing on Transval ground as is already done by your people and warn you in the name of the South African Republic not to lay your hands upon the crops sown by your people in the boundary of the South African Republic.
> (Letter from Native Commissioner, Mafeking to Chief Ikaning 7 March 1887 HC 12/18)

The opening sentences of these letters are also for the most part direct, immediately stating the issue at hand. Though I have earlier suggested that the address form *"my friend"* connotes solidarity, equality, and intimacy, this is contradicted in some of the letters where the authors use 'bald on record" statements that signify their authority and power over the addressee. For example in Excerpt 6 (above) and Excerpt 7 (below) the writers issue reprimands or commands that clearly indicate their authority and superiority over the chiefs.

The use of the address term *friend* and the issuing of reprimands and orders suggest that the British administrators did not regard Batswana chiefs as their equals despite the use of the address term *friend*. The use of this address term merely masks the nature of the power relations and conceals the extent of the power disparity between the British and Batswana chiefs.

Potter and Wetherell (1987:109) argue that the use of a particular discourse which contains a particular organization not only justifies and warrants one's actions but also maintains power relations and patterns of domination and subordination. The above discourse clearly illustrates a hegemonic struggle in which the British administrators attempt to establish their power by restructuring and re-shaping the existing order of discourse. The restructuring of the discourse also restructures the social structure and social relationships between them and the chiefs.

Signatures and Endings

In the analysis of letters from British administrators to other British administrators it was noted that 48% of the letters employed the formulaic signature *your obedient servant*. However, it is interesting to note that this signature is found in only 3 out of 23 letters written to Batswana chiefs by British administrators. This finding is significant because it suggests that though the *your obedient servant* signature might seem formulaic or routine between native speakers or British administrators it is hardly used in letters to the local chiefs. The near absence of the signature in these letters is a comment on how the British administrators perceived their status in relation to the chiefs. It suggests that though the *your obedient servant* signature was popular in that era it did not apply or was not appropriate in a situation where a Briton was writing to a local chief because it could suggest that a Briton could be of a lower status or a servant of a local black chief. This

finding clearly shows that letter-writing conventions are institutional and that their ideological import is tied to the political institution that they serve.

The endings and signatures of letters written by the British to Batswana chiefs are relatively less formal when compared to those found in letters to other British administrators. The most popular signature found in letters from the British to the local chiefs is *your friend* and the endings of these letters mostly convey greetings and best wishes. Of the 23 letters written by British administrators to Batswana chiefs 20 of them (86%) employ the signature *your friend* and only 14% of the letters employ such signatures as *with best wishes, pula, I remain*. The following excerpts illustrate the kind of signatures and endings found in letters from British administrators to Batswana chiefs.

Excerpt 7

> I propose to be at Gaberones on Friday next and request you to be present there to meet me and give me an explanation of why you held the meeting and the reason for making use of the words which you are said to have used. Until we meet I shall not discuss the matter with you.
> **Let it rain.**
> Resident Commissioner, Mafeking.
> (Letter from Resident Commissioner to Chief Sebele 9 June, 1899 HC 115)

Excerpt 8

> With regard to a line between you and Khama, I know no such line yet and I don't see how any line could justly be made without your knowledge and consent.
> With hearty greetings, I remain always your friend.
> (Letter from S.G.A. Shippard to Chief Lobengula, 29 April, 1887 HC 122).

Letters written by the British administrators to Batswana chiefs can generally be characterized as formal and yet friendly. The formality of the letters is demonstrated by a direct presentation of the subject matter without using informal openings such as elaborate greetings. At the same time the

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letters have a friendly and informal tone achieved through use of informal and intimate salutations and signatures such as *"my friend, let it rain, with greetings"*.

The letters by British administrators demonstrate an institutional practice which embody assumptions which legitimize existing power relations from which people, without thinking, draw. When writing to each other the British administrators routinely sign their letters 'your obedient servant' but when they write to Batswana chiefs they become conscious of the implications of such a signature and refrain from using it.

Letters Written by Batswana to British Administrators
Salutations and Openings

The majority of letters, 70 out of 130 (or 54%) from Batswana to British administrators employ formal salutations such as *"dear sir, your excellency, your honour"* or the addressee's title or name. This is in contrast to letters from the British to Batswana where the majority preferred the less formal address form of *my friend*. The high percentage of formal salutations in these letters is probably indicative of the formality with which Batswana chiefs perceived their relationship with the British administrators: formal, distant and professional. The less formal salutation, *dear friend,* is also used in a significant number of letters 42 out of 130 (or 32%). It has already been argued that this address form is a marker of solidarity and equality though it has also been demonstrated that the use of this address term does not connote equality because the British administrators and Batswana chiefs rarely participated as equals in their interaction. For instance, despite the use of the address form *my friend* the British displayed their authority by use of reprimands and commands and Batswana authors on the other hand used a lot of self-degradation strategies in their letters to the British administrators. This contrast serves to highlight the power disparity in their relationship.

Since the addressee (British administrator) in all these cases is someone whom it is believed could bring about an adjustment in that disparity, the use of self-degradation is designed to invoke compassion and pity. Batswana writers use the strategy of down grading themselves in order to attract attention and compassion from their readers. In Setswana speech interaction expressions such as *"I have nothing to say"* or *"I have a little question"* make the speaker's opinion or idea seem modest and therefore not imposing upon the listener. At the same time such expressions appeal to the addressee's compassion and generosity to listen to those with a small voice. Excerpt 9 below exemplifies common Setswana strategies of down playing one's opinion and ideas in front of a superior by using such expressions as *"I have nothing to say"* or *"I have a little question."* In this example the chiefs construct themselves as unequal to the British administrators through a discourse of negative self-construction. This finding supports the observation of Mills (2002.15) that discourses can structure both our sense of reality and our notions of identity. It enables the consideration of the ways in which subjects may not able to identify the ways in which they have been constructed and subjected but are able to map for themselves new terrains in which they can construct themselves in more liberating and different ways.

The use of the plural marker *"our"* in the salutation of the next excerpt is an expression of respect for a person of higher status in the writer's dialect:

Excerpt 9

> To **our** senior magistrate,
> My best greetings Sir, **I have nothing to say sir**, I only ask about the health of my relative who is there. **I ask only one little question chief.** I hear that my wife says that when I beat her I had her held down, one person holding her by one foot, another by another foot, and another by her hand. I say I hear her words, but if they are hers they are lies.
> (Letter from chief Sekgoma Letsholathebe to Magistrate, 13 November 1905 RC 5/13)

Sometimes the address form *chief* is also used to refer to British administrators such as resident magistrates, magistrates etc. as exemplified in excerpt 10 below. This address form is found in 4 out of 130 letters and its use suggests a much broader meaning than a leader of an ethnic community. That is, besides being used to refer to a leader of an ethnic community, *chief* was also used as a term of respect to refer to an individual in a position of authority as exemplified in the next excerpt.

Excerpt 10

> **Mr Ellenberger,**
> **Greetings chief,** to you, your wife and your children. I am writing to inform you that on his return from Gaberones, the boy who had taken our letters to you said that he told him it was well with regard to the letter which I had written to you.
> (Letter from Kgabo to Ellenberger, 2 May 1901 RC 5/12)

The following excerpts illustrate the kind of salutations and openings found in letters written by Batswana chiefs to the British administrators.

Excerpt 11

> **Your honour,**
> **I greet you and the Bakwena also greet you**. I together with the headmen and all of the Bakwena are very much pleased that his honour found an opportunity and the necessity to visit our town and see us.
> (Letter from Sechele paramount chief of the Bakwena to His Honour the Resident Commissioner, 8 September, 1911 S 42/3).

Excerpt 12

> **My dear friend,**
> **Sir, I write to greet you, and Mrs Wright.** Now I send you these few lines to let you know that you will be so kind enough, please sir, to wait until I tell you when I need the corn.
> (Letter from chief Montsioa to W.J. Wright 25 September, 1884 HC 193)

It is worth noting that while the letters written by the British mostly opened by going straight into the issue, letters written by Batswana tend to open with a greeting or making a reference to the welfare of the reader before presenting the subject matter of the letter. In the best traditions of Setswana hospitality the speaker has to ask about the welfare of the hearer and sometimes that of his family at the beginning of a conversation. An examination of the data shows that of the 130 letters written by Batswana to the British administrators, 29 of them (or 22%) open with a greeting or

inquiry about the health of the recipient or his family thereby employing the Setswana practice of using greetings as conversation openers.

Greetings are not only used as conversation openers in Setswana speech interaction, but they are also an important strategy by which a speaker attempts to please and win the social approval of the listener. In addition, Batswana writers enquired about the recipient's health or welfare and that of their family because Batswana society generally places great value on relatives and family. Consequently, space is often devoted in the letter to greetings and asking about the welfare of the family and thereby forcing the conventions of letter writing in Setswana to require greetings and have longer introductions than in English.

Signatures and Endings

Although Batswana chiefs seem to have accepted the superiority of the British as evidenced by the use of down graders, honorific titles such as *chief*, it is interesting to note that a low percentage of about 15% (or 20 letters) of the letters from Batswana to British administrators were signed *your obedient servant*. The low frequency of this signature indicates that although the Batswana chiefs acknowledged and accepted the superiority of the British administrators they could not readily accept the position of obedient servant. Mesthrie et al (2000:333) point out that some studies of interactive spoken norms make it clear that the language of the powerful is not fully accepted by the less powerful. They argue that wherever there is power there is resistance as well. Batswana writers demonstrated their resistance by preferring less formal endings such as *greetings, your friend, that is all*. Of the 130 letters written to the British 54 of them (or 41.5%) end with a greeting, 34 (26%) are signed *your friend*, 13 (10%) employ the Setswana conversation ending *that is all* or the Botswana peace slogan '*pula*' thus making the percentage of informal signatures 78%. The rest of the letters employ formal signatures such as *yours sincerely, yours faithfully or yours truly*. The following examples illustrate the endings and signatures of letters by Batswana to British administrators.

Excerpt 13

> With regard to this matter we can only inform the government, only the government will know what to do, we have no other will but that

of the government. **This is all, Greetings chief**, I shall say no more.
I am your friend, Baruti.
(Letter from Baruti Kgosidintsi to J. Ellenberger 17 July 1901 RC 5/12)

Excerpt 14

His people are doing what they wish, they are not waiting for the decision, with regard to my people I have told them not to do nothing as you said. I am waiting for the decision. **With kind greetings to yourself and to Mrs Surmon and family.**
I am etc. Sebele.
(letter from Sebele chief of Bakwena to Mr Surmon 25 September, 1894 RC 5/12)

The letters written by the Batswana to the British suggest a formal and yet friendly relationship. Batswana writers tend to address the British formally and yet in accordance with their culture they have to greet them and ask about their welfare and the welfare of their family. Letters written by the Batswana thus have longer introductions and longer signatures that involve greetings and best wishes. While the British used the signature *your obedient servant* in letters from subordinate to superior this type of signature was not preferred by the majority of Batswana writers even though they accepted and acknowledged the superiority of the British administrators.

This observation suggests that British administrators are the dominant group which exercises its power over the Batswana chiefs by winning their consent, integrating them by calling them *friends*. However this power and domination is challenged and mitigated by Batswana chiefs who also call British administrators *friends* and use the *your obedient servant* signature sparingly. The observation also supports the claim by Wodak and Meyer (2002) that critical discourse analysis makes it possible to analyze the pressures from above and the possibilities of resistance to unequal power relationships that appear as societal conventions. This approach enables one to see how dominant groups try to stabilize conventions, obscuring the effects of power and ideology in the meanings of some forms so that these forms are seen as natural forms with a 'given' meaning. It also enables one to see the resistance that challenges and breaks the conventions.

Letters from Batswana to other Batswana

Current data contains a few correspondences between Batswana chiefs because there was not much written communication between Batswana chiefs in the early years. They mostly communicated by word of mouth. Current data only has 32 letters written by Batswana to others.

Salutations and Beginnings

The majority of letters written by Batswana to other Batswana use formal types of salutations, for example 15 letters (or 47%) employ such salutations as *dear sir, your honour,* while in 10 of the letters (or 31%) the title of the addressee or *chief* is used, making the use of formal salutations 25 out of 32 (or 78%). However what sets the salutations of the letters from Batswana to other Batswana apart is the use of kinship terms and totems as salutations, as exemplified in the excerpts 15, 16, and 18 below. The use of kinship terms does not necessarily connote a biological relationship between the author and reader. The kinship terms are honorific forms meant to show respect and solidarity with the addressee. These terms are found in 7 (or 22%) of the letters.

Excerpt 15

Dear chief Keaboka,
Phuti ke a dumedisa. *(Duiker, I greet you).* **Chief** I learn that you have paid us a visit a few days ago in connection with some school trouble we are having. **Chief** we are only sorry that when you were here you did not even see one of the teachers. **Chief** we here feel that we are your ears and eyes.
(Letter from John Malome to chief Keaboka 24 March 1952 BT Admin 1/22)

Excerpt 16

Dear father,
When a man is rotten all the things which belong to him smell bad too. I speak these words for the sake of the dispute and color bar and persecution of employers of the workers who are recruited in the

South African mines in the republic of South Africa.
(Letter from Khumo Keitumetse to the Office of the President 31 July, 1971 OP 18/2/1).

Though the majority of the letters have a formal type of salutation a significant number of them open with a greeting. For example 12 out of 32 (38%) use greetings as openers in accordance with the Setswana practice of greeting at the beginning of a conversation. Totems are also used as a way of expressing solidarity. Setswana conversation openers such as *I have no news,* or *I have nothing to say* are also used as a modest way of presenting one's opinions or down grading one's view.

Signatures and Endings

Most of the letters in this category end with a greeting. 17 out of 32 (or 53%) end with a greeting and 4 out of 32 (or 12.5%) employ conversation endings such as *that is all* or *'pula'*. Eleven of the letters (or 34%) employ formal signatures such as *yours truly* or *yours sincerely*. The following exemplify the type of signatures found in letters from Batswana to other Batswana.

Excerpt 17

Mr Lampard told me that he will inform the chief that I should get away from here. He says that even when I meet him I do not take off my hat. This European comes from Mashonanaland. I am well chief. There is no news. **Greetings to the family.**
Yours B.K. Motheo
(Letter from B.K. Motheo to Bangwato Deputy Chief 25 January, 1940 DCF 7/2)

Excerpt 18

We found out that the huts had been entered and searched for fictitious evidence for which the girls were to get dresses. **Father,** there is not much to say. I will stop here. The writer is **your child.**
(Unsigned letter to D. Raditladi 4 January, 1937 S 485/1/1)

Batswana writers mostly used formal signatures and salutations when writing to other Batswana. Letters to the British administrators on the other

hand tended to have more informal signatures. This is interesting since we would expect letters to the British administrators to have more formal signatures and salutations. However, this is not surprising since the British writers also employed more informal salutations and signatures when writing to Batswana than when writing to other British administrators. The informality between these two groups is arguably an expression of solidarity as well as an strategy for avoiding dealing with the power strife between the British administrators and Batswana chiefs during the period of the protectorate. Letters written by Batswana are orientated towards the relationship between the reader and the writer, and the format, content and style of the letters help establish or maintain that relationship. The letters by the Batswana illustrate a freer register in which there is a place for the explicit maintenance of relationships, because as Merkestein (1998:182) points out, the expression of relationships is central to the social reality of Batswana. On the other hand letters by British administrators are more formal, they have no place for maintenance of relationships but are focused on expressing the message of the writer.

Conclusion

Current data tends to suggest that both the British administrators and Batswana chiefs were aware of the power strife between them. They both sought linguistic means of dealing with this strife such as the use or failure to use certain address forms when writing to each other. For example, the address form *my friend*, which connotes equality and solidarity, is only found in letters written to Batswana chiefs by British administrators and in letters written to British administrators by Batswana chiefs, but rarely used by Batswana chiefs or British administrators when writing to fellow British administrators or fellow Batswana chiefs respectively. The use of this address term masks the power strife that existed between the two camps. The failure to use the signature *your obedient servant* by British administrators when writing to Batswana chiefs also suggests that the British did not perceive themselves as being subordinate to Batswana chiefs. The superiority of the British administrators is demonstrated in these letters by the issuing of commands and reprimands. The inferiority of the Batswana chiefs is demonstrated by the use of down graders and the repeated use of

honorific titles when writing to British administrators. In the discourses of the British administrators and the Batswana chiefs authoritarian elements such as the issuing of commands and reprimands and the use of expressions such as *your obedient servant* co-exist with solidarity and egalitarian terms such as calling each other *my friend.*

The findings of this study support the view of Fairclough (1992b:64) that discourse is a practice not just of representing the world but of signifying the world; constituting and constructing the world in meaning. Discourse constructs social relationships, positions and identities. The Batswana chiefs and British administrators establish, negotiate and defend their social identities and power positions by changing or restructuring existing discourse orders. By changing discourse orders they also re-structure and re-construct new social and power relations because discourse shapes and is shaped by power.

Department of English
University of Botswana

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Lexical Reinforcement and Maintenance of Gender Stereotypes in isiZulu

Thabisile Buthelezi

Introduction

In his book, *The Cry of Winnie Mandela* where Njabulo Ndebele uses fiction to explore the experiences of Black South African women, he writes:

> The desire to exert total control is related to the most primal male fear: uncertainty whether the child his wife gives birth to is really his. The logic of seduction, which drives a man to seek another's wife, allows for the possibility of an infinite number of unknown liaisons, which his own wife may enjoy. So, a plethora of controls may have to be put in place (2003:3-4).

Ndebele captures one of the reasons behind the gendered social rules that society has made to control the lives of women. One of the controls that society has over women's lives is language. Language is the most important tool that perpetuates gender differences (Department of Education 2002:18) and feminists have long advocated against the use of sexist language (this has happened particularly in English). The awareness about sexist language which resulted from advocacy by the feminist movement, made authors of English language books like Kahn and Kerr-Jarret (1991:89) to caution writers not to use old-fashioned words that are discriminatory, over-deferential, belittling or conveying demeaning attitudes towards women, particularly when the corresponding male term is either absent or does not have a comparable meaning. For instance, traditional forms of words that

have sexist connotations are now often replaced by gender-neutral terms. The word, <u>Ms</u> is now increasingly used instead of the traditional <u>Mrs</u> or <u>Miss,</u> <u>chairperson</u> or <u>chair</u> instead of <u>chairman,</u> and <u>bartender</u> instead of <u>barman.</u> Thinking that arguments about sexist language were a direct attack on men, some scholars have argued that both women and men have been equally responsible to shape the language and that people have learnt to talk from women - mostly their mothers or nannies. Further, arguments were that the term <u>sexist</u> has been used to refer to the language that discriminates against women yet societies have used sexist language that encodes stereotyped attitudes to both women and men (Holmes 1995:336). However, these arguments reiterate the idea that "society is that human entity created by men with the compliance of women" (Ndebele 2003:3).

Similarly, many other languages—including the Nguni and Sotho languages in South Africa—have words and expressions that carry value judgments according to gender rather than individual merit. IsiZulu in particular, which is one variation and the most widely spoken of the Nguni languages, has words and expressions conveying sexist attitudes, which reproduce and maintain social stereotypes and inequalities between men and women. Among the women themselves, a range of isiZulu terms categorise them and reinforce social inequalities. These terms have become the grounds for giving different social meaning and value to women whose sexual and reproductive experiences as well as humanity are defined and described by such categories.

Xaba (1994) has explored how isiZulu words, which describe women's sexual organs, are used as insults to harass women in the streets. According to Xaba (1994) women's integrity is damaged because men have often come up with derogatory words referring to women's sexual organs. Such words say more about men's views of women. However, limited research has been done to explore how isiZulu in particular reproduces and maintains gender stereotypes as well as social inequalities between men and women and among women themselves as a group.

In this article, I discuss gendered isiZulu terms and expressions in order to examine how isiZulu colludes in the subordination of African women by stereotyping them and thereby determining their destiny (largely through the institution of marriage). To do so, firstly, my discussion draws from a well-documented theoretical framework (eg., Mersham and Skinner

2002, Dirven & Verspoor 1998, Deacon 1997, O'Grady 1997, and Steinberg 1994) that argues that language is both a system of symbols and a cultural attribute, which reveals how human beings have conceptualised the world. In relation to this, I discuss specifically the Zulu society's gendered images of both women and men. Secondly, I discuss a range of labels and examine the connotations of terms used to categorise women in order to describe and value them, and to confine them to the socially prescribed space of marriage. For contrast, I also discuss the terms that are used to stereotype men. Furthermore, I discuss how isiZulu is deployed to devalue, stigmatise and punish women and men who do not comply and assume their socially defined gendered roles. Finally, I present the analysis and implications for gender equality.

Language and Gendered Culture: Theoretical Reflections

The meanings that people attach to different entities in the world are conceptualised in the mind. According to Deacon (1997:376-410), language is a symbol of the mental models that we have. And, the mental models that we have depend on what we have experienced (folk mental model) or on what we have learnt (empirical mental model). As Dirven and Verspoor (1998:14) have stated, "Language resides not in dictionaries, but in the minds of the speakers of that language". This is supported by Steinberg (1994:49) who argues that "Meanings reside in people, not in words". This indicates that language is a translation of what is in the human mind. In their minds, human beings conceptualise the world according to how they have experienced it. As human beings conceptualise the world, their view of the world translates into language. According to Dirven and Verspoor (1998:14-15) each person conceptualises the world differently, therefore, different people categorise one thing differently and each person chooses between alternatives. Further, Samovar and Porter (2001: 136-137) argue that a different language represents a different view of life. Therefore, when people use language to communicate, they share their own individual perspectives of the world, as Klopper (1999) stated, communication is a meeting of minds. As a result, people who live together and share the same natural resources end up sharing common perspectives of the world—they "see eye to eye" (1999: 293). So, the language used by any given society will reveal the lived experiences of that particular society.

According to the Conceptual Dictionary (Craig, Griesel & Witz 1994), the lived experiences of any given society become the culture of that particular society. Though most often culture has been assumed innate and God-given and therefore could not be changed, Freire (as cited in Loots 2001) argues that because of governance, which has mostly been in the hands of men, there have been gender and power differences wherever men determine culture. Since culture is the lived experiences of a society, it is therefore not neutral. It reflects the power differences existing between men and women in the society. As language is an attribute of culture, it reflects the inequalities of power between men and women. In many languages, words are culture-specific and they have language-specific meanings, which reflect the cultural experiences of the people who speak that particular language (Dirven & Verspoor 1998:145). A language might have a number of words, which describe a single domain of meaning reflecting cultural facts and that is called lexical elaboration (Dirven & Verspoor 1998:145). For example, isiZulu has a long list of terms that refer to a woman. As will be explained later in this paper, these terms reflect Zulu society's view of women.

One of the main functions of a language is to regulate and control the behaviour of others. Attitudes about how people should regard their status within society are formed and continue to be reinforced by language. Two different, but not necessarily contradictory, ideological views of the relationship between language and gender have been advanced. One is the sociolinguist's view that gender differences in language are simply a reflection of the way the society works. And, the other is the feminist's view that language serves as a primary means of encoding ideas used in constructing and maintaining that society (Southerland & Katamba 1996: 540-590). According to these views, language does mirror the society's ideas, underlying assumptions as well as practices with respect to what is seen as normal, important or moral for women and men. For instance, in Zulu culture in South Africa, like in many African societies, the dignity of Black womanhood is measured in terms of a female stereotype of the subordinate woman whose ultimate goal in life is universal wifehood and motherhood, over and above any and all the other roles that she may perform (Wolpe, Quinlan & Martinez 1997:89). She will not only keep her life solely for one man (her husband), but will also enable him to prove his fertility and

ensure that his line continues by bearing him children. Elderly women collude with men to insist that a wife has more children (SAPLER Population Trust 1994). Sons are preferred and a woman who bears only daughters runs the risk of sharing her husband with a second wife.

Generally, in Zulu culture marriage is regarded as important (Magubane 1998). Girls are socialised to believe that it is a privilege for a young woman to be chosen as a wife by a man. Therefore, there is strong emphasis that girls should keep their bodies 'pure' for their future husbands. This is reinforced by cultural practices like the current practice (in some communities) of 'virginity testing' of girls (Commission on Gender Equality Report 2000), where girls are tested by women from time to time to check whether they are still virgins. Their virginity relies on the presence of a hymen (Buthelezi 2000).

The continued use of gendered language perpetuates the social order in which the society displays positive attitudes towards women who conform to the stereotype of wife and mother. Women who do not conform to the stereotype - for example, single and divorced women - are labeled with negative terms. Because of the gendered culture, no corresponding labels exist for men. Instead, limited categories that have no female equivalents are used for men. These confine men within the traditional stereotypes of a masculine male who can fight, provide for the family and sexually conquers many women. In the following section, I therefore discuss the gendered terms that are used to construct, maintain and enhance the stereotypical attitudes towards women and men.

Gendered isiZulu terminology

Like all other languages that undergo change over time (Murray 1996: 313-371), isiZulu has undergone dramatic and continuous changes during the pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial eras in South Africa. The main cause of linguistic change was language contact, which occurred when speakers of isiZulu interacted frequently with speakers of other languages (mostly from other parts of South Africa) as a result of labour migration, when people moved from rural to urban areas in search of employment. Interestingly, there has not been much loss of words in isiZulu. The reason might be that the language is the most widely spoken of the Nguni languages. Besides, isiZulu has long been taught as a subject in most schools in KwaZulu-Natal.

Again, the rural nature of KwaZulu-Natal province has kept most Zulu-speaking communities together and away from mixing with other language groups. This has contributed, to some extent, to the preservation of isiZulu.

Like many other languages, isiZulu has male and female terms that mark the different stages of development in the life of a person (see Figure 1). These terms are 'gender markers' and are neither sexist nor judgmental. As illustrated in figure 1, each female term has a corresponding male equivalent.

Figure 1:Terms that mark the stages of development of a person

Female	Male
Umntwana (baby)	*Umntwana* (baby)
Ingane (child)	*Ingane* (child)
Intombazane (girl)	*Umfana* (boy)
Intombi (young woman)	*Insizwa* (young man)
Umfazi (married woman)	*Indoda* (married man)
Isalukazi (old woman)	*Ikhehla* (old man)

(Msimang 1991: 172-192)

However, as mentioned earlier, Zulu culture tends to confine women to the stereotypical roles of wife and mother. The image of a happy, good and dignified wife created by society is a woman who serves her husband and in-laws and is totally submissive to and dependent on her husband. Blind obedience and service to men and the in-laws are demanded from women. This is framed as the good qualities of a woman and is explained as respect (*ukuhlonipha*), good morals (*ukuziphatha kahle*) and/or good Christian values like humility (*ukuthobeka*). Girls learn early in life about women's roles and responsibilities as they see and sometimes deputise for their mothers in the carrying out of house chores and caring for younger siblings.

The "wifehood role" of women is reinforced in everyday language and even in phatic interactions[1]. For example: (1) when one woman is speaking to another, she may ask her "*Usaphila umakoti wakwami?*"[2] (Is my daughter-in-law well?) as a phatic form of greeting, or starting a conversation. Further, a woman may say: (2) "*Angihambe manje ngingaze ngixoshwe emzini,* (I must go home now; otherwise (my husband) will chase me out of the house), as a phatic form of leave-taking. Therefore, through language a girl learns early in life that a man is an important part of her identity and that she must strive to be chosen by a man. She learns that her role is to provide good service to her future husband and his family members.

Categories of Women: What the Language Reveals

The labels given to women reflect the ideological views of the society about women. And, these ideologies reflect societal norms. The two broad images of women that the Zulu society has are the married woman (the ideal wife and mother) as opposed to the 'unattached woman' - a woman who does not have sexual relationship according to the societal norm. A married woman is afforded 'better status'. There is a range of terms that are used to categorise women according to their sexual activity as well as their compliance with the socially defined norms of behaviour. In this section, I discuss isiZulu terms that are used to categorise women according to their relationship with men and which do not have the male equivalent (see figure 2).

Figure 2: IsiZulu lexicon reflecting positive categories of women

Categories	Meaning
Itshitshi	A young virgin female at puberty stage
Iqhikiza	Slightly older than *itshitshi*—a trusted peer leader who has a lover
Ingoduso	*ilobolo*[3] has been paid to her home

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[1] Phatic messages that have no factual content but help maintain a comfortable relationship between people.

[2] In this context the term "daughter-in-law" might be used to refer to a baby girl.

[3] Cows or gifts of money paid by the bridegroom's family to the bride's family.

Inkehli	A senior *iqhikiza* who is about to get married as all the necessary practices have been completed
Umlobokazi / umalokazana	A newly wed female
umfazi	A married woman

(Msimang 1991; Nyembezi & Nxumalo 1995)

From girlhood, the first category of womanhood is *itshitshi*, which means a young female who is not yet in love. This term refers to a girl at the stage of puberty (Msimang 1991: 237) when her breasts start to grow and is approaching or has started menstruating. This young (probably virgin) female is not allowed to have a male partner and has not started to have a relationship. However, many males seduce her because of her innocence with regard to sexual matters (since she is not yet in love) and her healthy young body, which is perceived as 'fertile. The puberty stage is regarded as a sign of healthiness and fertility.

The second stage is when a young woman has a male partner, and she is called *iqhikiza,* which means a female of a marriageable age. (Msimang 1991: 237). This term is not much used because of the changes in society, which occurred when the community structures that existed in the pre-colonial era disintegrated. In these structures, girls were formed into groups or regiments under the leadership of *amaqhikiza* (a plural form of the word *iqhikiza*). In these groups *amaqhikiza* taught girls everything about sexuality and sex. Therefore, at the stage of *iqhikiza*, the woman was regarded as experienced, knowledgeable and a peer leader and educator for other young women on sexual matters. She did not only educate them but looked after them everywhere they went. Young women had to report to her when they decided to start relationships with men. A man who wanted to speak to one of the younger women (even his lover) would ask permission from this "peer leader" (Nyembezi & Nxumalo 1995:110). All members of the community respected her and she gained status not only because she kept her body 'pure' for her future husband, but also because she educated and guided younger women in her group on sexuality and sexual matters.

Once negotiations about *ilobolo* have started, the young woman moves to the stage where she is called *ingoduso,* which means a betrothed

woman (Msimang 1991). When *ilobolo* has been paid and the engaged young woman is about to get married, she is called *inkehli.* As soon as she gets married, she is no longer called by her name. At this stage, the woman is called *umlobokazi* or *umalokazana* (the newly wed woman). She is under the guidance of her mother-in-law. She would become a wife (*umfazi or inkosikazi*) as she gains her status in marriage by giving birth to a number of children. However, the term *inkosikazi* only assumed the meaning of wife later in Zulu communities. Originally, this term referred only to the first wife of a man, ie., the wife who will give birth to the heir.

IsiZulu Lexicon and the Male Stereotype

Labels that are used for men confine them within traditional stereotypes and reinforce the sexual double standard. Manhood is therefore explained in terms of the ability to have many female lovers, to fight, or to provide for the family, hence the positive terms that define males as illustrated in figure 3. These age-old stereotypes and double standards about sexual choices and relationships are still reinforced.

Figure 3: Positive terms used to define a male

Categories	Meaning
ibhungu	A young man
Isoka	A man with many (female) lovers—one noted for sexual prowess
Ingqwele	A boy who can fight and conquer all other boys in a group
Iqhawe	A man who is a good fighter

In Zulu society, like in many other societies, men who have many sexual relationships are viewed as studs whereas women who have many sexual relationships are viewed as sluts. Women are often referred to by terms that stereotype them; yet, no male equivalents with similar connotations are available (Dept of Education 2002). The term *ibhungu* (young man) (see Figure 3), which is sometimes used as an equivalent of *itshitshi* (young virgin female at puberty stage), does not carry the same connotation as *itshitshi*. It is not linked to either the puberty stage or virginity since males

are not expected to be virgins. Another negative term, *isifebe* (a promiscuous woman), which refers to a woman with more than one lover, is not equivalent to the male term *isoka*, which means a male with many lovers. *Isoka* has a connotation of celebrating the victory of a man who has many girlfriends—one who is noted for his sexual prowess.

Language as a Weapon

Zulu societies expect that women will conform to and live the stereotype of wife and mother. Any young woman who deviates from the expected norm is stigmatised and scorned by the society. IsiZulu is harsh on the woman who does not comply with the set life path. As such, several negative terms are given to the women who do not conform to the stereotype (see Figure 4).

Figure 4: Negative labels given to women

Terms	Meanings
Igqinkehli	Unmarried woman who got pregnant and has a baby
Umjendevu / uzenda zamshiya	Unmarried woman who has gone past the socially expected stage of marriage
ingobhiya	A woman who has no lover (from a dialect).
Iphuma ndlini / umabuy'emendweni	A divorced woman
Isifebe / unondindwa / unoyile	A woman who has had more than one lover
Abaqwayizi	(Female) sex workers
Inyumba	A married woman who cannot bear children
Iqhalaqhala	A (young) woman who is more assertive
Umfelokazi	A widow

Young women are discouraged from asserting their views. It is believed that in this way a woman will learn to argue with her husband, which, according to society, does not show respect for the husband. Young women are

therefore encouraged to keep quiet, suppress their views, and any young woman who does not comply is referred to as *iqhalaqhala*—one who is not well groomed and has no respect (Nyembezi & Nxumalo 1995). A woman, who has never married, even if by choice, is referred to as being 'unfortunate' through words like *uneshwa*, *unebhadi*. She is also called by derogatory terms like *umjendevu*, *uzenda zamshiya* (meaning they all got married and she was left behind). A woman is obliged to have a man in her life. If not, in some communities, the language is harsh on a woman who does not have a relationship with any man as she is negatively called *ingobhiya*. However, any woman should only have a relationship with one man, because there is a range of negative terms, which refer to a woman who has many lovers like *isifebe*, *unondindwa*, *unoyile* - these terms mean a promiscuous woman. With the language shift that resulted from migrant labour, where men were forced to leave their families to go and find work in the urban areas and where some families moved to urban areas, newer terms for example, *isikhebeleshe*, *iseqa mgwaqo*, (both terms also meaning a promiscuous woman) have emerged in addition to the older isiZulu terms mentioned above.

While fertility is of extreme importance, it must be proved in the context of marriage. Wifehood and motherhood are never distinguished from each other. Fertility outside marriage and marriage without *fertility* are not celebrated. A woman who gives birth to a child before she gets married is referred to as *igqinkehli* (half-betrothed woman) (Nyembezi & Nxumalo 1995), which is a negative term. This term is formulated from the word *inkehli*, which—as I explained earlier—means a betrothed woman who is about to get married. The stage of *inkehli* lies between the "unmarried and married" stages in the life of a woman. Therefore, the term *igqinkehli* carries a sarcastic notion and it means the woman is "half-married and half-unmarried". She is, in other words, a psedo-*inkehli*. Her child will be referred to as *umlanjwana* (a negative term that may be equivalent to an "illegitimate child" in English). Submissiveness and dependence to a husband in marriage have no value if they are not accompanied by proven fertility. A married woman who does not bear any child is stigmatised and is referred to as *inyumba* (the barren). It is unlikely that the marriage will continue happily if the woman cannot get pregnant. There is great possibility that the man will take another wife to bear him children.

In Zulu culture, divorce is not acceptable, as it is not supposed to happen in the first place. But when it does occur, the woman is stigmatised and is viewed with suspicion by the society. She is taken as a bad example to other young women who are still going to get married. Generally, neither her first family nor the society accepts her and she is called by negative terms like *iphumandlini* (the one who has come out of the house) and *umabuy'emendweni* (the one who has come back from marriage).

When the husband of any married woman dies, the woman is called *umfelokazi* (widow) and she loses her place completely in her second family unless she marries one of her brothers-in-law by a practice called *ukungenwa.* In this practice, the in-laws facilitate marriage of the widow to one of her brothers-in-law or a male relative of her deceased husband.

While the language has a list of negative terms for women, no comparable wealth of negative terms exist for men (see figure 5).

Figure 5: Negative terms that stereotype males

Terms	Meanings
Isishimane / isigwadi	A male who is not popular with females and does not have many (female) lovers
Impohlo	A bachelor (Not really negative as it is often used in lighthearted ways.)
Umnqolo	A young man who is often at home and not out with other males
Umahlalela / uqhwayilahle	An unemployed man
Ivaka / igwala	A coward (male)

While there is a corresponding term for a widower (*umfelwa*), this does not carry the same stigma as the female equivalent, *umfelokazi*, who is viewed as carrying a bad omen in the community particularly during the mourning period. The same can be said of the term *impohlo* (a bachelor), which should be the equivalent of *umjendevu*. However, the term *impohlo* does not carry a negative connotation and is used in jokes or in phatic interactions. For example, a married man who is alone at home because his wife is away might joke and say to his friends, "*Namhlanje ngiyimpohlo.*" (Today, I am a bachelor.)

As indicated in Figure 5, the language is harsh on a man who is not working, cannot fight or is not popular with females. A man with one or no girlfriend is referred to as *isigwadi* or *isishimane* terms that have negative connotations, such as one who is not successful in courtships and thus has no girlfriend. No man would like to be called by such terms.

Analysis and Implications for Gender Equality

Zulu culture views men and women within the social contract of marriage. In essence, a woman does not have a home and a life of her own. Most often, when a girl is born she is socialised and prepared for marriage. Her whole life before marriage is a preparation for wifehood and motherhood. During the initiation practices, young girls learn manners that will direct their lives in adulthood (Vilakazi-Tselane 1998).

Although the cultural practices and rituals that mark the different stages of development of girls are no longer strictly followed in many Zulu communities, the language that stigmatizes and punishes a girl who does not fulfill the stereotype is still used. At her home, a girl is expected to fit the stereotype of a young woman who is focused on attaining qualities necessary for her destiny (marriage) and is keeping herself 'pure' for her future husband. There is a socially determined age when she is expected to get married and move to her second family. After marriage, the bride has to show deference and respect to her husband, parents-in-law and all other members of the family. In this second family, she is expected to fulfil the two main roles of wifehood and motherhood.

While some gains have been made in sensitizing people to avoid sexist language in English, there has not been much focus on the sexist language in isiZulu. As a result, there is not much gender sensitivity in the use of over-differentiated or devaluing terms that convey demeaning attitudes towards women in isiZulu. More awareness and advocacy is needed to change sexist language in isiZulu.

Conclusion

In this article, I have discussed how isiZulu reflects aspects of Zulu culture that indicate a gendered view of women. IsiZulu categorises women according to their sexual activity and reproductive capacity. The categories

reflect positive labels that describe women who fit a socially determined stereotype of womanhood and wifehood, whereas women who do not fit the stereotype are described by negative terms. In contrast, the men are located within the traditional masculine stereotypes. The article therefore seeks to raise awareness and sensitivity to the use of sexist language in isiZulu.

Faculty of Education
University of KwaZulu-Natal

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Some Aspects of AIDS-related Discourse in Post-apartheid South African Culture

Felicity Horne

Introduction

The language of AIDS does not merely represent the condition: it constructs it in different ways. Words and images create different conceptual realities of the phenomenon. These both reflect and determine the way we understand and feel about the condition. Language can neither be separated from our thoughts and feelings, nor from the social context in which it is used.

Looking specifically at the situation in our own country, there are numerous examples of how language has been and is being used in very different ways to express and shape attitudes towards AIDS. The condition is either described in starkly explicit terms, avoided altogether, exaggerated or downplayed, depending on the situation, the mindset of the speaker or writer, and the intended effect on the audience. Commonly used metaphorical representations of HIV and AIDS provide different conceptions of the phenomenon, and create different meanings.

Taboos and AIDS

The onset of HIV/AIDS in South Africa has caused old linguistic taboos regarding sexually explicit terms to break down in certain contexts. AIDS-education programmes used currently in South African schools, and media campaigns aimed at young people, use graphic terms – for example, describing different ways of having sex – in order to explain how the disease is transmitted and can be prevented. The coyness and mystique that used to

surround sex have been stripped away. Pieter-Dirk Uys, a satirist who goes round to South African schools giving AIDS-education talks, believes in blunt speech. In his talks he deliberately uses words that would formerly have been taboo in such situations: 'fuck' and the Afrikaans '*naai* ', for example. He feels it is necessary to use this discourse to communicate with his audience in terms they can relate to. He caused a furore when he placed an advertisement in a Grahamstown newspaper at the 2003 Grahamstown Festival with the headline: 'Think before you fuck'. A few years ago this word would have been regarded as unprintable in a generally circulated newspaper. His reaction to the outcry was: 'Great. The message is finally hitting home'[1].

At the same time that old taboos are breaking down, new taboos have come into being. Amongst certain sectors of the black population, the very words 'HIV' or 'AIDS' arouse superstition and have become taboo[2] 2. There is a fear that people could be bewitched or infected just by saying the name. Adding to this reason for fearing to talk about it is the shame and stigma attached to those affected. Secrecy and silence prevail. Accordingly, AIDS is referred to vaguely as 'this thing', as in 'a person died of this thing' or 'this thing outside', as in 'she got this thing outside'[3] to ensure that other people do not think that the infection was contracted within the home. The phrases 'the disease of nowadays' (Posel 2004:13), 'the new sickness', 'Helen Ivy Vilakazi' and 'the three words' (Leclerc-Mdlala 2000:28) have also come into being.

In the Drakensberg district of KwaZulu-Natal, specifically, there is use of circumlocutions such as 'someone has died of the feet' (*izinyawo*), referring to the swelling of the legs and feet; 'of the head' (*ikhanda*), denoting the headaches associated with meningitis; 'of the chest' (*isifuba*), indicating TB or pneumonia; or 'of the stomach' (*isisu*), suggesting uncontrollable vomiting and diarrhoea (Henderson 2004:5). The indirectness of these expressions which describe AIDS in terms of the symptoms of the particular opportunistic infection that finally caused death reveals the extent

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[1] *Pretoria News*, 4 July 2003.
[2] 'Aids solution is foiled by an evil spell of silence' in *The Sunday Independent*, 3 October 2004.
[3] *Pretoria News*, 22 November 2001.

of the fear attached to it. Not saying its name is a way of trying to deny its reality and its power. However, the effect of refusing to 'call a spade a spade' is the creation of mystery, which, ironically, increases the sense that AIDS does indeed have power. According to Posel, the 'mysteriousness [of AIDS] as a disease which has eluded both western medicine and indigenous healers' has been 'explicitly linked to [its] extraordinary power and menace' (2004:14).

Other euphemisms for AIDS used in African communities are the words *iAce* or *iLotto*[4]. The Nguni prefix *i* is attached to the English word 'lotto' or 'ace' to form a mixed compound. The metaphor seen in 'ace' and 'lotto' draws on the discourse of gambling – 'lotto' referring to the national lottery – and suggests the risky nature of sexual activity. Just as winning or losing in gambling is a matter of chance, it implies that people have no control over whether they contract HIV or not.

Amidst the silence surrounding AIDS in certain communities, we see that terms to denote it are proliferating. This paradox illustrates how 'speech and silence actually interrelate'; the 'conflict between vocal affirmation and the peculiar silence effected through denial' being 'apparent' rather than real (Harper 1993:119).

As the *iAce* or *iLotto* examples demonstrate, the use of metaphor is highly revealing of the way people conceptualise the material world. Lakoff and Johnson (1980;1981) have demonstrated convincingly how deeply embedded metaphors are in our thought processes, albeit unconsciously. The striking use of various metaphors to describe AIDS – including AIDS as a plague, AIDS as death, AIDS as punishment, AIDS as an external invader and so on – has been well researched (Ross 1988; Sontag 1989; Watney 1989). It is not the intention of this paper to examine these metaphorical representations since they are not new and are based on language use in other parts of the world, but they certainly bear out the truth of Posel's assertion that 'AIDS carries a heavy metaphoric burden' (2004:23).

The United Nations Language Policy on AIDS

The United Nations Development Programme has developed a detailed

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[4] *Pretoria News*, 22 November 2001.

HIV-related language policy[5], the aim of which is to normalise the condition and resist discrimination against people living with HIV. When it comes to naming HIV-positive individuals, for example, it recommends that we should avoid terms like 'victim' or 'sufferer' because these carry connotations of helplessness and defeat. If, on the other hand, we talk about people 'living' rather than 'dying' and use the phrase 'someone living with HIV', we are recognising that an infected person may continue to live for many years. It suggests that phrases such as 'AIDS patient' should be avoided because we are then identifying someone by a medical condition alone. The policy states that being sensational and using metaphors such as 'plague' or 'scourge' gives the impression that the epidemic cannot be controlled. This kind of language creates hopelessness and panic. Such recommendations go beyond mere political correctness: they recognise that language can have a profound effect on attitudes and behaviour.

War Metaphors and AIDS

A key recommendation of the United Nations Development Programme HIV-related language policy is that the discourse of war should be avoided. Language should be drawn from the language of peace, instead. In practice, however, it seems difficult for people to avoid the discourse of war when discussing disease. This practice predates the AIDS pandemic. As Sherry comments: 'there was a long tradition before AIDS of militarizing disease' (1993:45). It has become almost habitual to discuss overcoming disease in terms of waging war, and the extension of the analogy to include AIDS is a natural development. It is nonetheless ironic that Kofi Annan described HIV and AIDS as 'the real weapon of mass destruction'[6] in a news conference given at the end of 2003. In his speech he lamented the fact that the Iraqi war had taken attention away from other major problems, including AIDS, that 'caused more daily insecurity than terrorism or unconventional weapons'. Such comparisons go directly against the policy of the organisation he heads. Bearing in mind that 2003 was the year that the United States invaded Iraq and that this event dominated world affairs that year, however, it is not

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[5] 'Defusing words of mass destruction' in *Guardian Weekly*, November 13-19 2003. See also: http://www.undp.org/hiv/policies/langpole.htm.
[6] *Pretoria News*, 20 December 2003.

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surprising that he drew on the highly charged 'war against terror' discourse when attempting to give impact to his speech.

Sontag has thoroughly explored the ubiquity of the military metaphor in the discourse of disease. She holds that military metaphors 'contribute to the stigmatizing of certain illnesses and, by extension, of those who are ill' (1989:11). Of all metaphors applied to illness, the military metaphor is the one she 'is most eager to see retired' because it 'over-mobilizes, it overdescribes, and it powerfully contributes to the excommunicating and stigmatizing of the ill' (1989:94).

Ross points out how entrenched the metaphor of medicine as war is in general language usage to the extent that 'we can scarcely imagine any other way of talking about how health care providers deal with diseases and patients' (1988:85). She states that since the occurrence of AIDS, 'the phrase 'the war against AIDS' is perhaps the most common metaphor used in the popular press' (1988:86). Commenting on the implications of seeing the virus as 'the enemy', Ross believes that it makes the carriers of the virus (the infected person) into spies and traitors, since they harbour the unseen enemy within themselves. It is easy to see how such an equivalence could promote discrimination against HIV-positive people.

Sherry points out that 'that most pervasive metaphor of a 'war on AIDS' [has] a vagueness and capacity for casual slippage into a variety of meanings' (1993:41), and observes 'that those who used the language of war by no means had a common political purpose' (1993:46). His comments are highly pertinent to discursive representations of AIDS in the South African context, as this paper hopes to demonstrate.

Newspaper discourse used in relation to AIDS in South Africa is permeated with tired war metaphors. Some examples are: 'SANDF declares war on HIV: opening salvo fired in battle against deadly disease'[7]; 'Aids battle hots up'[8]; 'Climate of fear cripples Aids fight'[9]. 'President must lead the war on AIDS'[10]; and 'Barbara is a trooper in her field', about a woman called Barbara Michel who heads an HIV/Aids education programme. The

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[7] *Pretoria News*, 21 January 2004.
[8] *Sowetan*, 2 April 2004.
[9] *Pretoria News*, 26 November 2003.
[10] *Sunday Times*, 30 November 2003.

opening sentence of the latter report reads: 'The war's not lost while there are passionate troops willing to give their all for the fight'[11]. The lexical chains relating to war in these examples are obvious but semantically unsatisfactory because, in Sherry's words, it is unclear 'who, or what, is fighting whom, or what, where and how' (1993:41). The military metaphor could operate on the biological micro-level, referring to 'the war within the bodies of the disease's victims' or on the macro-level, 'in the arena of social and political action'. It could refer equally to 'action against the disease, war by the disease on its victims, or by those who tolerated it on those victims, or by those who transmitted to others' (Sherry 1993:41).

Judge Edwin Cameron, an important spokesman and role model for people living with HIV/AIDS in South Africa has written: 'We risk a failure of words, of concepts ... in the face of AIDS.... We need to respond with imagination and compassion to what is happening around us ' (1993:29).

Struggle Metaphors and AIDS in South Africa

Much AIDS discourse in South Africa is informed by the apartheid struggle. While this struggle did not constitute an actual war, it was nevertheless a protracted conflict against a systematised ideology, and involved bloodshed. Apartheid discourse, therefore, could be regarded as a particular, local variety of the overused, more generic war discourse already considered. Just as Kofi Annan invoked the Iraqi war because of its dominance and currency at the time, South Africans have readily appropriated apartheid discourse when discussing the issue of AIDS. A war in their own time and country and of which they had direct experience has prompted what Sherry describes (in relation to the United States) as 'a far more pointed and conscious deployment of the war metaphor, whose earlier use had been ... diffuse'[12]

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[11] *Pretoria News*, 21 February 2004.

[12] The use of apartheid discourse when discussing AIDS is not confined to political figures or activists only. The compilers of *Nobody ever said AIDS: stories and poems from Southern Africa* observe in the Introduction that creative writers 'have returned to the language of struggle to confront both the pandemic and the inadequate response of local governments' (Thomas & Samuelson 2004:13).

(1993:50). Moreover, the struggle experience was passionately felt by those affected, and so has naturally come to define the way realities are imagined and articulated by many people. The discourse of the apartheid political system and its dramatic demise in 1994 are frequently used to explain and justify a whole range of AIDS initiatives, many of them conflicting. A few examples from the discourse used will illustrate how highly politicised this health matter has become.

There has been long-standing and bitter debate in South Africa about what causes AIDS, its prevalence, how it should be treated, whether or not the treatment is effective and who should pay for it. President Thabo Mbeki has been associated with the so-called 'AIDS dissidents' who claim that the virus does not exist, or that if it does it is harmless; and that AIDS is not contagious but is caused by poverty and the very drugs used to treat it. Evidence that he was influenced by their thinking, for a time at least, is that he included some of them on a panel of experts formed to advise him on AIDS. In April 2000 he wrote a letter to foreign leaders – including Bill Clinton and Tony Blair – justifying his inclusion of the minority-view scientists. In this letter he attacked the orthodox view, stating that:

> Not long ago in our country people were killed, tortured and imprisoned because the authorities believed that their views were dangerous. We are now being asked to do the same thing that the racist apartheid tyranny did, because there is a scientific view against which dissent is prohibited (Sparks 2003:264).

Notable here is the violence of the language used – words such as 'killed', 'tortured', 'imprisoned', 'racist', 'apartheid ' and 'tyranny' – all taken from the discourse of apartheid politics. The argument is not entirely clear, the vagueness resulting largely from the use of unspecified personal pronouns and the use of the passive voice. When Mbeki says: ' We are now being asked to do the same thing...', it is not clear to whom the pronoun 'we' refers. He also does not say by whom 'we' are being 'asked', but presumably these unnamed agents are the orthodox scientists, those who are developing medical treatment for AIDS. He uses the vague passive form again in 'dissent is prohibited', making the agent seem shadowy and sinister.

What is strikingly clear, however, is that Mbeki equates the AIDS

dissidents with anti-apartheid activists, and suggests that they are being persecuted and oppressed just as political activists were by the apartheid regime. By putting the AIDS dissidents in the same camp as those individuals who struggled against apartheid, Mbeki evokes sympathy and admiration for them, at the same time arousing hatred for those they are struggling against – the body of established medical opinion, who are equated with apartheid tyrants. The mainstream scientists are constructed as 'bad'; the dissidents as 'good': divided into mutually exclusive categories, or Levi-Strauss's 'binary oppositions' in terms of which myths are structured. The purpose of such simplification is 'to make the world explicable, to magically resolve its problems and contradictions' (Storey 2001:61). This example shows how language works as 'an instrument of control as well as of communication' and how 'hearers can be both manipulated and informed, preferably manipulated while they suppose they are being informed' (Hodge and Kress 1993:6).

The meanings implicit in Mbeki's metaphor were developed when a statement from his office by spokesman Smuts Ngonyama soon afterwards accused the AIDS activists who were demanding that the government provide anti-retroviral (ARV) drugs in the public hospitals of trying to poison black people. The actual words were: 'Our people are being used as guinea pigs and conned into using dangerous and toxic drugs reminiscent of the biological warfare of the apartheid era' (Sparks 2003:265). It is certainly true that ARV drugs are toxic and can have bad side-effects. It is also true that these drugs were and are still being developed, so there is a sense in which human recipients could be called 'guinea pigs'. However, it is an over-simplification to see this in terms of a white-driven policy against blacks for a hidden political agenda[13]. In comparing this process to ' the biological warfare of the apartheid era' military discourse was used again.

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[13] Perceptions such as these have deep historical roots in the longstanding distrust between black and white groups. They echo conspiracy theories that whites wish to reduce the black population because they fear being outnumbered and losing political power. These beliefs are understandable and have some justification. During the last regime agents such as Wouter Basson perpetrated the 'dirty tricks' of apartheid by means of chemical warfare.

Such perceptions were articulated more fully when, in March 2002, Peter Mokaba, former ANC youth leader, wrote:

> The story that HIV causes AIDS is being promoted through lies, pseudo-science, violence, terrorism and deception. We are urged to abandon science and adopt the religion and superstition that HIV exists and that it causes AIDS. We refuse to be agents for using our people as guinea pigs and have a responsibility to defeat the intended genocide and dehumanisation of the African child, mother, family and society (Sparks 2003:266).

Prominent again is the belligerence of the language, seen in exaggerated words such as 'violence', 'terrorism', 'genocide' and 'dehumanisation'. The fact that Mokaba specifies that the victims of this 'conspiracy' are 'African' is significant. He counts on his audience's familiarity with and emotional response to past oppression, recalled by his use of racially-charged struggle discourse. This use of apartheid discourse is highly emotive and has a destructive effect[14].

President Mbeki has been criticised for his silence and inaction on AIDS when opportunities for him to address the issue in words or action presented themselves[15]. Discourse is structured as much by what is absent as

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[14] The high emotional register of Mokaba's speech could be due, in part, to denial of his own personal condition. Three months after making this speech, he died of an AIDS-related illness.

[15] See, for example, *The Citizen* 17 February 2003: ' Mbeki accused of HIV silence'; *Pretoria News* 1 April 2003: 'Medical Journal flays Government on AIDS'; *Pretoria News* 27 September, 2003: 'Outcry at Mbeki's Aids claim: President says he knows no one who has died of HIV';
Financial Times 13 April 2004:6: 'Mr Mbeki and his health minister have underplayed the disease's importance, quibbled over mortality figures and delayed the dispensation of life-prolonging anti-retroviral drugs. A comprehensive HIV/Aids treatment plan is now under way, but the government's leadership and commitment on the issue remains in doubt'; Morgan, Jonathan. 2003. Long life: positive HIV stories. CapeTown: ABC Press. 44-45, 158, 169.

by what is present. Often what is not said is as important as what is (Storey 2001:96). Mbeki's silence on occasions has been interpreted as an eloquent statement of his refusal to give due attention to the epidemic. His government has often been accused of adopting a denialist position, maintaining a 'reign of silence'; his policy on HIV and AIDS ' colluding with and compounding the stigma surrounding HIV-positive bodies' (Thomas 2001:8). His attitude has resulted in what has been widely regarded as a reluctant and belated acquiescence to the provision of ARV treatment[16].

Anglican archbishop Njongonkulu Ndungane, addressing a news conference in Cape Town in August 2003, used struggle discourse when commenting on the government's perceived inaction on HIV/AIDS. He described this as 'a world disgrace as serious as apartheid'[17]. In similar vein, Pieter-Dirk Uys remarked: 'Once upon a time, not so long ago, we had an apartheid regime in South Africa that killed people. Now we have a democratic government that just lets them die' (2002:1). These comparisons imply that President Mbeki is as morally reprehensible as the old apartheid tyrants in contributing to the suffering of the masses.

The warfare/apartheid metaphor used by Mbeki himself, based on the conflict between groups of people with opposing medical views, identified him – through his sympathies with the dissidents – with former anti-apartheid activists. However, critics of Mbeki, as we have seen, identify him firmly with the former apartheid state. This lack of consistency validates Sherry's views 'that those who use the language of war by no means [have] a common political purpose' (1993:46). It also demonstrates how the same discourse can be 'repeatedly invoked to legitimate' (1993:48) different courses of action.

Government policies, utterances and non-utterances on AIDS have provoked highly emotive counter discourses. Zachie Achmat is a former anti-apartheid activist who discovered he was HIV-positive in 1990 and later formed the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), a lobby group which has

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[16] In November 2003 the government announced they would fund a programme to provide free ARV drugs to those who qualify for treatment. This programme began in April 2004.

[17] *Pretoria News*, 6 August 2003.

placed pressure on the government to provide drugs to HIV-infected people free of charge. In 1999 Achmat (sometimes described as an 'AIDS warrior') started a drug strike, refusing to take his own ARV medication until it was affordable and available to all South Africans[18].

The TAC have used extreme terms such as 'murder', 'genocide', and 'holocaust' to describe the deaths caused by AIDS. The choice of these words suggest that the deaths have been the result of human agency and deliberate intent and evoke the discourse, drawn from World War 11, of mass murder based on ethnic discrimination. This discourse would resonate with South Africans who have bitter memories of the institutionalised racism embodied in the apartheid system. But the 'genocide' that Peter Mokaba believed was being perpetrated by the dispensers of ARV medicines, the TAC attributed to the government for failing to provide ARV treatment. This is something of a paradox. The same word – 'genocide' – is used to describe two completely opposite activities: providing the drugs and withholding them. This example again illustrates how different parties may use the 'same kind of language, albeit to divergent ends' (Sherry 1993:44).

The 46664 Concert

A particular popular cultural event – the 46664 rock concert held in Cape Town on 30 November 2003 – provides a striking example of the discursive conflation of the apartheid struggle and AIDS. The 46664 concert was timed to coincide with World AIDS Day, AIDS was the prevailing concern, and the whole point of the occasion was to raise money for the treatment of AIDS. However, the dominant discourse of the event was based on Nelson Mandela. He was present both in person and in the massive image of his face which towered above the stage. The number of the concert's title, '46664', was his personal prison number when he was a convict on Robben Island.

This single event actually conflated three different discourses: first, the discourse of AIDS; second, the discourse of popular music; and third; the discourse of Nelson Mandela. These different 'worlds' or discourses were deliberately combined to construct certain meanings and effects. The popular

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[18] Zachie Achmat was voted one of the heroes of 2003 by *Time* magazine and was nominated for the 2004 Nobel Peace Prize.

music added colour, vitality and a mood of celebration to the occasion, counteracting the negative associations of AIDS and disease. It would also have attracted a mainly youthful audience, people in the age bracket most at risk of becoming infected. The discourse associated with Mandela brought popularity, moral authority and a sense of drama to the issue of AIDS in which many people have lost interest[19] because it is discussed *ad nauseam.*

Semiotics is the academic discipline that deals with the way 'signs take on meanings' and are linked 'to larger systems of meaning' (Myers 1999:18). de Saussure's model – reduced to the most elementary terms here for the purpose of brevity – posits that the signifier is the form which a sign takes, while the signified is the mental concept represented by the signifier (Chandler 2002:18-32). The signs can be in various modes: 'spoken words, or *written words, or pictures, sounds or music*' (Myers 1999:25). All these kinds of signs operated to produce meaning at the 46664 concert. The organisers maximised to the full the semiotic power of Nelson Mandela's image, particularly. The titanic sign of his face conveyed a range of complex mental concepts. He is an icon of black liberation and, as a recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, has come to represent humanitarianism. More than any other individual, he is associated with the end of the apartheid state and the transformation of South Africa into a democracy. All these connotations, or what Barthes terms 'meanings at the level of secondary signification' (Storey 2001: 65), were fully exploited for the cause of AIDS.

Embedded in the 46664 concert were the binary opposites of past and present, effectively juxtaposed. The old man Mandela and his political history were brought directly into the present, the 'now' world of youthful artists and their modern musical discourse, as well as the 'now' world of the AIDS epidemic. The past and present also collide in Mandela's own narrative, where revolutionised social conditions have changed his position and thus his personal discourse. Under the old regime, Nelson Mandela was the epitome of the revolutionary, the left-wing subversive and represented the ultimate threat to stability. He was marginalised, hunted, forced underground and imprisoned – the persecuted outsider. His present discourse is diametrically opposed to all this. It places him at centre stage, figuratively,

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[19] 'AIDS Information Overload Syndrome' (AIOS) has been identified as a widespread reaction to the plethora of material about AIDS in the media.

and literally, at this concert. He is now emblematic of stability, the ruling class and moral authority. Semiotically, his meaning has shifted totally, in keeping with the shift in power relations that has taken place in South Africa. The fact that Mandela has been transformed into a superhero through the inversion of the social hierarchy in the final decade of the twentieth century demonstrates the dynamism of meaning and how contingent it is on social context. In the words of Lecercle: 'time alters the signs, corrupts the signifier, the signified, or their relation' (1990:28). Meaning is an essentially unstable construction.

Nelson Mandela's elevation from convict to President has often been described as a 'miracle'. The words 'miracle' and 'miraculous' often crop up in discourse about him or South Africa's transformation[20]. Because of his apparent ability to make the impossible possible, Mandela has acquired almost divine status. At the 46664 concert this discourse or network of meanings surrounding the person of Mandela were transferred to the cause of AIDS. The study of how meanings are associated is known in the marketing world as branding (Myers 1999:7,18). Brand-names are usually the labels given to consumer goods being sold as commodities. In this instance there is nothing being sold, but the marketing strategy of branding still operates through the meanings linked with Mandela[21]. Branding, by means of his name, his prison number, and his physical image is a simplification of his complex mythology. Put in the position of consumers at this concert, the audience is being asked to 'buy' the cause of AIDS because of their faith in the Mandela brandname which 'adds value' to it. This exemplifies the way marketers 'try to project a ready-made heritage... [to] carry the associations of a brand across to a new sector' (Myers 1999:21). Such attempts are based on the assumption that the audience is in sympathy with the values being projected. However, audience responses to signs are complex, diverse and impossible to control. As Barthes argues, signs are

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[20] See, for example, Cameron-Dow, John. 1994. *South Africa 1990-1994: The miracle of a freed nation.* Cape Town: Don Nelson.
[21] A US survey placed Mandela second only to Coca-Cola as a brand name. The use of Mandela's image is carefully controlled by a team of advisors. Requests are considered only if the proposal 'embodies the values Mr Mandela stands for'. (*Pretoria News*, 26 April 2004.)

polysemic: they have multiple meanings since interpretations are dependent on the cultural repertoires or schemata of the audience (Storey 2001:65-6). Right-wing elements, for example, would not respond positively to the associations of the liberation struggle. It is also possible that the visual symbol dominating the stage could recall memories of the huge images of fascist leaders such as Lenin, on occasions of massive rallies, since signifiers carry traces of meaning from other contexts. This reading is certainly unintended (after all, the image of Mandela's face wears a smile), but the fact remains that it is possible. Subjectivity always comes into play, so that reading is 'an interaction between the discourses of the text and the discourses of the reader' (Storey 2001:12).

The spoken words around the 46664 event drew parallels between Mandela's political struggle and the struggle against AIDS. When receiving the artists who had gathered in Cape Town beforehand to perform at the concert, Mandela himself told them that 'it would take greater unity and effort to conquer HIV than it took to tear down apartheid'. He went on to say: 'We are called to join the war against HIV/AIDS with even greater resolve than was shown in the fight against apartheid'[22]. Recognisable here is the extended metaphor of warfare again, but it is not clear how Mandela conceptualises this war, or what precisely he means by 'joining the war against HIV/AIDS' in practical terms. The vagueness of the war paradigm, discussed earlier in this paper, makes his meaning elusive.

As already seen, the UN language-policy makers, as well as Ross and Sontag, reject the use of war imagery in relation to AIDS because it could encourage stigmatisation of those infected. Clearly, this is not what was intended at the 46664 concert. We are able to construct meaning based on our knowledge of Mandela 's deeds and words in respect of HIV/AIDS in other contexts. Mandela has frequently urged people to accept and extend compassion to HIV-positive people. His proactive backing of such initiatives as the prevention of mother-to-child-transmission (MTCT)[23] would suggest that, for him, the phrase 'joining the war' implies prevention of new infections by the provision of drugs, as well as the treatment and care of

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[22] *Pretoria News*, 29 November 2003.
[23] In his closing speech at the international AIDS conference held in Durban in July 2000 Mandela called for widespread interventions to prevent MTCT.

those already infected. If so, the metaphor of war to describe such constructive action is not appropriate. The fact that he uses a negative image to describe a positive course of action suggests that this discourse is so deeply embedded in the political culture of our time that it is often employed uncritically and without awareness of its inherent illogicality.

A more effective and positive purpose of using the metaphor of war was to convey the seriousness of the AIDS pandemic and the magnitude of the response required to overcome it. Implicit is the sense that massive commitment and investment are needed. Sontag makes the point that 'war-making is one of the few activities that people are not supposed to view ... with an eye to expense .... In all-out war, expenditure is all-out, unprudent – war being defined as an emergency in which no sacrifice is excessive' (1989:11).

Most significantly, Mandela's use of this metaphor drew on shared background knowledge of the supremely important fact that the fight against apartheid was eventually successful. As Sherry points out: 'talk of war ... presumes that victory or defeat will be the outcome' (1993 t9). Mandela is the living proof that the struggle ended in victory. By analogy, the audience was being persuaded to believe that efforts to contain AIDS can also succeed. This offers hope which in turn promotes motivation and the will to act. This aspect of the comparison between apartheid and AIDS functions as a positive incentive to effort.

Developing the struggle metaphor at the 46664 concert, the artist Bono stated: 'Madiba's greatest gift to the world is to say: 'I was in prison for all those years. Those people with AIDS, they're in prison. Let them out. Let them go''. These words echo the title of the book *Let My People Go*, written by another South African Nobel Peace Prize Winner, Chief Albert Luthuli[24].

The words: 'Let my people go' recall, in turn, Moses' words to Pharoah[25]. This took place a another time and place in another, much earlier

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[24] Albert Luthuli (1898-1967) was a Zulu teacher, religious leader, and President of the ANC (1952-60). He was the first African to be awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace (1960) in recognition of his non-violent struggle against racial discrimination.
[25] Exodus 5:1.

liberation struggle[26]. Several other direct comparisons were made between Mandela's imprisonment and the condition of being infected with HIV. While there are points of similarity between the two conditions – a jail cell places limits on one's life, as does illness – the metaphor is not apt in all respects. People cannot be freed from AIDS as completely as they can be freed from prison. They may be helped by ARV therapy, but they cannot be cured. This is something of a false equivalence. However, it was made to create optimism and encourage the belief that trends can be reversed; that miracles can happen.

The apartheid/AIDS metaphor, while often lacking clarity or internal consistency, was used at the 46664 concert to construct inspirational meanings. The intended effect was to uplift. Far more than an entertaining event, the 46664 concert was a text loaded with cultural assumptions and a multiplicity of conflicting meanings: explicit and implicit; past and present, present and absent. It illustrates that 'a text is made up of a contradictory mix of different cultural forces' (Storey 2001:12) and that popular cultural happenings are sites where the politics of signification are played out in attempts to win readers to particular ways of seeing the world (Hall 1985:36).

Conclusion

AIDS is having a marked effect on the South African linguistic landscape in a variety of ways. The phenomenon is laden with political, social and cultural significance and this is creating a multi-layered and complex discourse. Whilst an explicit sexual discourse has been legitimated in the interests of education, many new terms to avoid naming HIV/AIDS are being coined as a result of the fear and stigma attached to the condition.

Apartheid discourse has been heavily utilised in the emotive debates that have raged around AIDS-related issues. The fact that so much of the metaphorical language used in the AIDS debate has been taken from recent history suggests how deeply the political past is ingrained in the South

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[26] This kind of intertextuality illustrates Derrida's view that 'meaning is always deferred, never fully present, always both present and absent' in a text (Storey 2001:73).

interests of education, many new terms to avoid naming HIV/AIDS are being coined as a result of the fear and stigma attached to the condition.

Apartheid discourse has been heavily utilised in the emotive debates that have raged around AIDS-related issues. The fact that so much of the metaphorical language used in the AIDS debate has been taken from recent history suggests how deeply the political past is ingrained in the South African psyche. As we have seen, the use of the war metaphor in relation to AIDS is generally regarded as undesirable because of the negative connotations of war, but, in South Africa, the particularisation of the discourse to include the apartheid conflict has created positive meanings as well. The apartheid analogy has been manipulated in different ways – sometimes ambiguously, illogically and destructively – to fit different AIDS-related purposes, but, ten years into the new democracy, it has also been invoked to energise and inspire.

The issue of AIDS appears to have displaced – even replaced – the liberation struggle. In our post-apartheid society the cause of AIDS has become a liberation struggle in its own right. It could be called the liberation struggle of the 'new' South Africa.

Department of English
University of South Africa

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Stigma and HIV/AIDS Discourse in Zimbabwe

Aquilina Mawadza

Introduction

The HIV/AIDS pandemic looms larger in Africa than anywhere else in the world (McFadden 1992:190). Denial, stigma and discrimination against those infected by HIV/AIDS are some of the factors fuelling the spread of HIV/AIDS. Stigmatization of people living with HIV/AIDS denies them basic human rights to dignity. Discussion of AIDS is still taboo in most African societies essentially because of its relationship with the sexual act (McFadden 1992:157-158). In Zimbabwe the subject of HIV/AIDS remains shrouded in mystery and is regarded as taboo. This bars open dialogue on the subject as the following examination of the Shona language suggests.

Shona is the national language of Zimbabwe together with Ndebele. It is the mother tongue of about 80% of Zimbabwe's population of about twelve million. Shona is the ensemble of all Shona dialects namely, Zezuru, Karanga, Manyika, Korekore and Ndau. The term Shona is a linguistic creation that came into use when the five Shona dialects were standardized by Professor Clement Doke who published a *Report on the Unification of the Shona Dialects* (1931).

In the Shona language, the words for private body parts are too strong to be used openly. A culture of silence therefore surrounds matters pertaining to HIV/AIDS. According to cultural standards, being HIV positive is an immoral act because traditionally, sickness and disease are considered to be punishment by one's ancestors. HIV/AIDS is therefore a disease of shame as people who are infected are treated with contempt.

This article argues that language is central to how stigmas are perpetuated and constructed. The use of words is a powerful means to stigmatize (see Mbwambo 2003). Stigmatizing language is commonly found in the media, education materials, song and poetry and is also used by individuals in daily discourse. The focus of this paper is on everyday discourse.

Data Collection

This study reports on research conducted by the writer in the city of Harare, Zimbabwe. The study involved 35 Shona first language speakers, comprising 15 women and 20 men, all of whom were between 20 and 30 years old. The subjects, who were randomly selected, were asked to list words or phrases that are used to refer to HIV/AIDS. In addition, the researcher drew on data collected from everyday discourse, through listening to conversations in public places.

The data was transcribed giving literal translations and metaphorical meanings. The data was analyzed to determine how language, and especially metaphor, works in naming the HIV/AIDS disease and people with HIV/AIDS. The analysis of the structure of HIV/AIDS discourse in Shona reveals that the interpretation of any particular text is governed by a variety of syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic factors, for meaning involves much more than the literal references of words.

In this study, I utilize the theoretical frameworks of sociolinguistics and discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is sometimes defined as the analysis of language 'beyond the sentence'. This contrasts with types of analysis more typical of modern linguistics, which are chiefly concerned with the study of grammar: the study of smaller bits of language, such as sounds, structure and meaning (Hudson 1980).

HIV/AIDS - Related Stigma

One way that language can be stigmatizing is in the use of derogatory references to those with HIV/AIDS. Words with negative connotations that describe HIV/AIDS form part of daily conversation. Name-calling, gossip, and derogatory references to HIV/AIDS are strong and common forms of stigma. Speakers are often unaware that they are stigmatizing others with

their words, nor are they aware of the damaging impact of what they are saying (Nyblade 2003:37). Following Nyblade and Mbwambo (2003), who studied HIV/AIDS stigma and language as part of their work in Tanzania, Zambia and Ethiopia, this paper focuses on how HIV/AIDS is named and how stigma is constructed linguistically in Shona. Nyblade's and Mbwambo's (2003) works are important to this study because they capture how stigma is constructed linguistically in other African languages spoken in Tanzania, Zambia and Ethiopia.

The major aims and objectives of this study are summarized as follows:

- To deepen analysis of the linguistic construction of stigma in HIV/AIDS discourse.
- To explore the gender dimension of linguistic stigmatization of Zimbabwean women.

Stigma has ancient roots (Aggleton 2002:8). The origins of the word can be traced to classical Greece where outcast groups were branded or physically marked as a permanent measure of their status (Aggleton 2002:8). Stigma has been defined as 'an attribute that is significantly discrediting' (see Goffman 1963). Stigmatization therefore describes the process of devaluation within a particular culture or setting. In the case of HIV/AIDS, stigma may be applied to actual infection or to the behavior believed to lead to infection. Speaking ill of a person with HIV/AIDS is one of the most common manifestations of stigma. People recognize the use of language as a tool for stigmatizing and this carries negative power. Talking, gossiping, whispering and pointing fingers are all forms of stigma. Much of HIV/AIDS - related stigma builds upon the belief that infected people deserve it because they have done something wrong. Often, it is imputed that the wrong-doing is linked to sex (Aggleton 2002:8).

The literature about how HIV is transmitted considers how ignorance and misinformation contribute to stigma. The shame of having a disease that is strongly associated with sex generates the stigma. HIV/AIDS confirms stereotypes and underlying assumptions that people carry around on a daily basis, for example, the idea that prostitutes are bad people.

Nyblade, (2003:9) identifies the following as causes of stigma:

- Incomplete knowledge about HIV transmission and prevention, and the lack of in-depth knowledge about the difference between HIV and AIDS.
- Fear of casual transmission, for instance through sharing utensils, shaking hands.
- The belief that people who are HIV- positive are not productive; they are viewed as already dead, for instance in the use of terms such as *akakwira bhazi,* which translates as s/he boarded a bus (suggesting that s/he is on the journey to death, s/he is a walking corpse).

Similar examples have been reported in research conducted in Tanzania, Zambia and Ethiopia. In Tanzania there is the example of **utakufa kilo mbili,** which means 'you will die weighing two kilos; in Zambia there is **makizi yaku mochari** which means 'keys to the mortuary' and in Ethiopia **yeminkesakes atent** which refers to a 'moving skeleton' (Nyblade 2003:46)

The Linguistic Construction of Stigma

HIV/AIDS stigma is constructed linguistically in Shona discourse in two ways. Firstly, there is the nominalization of the disease and people, and secondly, there is the use of metaphor.

Nominalization of the Disease (See Figure One)

HIV/AIDS attracts multiple threads of stigmatized experience, namely the disease, sexual behaviour, death and gendered bodies. There is widespread pessimism in the discourse of HIV/AIDS whereby the shadow of disease and death is invoked (Jones 1997:397).

Because African languages sometimes do not have scientific words or terms, diseases are given names that best reflect what people fear or feel. African languages generally do not have words for 'immunodeficiency' or 'virus'. As such, the new disease has been given names that closely reflect what the local speakers think of AIDS. One of the words used to refer to HIV/AIDS in Shona is **mukondombera,** which means 'plague'. This word was also used to refer to the influenza epidemic at the turn of the century that killed many people. Dowling (2004: 3) notes that HIV/AIDS is seen as a plague because it seems able to subjugate a nation by

dramatically reducing its numbers. Another term that is used to refer to AIDS in Shona is **shuramatongo,** which means 'an abandoned homestead, a cursed place, or a scene of catastrophe' is also. It alludes to the fact that AIDS wipes out entire households thereby leaving an empty home. HIV/AIDS is also generally referred to as **chirwere** (the disease). Consequently, when HIV/AIDS invites such a reputation, people living with it do not want to be exposed. No one dies of AIDS, but of AIDS-related ailments such as malaria, TB or pneumonia. Due to the AIDS stigma, these ailments are given as the cause of death when in fact the death has been due to AIDS.

Other words in Shona that refer to HIV/AIDS tend to represent the disease as being modern, foreign, fearful, sexually transmitted and catastrophic. People with the disease are named according to their physical appearance for instance, the hair, way of walking and body size.

Motherhood and the Disease

In many cultures motherhood is considered as a feminine ideal (Gupta 2000:2). Fertility is a central issue in the definition of sexuality. Using barrier methods or non-penetrative sex as safer sex options therefore presents a significant dilemma for women (see Heise and Elias 1995). Shona women construct their identities as women through their social status as wives and mothers. As such, many women pursue risky sexual relations so as to acquire this status. Despite their seropositive status, the fear of not having children is rife. The risk that the child will be born infected with HIV seems better than not having children at all.

Women of all ages are perceived as the most common 'victims' of HIV/AIDS related stigma. At the same time women are viewed as disease carriers, repositories of infection and are socially and economically ostracized[1]. Blame for infection is frequently placed on women: mothers are blamed for infecting their babies, older women are accused of being 'promiscuous' and 'grabbing' young men, and schoolgirls and university students are cited as going for older men just for a few dollars to buy food, clothes and books. Women traders, and especially cross-border traders, are stigmatized for bringing HIV/AIDS (Muzvidziwa 2001:68).

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[1] Online at http:ww.beloit.edu/~biology/emggdis/papers/aidszim.html)

Figure One: Nominalization of the HIV/AIDS Disease
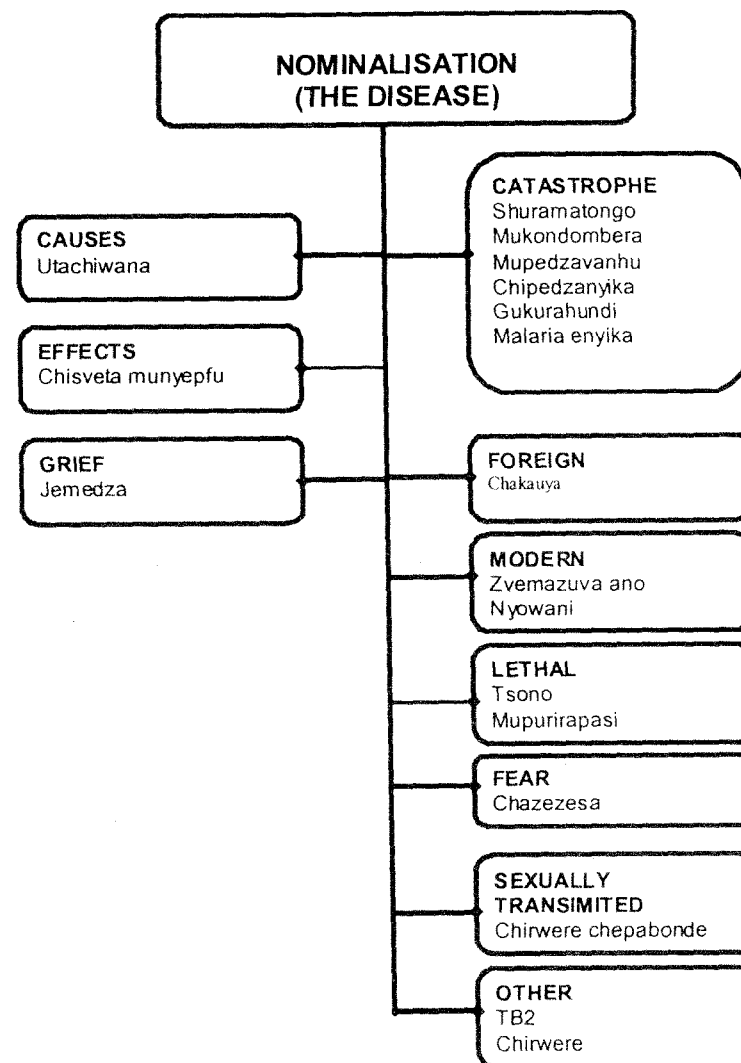
The meanings of words used to describe the HIV/AIDS disease

EXPRESSION	GLOSS	MEANING
chakapedza mbudzi	That which destroyed the goats	Death resulting from unreasonable behaviour, this is emanating from the feeding behaviour of goats, they eat anything…
chakauya	That which came	Foreign disease
chakauya ichi	The one that came/from the outside	Foreign disease
chazezesa	A thing that is dreaded	Dreaded disease
chipedza nyika	One that destroys the country	HIV/AIDS destroys the entire nation
chirwere	disease	The meaning of disease has thus been extended to refer to HIV/AIDS
chirwere chepabonde	A disease resulting from sex	Sexually transmitted disease
chisveta munyepfu	Flesh sucker	HIV/AIDS which sucks life out
gukurahundi	Storm that sweeps away the chuff after harvesting	Refers to the destructive nature of the disease
jemedza	That which makes you cry	Sad times awaiting
malaria enyika	Malaria of the country	Serious disease
mukondombera	plague	Refers to the gravity and seriousness of HIV/AIDS
mupedza vanhu	One that destroys the people	the exterminator of people
mupedzanyika	That which destroys the country	Refer to effect of HIV on a country
mupurirapasi	One that knocks you down	Deadly disease
new sero	New sero status	This term has to do with sero-positive status
nyowani	A new disease	Modern day disease
shuramatongo	Abandoned homestead, scene of catastrophe	HIV/AIDS because it wipes out entire families
Tsono	Needle	Painful disease as in the prick of a needle
utachiwana	virus	The meaning of utachiwana 'virus' has been extended to refer to the HIV virus. A virus that makes the body so weak that it is unable to fight off opportunistic diseases that it would easily resist if it is not immuno-deficient
zvemazuva ano	Of the modern/present day	Modern day disease

Aquilina Mawadza

Figure Two: Nominalization of People with HIV/AIDS
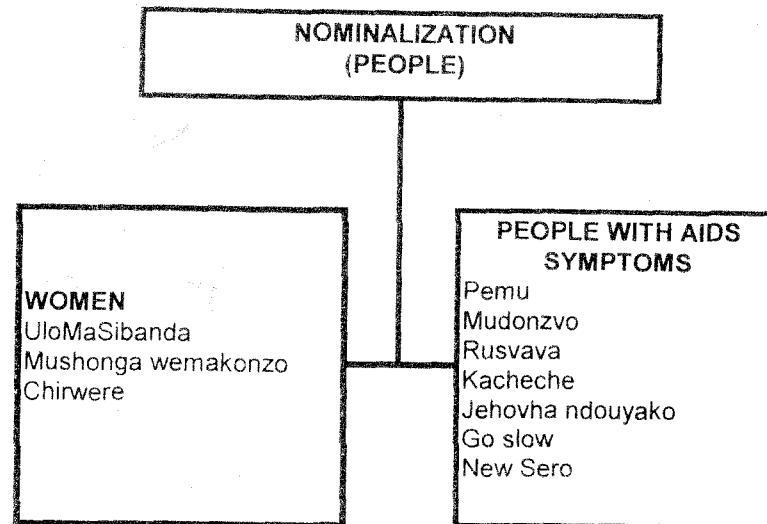
Words used in HIV/AIDS discourse to describe women

EXPRESSION	GLOSS	MEANING
chirwere chepfambi	A prostitute's disease	Alludes to the fact that only promiscuous people get HIV/AIDS
mushonga wemakonzo	Rat kill	Infected woman who infects a man: poisons him as in rat kill
UloMaSibanda	Ms. Sibanda	Woman of easy virtue

Words used to describe people with AIDS symptoms

Go slow	Go slow	Debilitation effect of HIV/AIDS
Jehovha ndouyako	Lord I am coming there	Imminent death from HIV/AIDS
kacheche	baby	Infected person now appearing like a baby
mudonzvo	Walking stick	Those infected are referred as such because they walk the aid of a walking stick
new sero	New sero status	New HIV/AIDS status
pemu	Permed hair	Effects of AIDS on the appearance of the hair, it loses its kinky look
rusvava	baby	Looking like a baby, soft hair and small in size

Nyblade (2003:17) contends that while both men and women are blamed for HIV/AIDS 'men are seen as having a natural propensity to sex while women are believed to have more controllable sexual urges'. This implies that women are blamed more easily, often and harshly. Women face the most severe blame and stigma and are perceived as having brought HIV infection upon themselves and others as a result of 'bad', 'immoral' behaviour, the way they dress or behave. As a result, 'women bear a double stigma, they are infected, and they are women' (Gupta 2000:4).

The language of HIV/AIDS reveals female subordination, oppression and exploitation through the perpetuation of patriarchal cultures and traditions which underpin most African societies to the present day (McFadden 1992:192). In general, the stigmatization of HIV/AIDS and women shapes the discrimination that HIV positive women face in the public and private spheres. They are more likely to be blamed, stigmatized and even abandoned by their families and they face greater discrimination in healthcare, education and legal rights. The stigmatization of women confirms the deeply systemic roots of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, and is lodged in the very organization of society. Women are more vulnerable because of this form of social organization.

HIV/AIDS related stigma plays into, and reinforces existing social inequalities. These include gender inequalities (Aggleton 2000: 9). A number of languages use terms for AIDS that translate as 'women's disease'.

On the face of it, this appears to blame women for the epidemic. Indeed most sexually transmitted diseases are linguistically described as being of female origin. In Shona, HIV/AIDS is also referred to as **chirwere chepfambi** (see Figure Two) 'a prostitute's disease'. **UloMaSibanda** is used to refer to an infected woman, and the assumption is that she might have acquired the disease through prostitution as she likes goodies so much. The term **mushonga wemakonzo** (rat kill) is yet another term associated with infected women. In this instance, women's bodies are likened to rat poison – sexual contact with such a woman is like taking rat poison, one will certainly die.

Metaphor
Stigma is constructed linguistically, through the use of metaphor. This use of metaphor to describe HIV/AIDS has increasingly become an area of interest in discourse analysis (Sontag, 2001). According to Stillwagon (2003:818) 'a metaphor has suggestive power; it is more flexible than a factual statement because it begins with an image but relies on conceptual displacement so as to maintain the analogy. Specific derogatory words and phrases to describe people with HIV/AIDS add greatly to the suffering of patients and this also inhibits them from seeking proper treatment (see Sontag 2001). In Zimbabwe, people with HIV infection are subject to much labelling and name-calling as the following analysis illustrates. HIV/AIDS is frequently associated with immoral behaviour, extramarital sexual relations, prostitution and deviance. There are also powerful links between HIV/AIDS and death, disease, pain, suffering, isolation and ostracization (see Figure Three). Metaphors of dread and fear as exemplified below, also surround the disease.

Funeral Metaphors (see Table Five)
HIV equals death, learning that one is HIV-positive is tantamount to learning that one is dying. This can be identified by the use of expressions to refer to the funeral such as **manje manje masofa panze**[2] literally means, 'very soon, the sofas/couches will be outside', which suggests what occurs at a home where there is a funeral. There is also the expression **tinomunwira manje manje** which means 'very soon we will be drinking beer'. This implies that

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[2] NB: In Shona culture, lounge furniture is put outside the house and mourners sit on the floor at funeral wakes.

death is certain. The term **kunwira** refers to the beer drinking at the funeral or the drinking of ritual beer brewed for the post-death rituals.

Self Inflicted Disease
Metaphors relating to individual deviant behavior are also common. The idea that a person was involved in many sexual relationships **'aiwanza magemu'** is literally rendered as 's/he was involved in many games'. The belief is that those who get HIV/AIDS do so through the sexual act. The example **akarohwa nematsotsi** literally means 's/he was attacked by thieves', and carries connotations of wandering at night. Hence, if you wander at night, you will be attacked by the virus. The expression **akatenga stand** means 's/he bought a piece of land' which suggests that acquiring the AIDS virus is like to acquiring a piece of land. When one buys a piece of land in Zimbabwe, it is normal to have to wait for a while before it is ready for building. When it is time for construction to begin, people use the term **yakabuda,** i.e., 'it came out'. The term **yakabuda** is a stigmatizing term to refer to HIV/AIDS symptoms once they appear.

Death Metaphors
An infected person is regarded as being on a journey to death, as exemplified by the following death metaphors: **ava mudepartures lounge** which means 'he/she is now in the departures lounge'[3], **akakwira bhazi** which means 's/he boarded a bus [to death], and **bhazi rakasvika** which means 'the bus arrived', i.e., death arrived'.

Foreign Disease
There is a belief that HIV/AIDS came from somewhere else, as is clear from metaphors such as **chakauya,** which means 'the one that came' and suggests that HIV/AIDS is a foreign disease.

Modern Disease
Descriptions of HIV/AIDS as a 'modern disease' are exemplified by **zvemazuva ano'**, which means 'of the modern day' or **nyowani** which means 'new disease'. The term **nyowani** is a linguistic borrowing from

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[3] NB: Departure lounge refers to the airport lounge, meaning that one will depart/leave soon.

English. HIV/AIDS is also referred to in medical terms, such as **new sero**.

Lethal Metaphor

The term **tsono** (needle) alludes to the fact that HIV/AIDS is a painful and deadly disease. It is an allusion to the pain that one goes through.
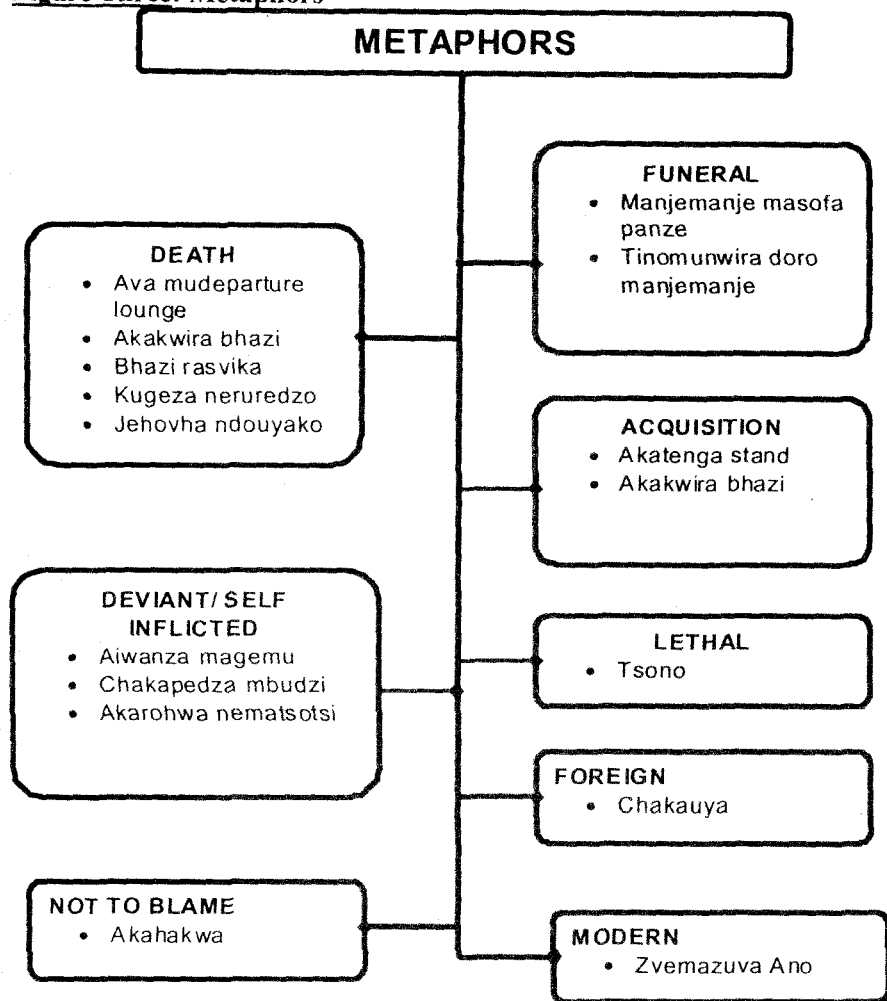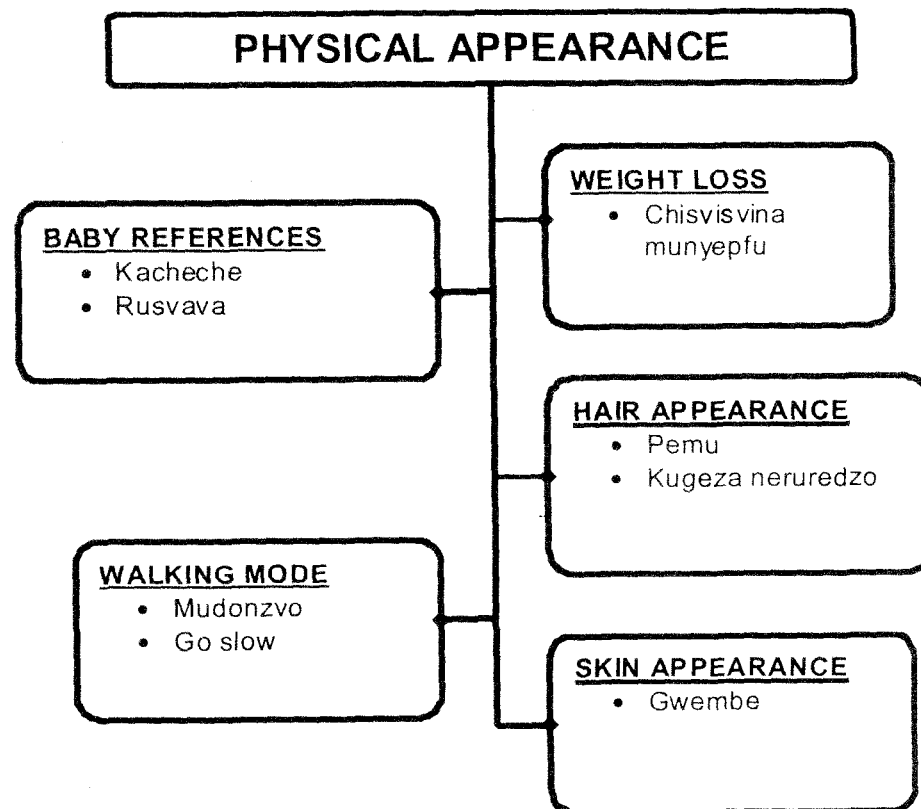
Figure Three: Metaphors

METAPHORS

DEATH
- Ava mudeparture lounge
- Akakwira bhazi
- Bhazi rasvika
- Kugeza neruredzo
- Jehovha ndouyako

DEVIANT/SELF INFLICTED
- Aiwanza magemu
- Chakapedza mbudzi
- Akarohwa nematsotsi

NOT TO BLAME
- Akahakwa

FUNERAL
- Manjemanje masofa panze
- Tinomunwira doro manjemanje

ACQUISITION
- Akatenga stand
- Akakwira bhazi

LETHAL
- Tsono

FOREIGN
- Chakauya

MODERN
- Zvemazuva Ano

Figure Four: Physical Appearance Metaphors

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

BABY REFERENCES
- Kacheche
- Rusvava

WEIGHT LOSS
- Chisvisvina munyepfu

HAIR APPEARANCE
- Pemu
- Kugeza neruredzo

WALKING MODE
- Mudonzvo
- Go slow

SKIN APPEARANCE
- Gwembe

Physical Appearance (see Figure Four)

Metaphors referring to the physical self are also typical. Metaphors such as **pemu** (permed hair) are used to describe the state of the hair of an infected person. Another term is **ava kugeza neruredzo**, which literally means 's/he is now bathing with plant mucilage. This expression refers to the thin hair of a person suffering from AIDS. If one washes one's hair with **ruredzo** (plant mucilage) the hair becomes soft and non-kinky, as seen in HIV positive people. The plant mucilage was used traditionally for bathing and it foams like a shampoo. When used to shampoo the hair, the hair becomes soft and curly. Other terms such **kacheche** or **rusvava** (baby) are also used to refer

infected people. This refers to the fact that victims often develop frail bodies with very fine skin texture, like babies, and may sometimes become smaller in body size. The images of despair and helplessness conveyed by these metaphors fuel the already powerful images of stigmatization existing in the larger social frame (Jones 1997:409). Weight loss is yet another instance with regard to physical appearance metaphors with examples such as **chisvisvina munyepfu** (flesh sucker). Metaphors such as **mudonzvo** (walking stick) and **go slow** refer to the walking mode of an ill person (see Table Six). Skin appearance is referred to in **gwembe** (incurable skin ailment), which is used to refer to skin ailments believed to be HIV/AIDS related.

Conclusions

This article has identified and examined the powerful imagery, metaphors and euphemisms that are used to talk about HIV/AIDS. It found that terms applying to people with, or suspected of having, HIV/AIDS drew associations with promiscuity, illness, death, denial and guilt. Dominant in such discourse is the blame assigned to people with HIV/AIDS, and assumptions made about their sexual behaviour. Stigma is highly pervasive and found in various forms.

The description of stigma in Zimbabwean languages is by no means complete. There is an urgent need for a fuller and comprehensive study of the linguistic construction of stigma in Ndebele and in Zimbabwean English.

The African Gender Institute
University of Cape Town

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Table 1: Summary of words used to describe the HIV/AIDS disease

EXPRESSION	GLOSS	MEANING
chakapedza mbudzi	That which destroyed the goats	Death resulting from unreasonable behaviour, this is emanating from the feeding behaviour of goats, they eat anything…
chakauya ichi	The one that came/from the outside	Foreign disease
chazezesa	A thing that is dreaded	Dreaded disease
chipedza nyika	One that destroys the country	HIV/AIDS destroys the entire nation
chirwere	Disease	The meaning of disease has thus been extended to refer to HIV/AIDS
chirwere chepabonde	A disease resulting from sex	Sexually transmitted disease
gukurahundi	Storm that sweeps away the chuff after harvesting	Refers to the destructive nature of the disease
jemedza	That which makes you cry	Sad times awaiting
malaria enyika	Malaria of the country	Serious disease
mukondombera	Plague	Refers to the gravity and seriousness of HIV/AIDS
mupedza vanhu	One that destroys the people	the exterminator of people
mupedzanyika	That which destroys the country	Refer to effect of HIV on a country
mupurirapasi	One that knocks you down	Deadly disease

new sero	New sero status	This term has to do with sero-positive status
nyowani	A new disease	Modern day disease
shuramatongo	Abandoned homestead, scene of catastrophe	HIV/AIDS because it wipes out entire families
tsono	Needle	Painful disease as in the prick of a needle
utachiwana	Virus	The meaning of **utachiwana** 'virus' has been extended to refer to the HIV virus. A virus that makes the body so weak that it is unable to fight off opportunistic diseases that it would easily resist if it is not immuno-deficient
zvemazuva ano	Of the modern/present day	Modern day disease

Table 2: Summary of words used to describe the physical appearance of people with HIV/AIDS

EXPRESSION	GLOSS	MEANING
chisveta munyepfu	Flesh sucker	HIV/AIDS which sucks life out
gwembe	Skin ailment that is difficult to cure	Skin ailment – incurable as in HIV/AIDS
kacheche	baby	Infected person now appearing like a baby
kugeza neruredzo	Bathing with plant mucilage	Referring to the state of the hair of an infected person…it becomes and loses the kinky look

mudonzvo	Walking stick	Those infected are referred as such because they walk the aid of a walking stick
pemu	Permed hair	Effects of AIDS on the appearance of the hair, it loses its kinky look
rusvava	baby	Looking like a baby, soft hair and small in size

Table 3: Summary of words used to describe the people thought to have self-inflicted HIV/AIDS

EXPRESSION	GLOSS	MEANING
Akatenga stand	s/he bought a piece of land: a plot	Acquiring the disease is enlikened with applying for a piece of land, when it is ready for building then **yakabuda** 'it came out'- to refer to the symptoms of full blown AIDS once they appear.
Akakwira bhazi	s/he boarded a bus	To refer to the infection one has contracted, i.e analogy is with getting into a bus, and when the bus arrives **bhazi rakasvika** is when death comes
Akarohwa nematsotsi	s/he was beaten up by thieves, soldiers	Implications of wandering at night, you get beaten up by thieves, and similarly when you wander at night, you contract the HIV virus
Aiwanza magemu	s/he was involved in too many games	'games', here refers to promiscuous behaviour

Table 4: Words used in HIV/AIDS discourse to describe women

EXPRESSION	GLOSS	MEANING
chirwere chepfambi	A prostitute's disease	Alludes to the fact that only promiscuous people get HIV/AIDS
mushonga wemakonzo	Rat kill	Infected woman who infects a man: poisons him as in rat kill
UloMaSibanda	Ms. Sibanda	Woman of easy virtue

Table 5: Words used to refer to death and funerals

EXPRESSION	GLOSS	MEANING
Ava mu'departures lounge'	s/he is now in the departures lounge	s/he is about to depart: die.
Manje manje masofa panze	Very soon, the couches will be outside	Refers to the culture of putting furniture outside of the house at funeral wakes.
Tinomunwira manje manje	Very soon we will be drinking beer for him/her	Referring to the beer drinking at the funeral ceremony

Table 6: Other words used in HIV/AIDS discourse

EXPRESSION	GLOSS	MEANING
akahakwa	s/he was caught	Not to blame, innocent victim
Go slow	Go slow	Debilitation effect of HIV/AIDS
Jehovha ndouyako	Lord I am coming there	Imminent death from HIV/AIDS

Safe Sex or Safe Love? Competing Discourses within the Context of HIV/AIDS

Shakila Reddy

Introduction

HIV/AIDS discourses have not only been successful in making people aware of HIV as a disease entity but have also opened up new ways of thinking about sex and sexuality (Harrison 2000). Furthermore, in South Africa as well as elsewhere, the pandemic has been the site of continuing struggles in the discourses of gender, sexuality, race and sexual differences. The discussion in this paper draws on data that was produced as part of my doctoral research, which explored young adults' sexual identity constructions within the context of HIV/AIDS (see Reddy 2003). This included an exploration of how young adults explore, define, negotiate and represent their sexual identities.

While I am not a linguist by training, the centrality of language to the construction of identities, and therefore any reconstruction of limiting identities, became evident in the process of my research. This paper focuses on the discourse of love (and trust) amongst young men and young women and how these articulate (or not) with the discourses of safe sex. Further, I examine particular versions of masculinities and femininities and how these are constructed by language. Within the context of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, it is critical to understand the discursive strategies men and women use to reproduce, re-work or reject limiting sexual identities that lead to unsafe sex practices.

Methodology and Theoretical Framework

This area of research raises many questions regarding the relationship between the researcher and those that are being researched. There are pertinent methodological questions that need to be asked such as: how does one gain access to what is construed as invisible, and more specifically, to issues that are considered private and personal. These topics have been the focus of feminist research methodology (Lather and Smithies 1997). Since sexual identities are often privately held, not clearly observable, and poorly understood by the participants themselves, a variety of methods were used to generate data about young adults' notions of their developing sexual identities within the context of HIV/AIDS.

The discussion in this paper is based largely on data from group and individual interviews. A gendered approach was employed in the production of data: working with groups of girls; groups of boys; boys and girls together as well as individual girls and boys. This provided opportunities for single sex discussions about the participants' desires, fears and anxieties in relation to the 'opposite sex', as well as opportunities for the girls and boys to confront and challenge gender stereotypes, expectations and assumptions, and to learn from each other about their desires, fears and anxieties. The process of interviewing and discussion in groups was not just about gathering information, but about speaking identities into being, about confronting and reworking limiting sexual identities, and hopefully, appropriating those that contribute to the participants' sexual safety. The participants were male and female learners in a selected co-educational state school in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. The school is situated in a suburban working class area. A sample consisting of a mix of African and Indian learners aged between 15-19 years participated in this study.

A poststructuralist feminist theoretical approach (Weedon 1997) was combined with Critical Discourse Analysis (Blommaert and Bulcaen 2000) to create a useful tool for meaningful analysis of the very fluid and contingent nature of sexual identity construction. Michel Foucault (1972) provided the initial lead for understanding the subject through discourse analysis. He argues that subjects are created in discourse and cautioned that 'discourse is not the majestically unfolding manifestation of a thinking, knowing, speaking subject' (Foucault 1972: 55). This paper attempts to offer an approach to the HIV/AIDS pandemic by examining the language used by

teenagers in creating their sexual identities, which are intimately connected to their sexual practices (Reddy 2003).

Weedon's (1997) notions of poststructuralist theories of language, subjectivity, discourse and power seem to offer useful ways of understanding experience and relating it to social power without resorting to fixed notions of identity. According to Weedon (1997:21), the common factor in the poststructuralist approach to social organisation, social meanings, power and individual consciousness is language. Language is the medium in which actual and possible forms of social organisation occur and where likely social and political consequences are defined and contested. Yet it is also the place where our identities and our subjectivities are constructed. Fairclough (2000:164) also supports the view that people live in ways that are mediated by discourses which construct work, family, gender (femininity, masculinity), sexuality and so on in particular ways, which emanate from experts attached to social systems and which come to them through sources such as the mass media. Fairclough (2000: 164) contends that contemporary social life is 'textually mediated' - we live our practices and identities through such texts.

The principles of poststructuralist feminism are 'applied to all discursive practices to analyse how they are structured, what power relations they produce and reproduce, where the resistances are and where we might look for weak points more open to challenge and transformation' (Weedon 1997:132). Within this framework, I attempt to understand how young women position themselves within gendered linguistic performances as well as the discursive strategies employed by young men in their quest to sustain male hegemony.

Analysis of the Data

The findings are represented in the groupings outlined, that is, individuals and groups of girls; individuals and groups of boys; and girls and boys together. This is neither to essentialise nor reify categories of boys and girls as I look at the similarities and differences within and between these groupings in order to understand the complex ways in which girls and boys represent themselves. I also focus on the public and private language performances of girls and boys in order to examine the particular ways in

which the language used in different contexts is influenced by the nature of the audience. In this paper, I specifically examine the linguistic manifestations of young adults' conceptions of ideal relationships within the context of HIV/AIDS and their responses are discussed below.

Ideal Relationships: To Love and Trust

The participants' accounts of ideal relationships were conspicuously gendered. Girls often talked about *love* and *trust* as integral components of ideal relationships. Such a framework in itself tended to make (often unsafe) sexual activity more legitimate. Boys, on the other hand, remained largely silent about issues of *love* and *trust*.

Girls' Constructions of Ideal Relationships

The desire to love and be loved is one of the principal reasons given by girls for beginning a sexual relationship, and it seems that they engage in unsafe sexual practices and go to great lengths to prove their love in ways that are expected of them (mainly by the boys). For example: *'He says you don't love him if you don't sleep with him'* (Welile). This manner of constructing themselves in ways that meet male needs was a feature of many girls' articulations. Even though Welile uses *you* instead of *I*, the structure of this sentence suggests personal experience. The use of two negatives suggests a fear of loss of love.

Girls often perceived unprotected sex as a way of proving their love for the other and of ensuring a continued relationship. Unprotected sex was seen to be insurance for benefits such as emotional intimacy and trust. For example: *'It is thought that having unprotected sex is having complete trust in your partner'* (Rita). This example indicates a direct relationship between unprotected sex and *complete* trust, and that each implies the other. The phrase 'in your partner' suggests the second person, which was not common among girls. Women in this society rarely speak about sexuality, and virtually never about their own sexuality and when they do, it is done haltingly and seldom in the first person.

In the focus group discussions, some girls expressed recognition (and perhaps acceptance) that boys often used promises of love in order to gain access to sex. In the following extract the girls display awareness that

there are differences among girls and among boys. Again it was also interesting that they mostly referred to others and seldom themselves.

Gugu: *Boys think that if they tell you they love you then you will have to do anything to please him.*
Zubi: *And some girls are scared that if they refuse him then they will get dumped.*
Ayesha: *Some boys are only interested in one thing.*
Gugu: *Not all boys, Ma'am. Some boys, not all, know how to treat a girl* (Excerpt 1).

It is also evident from the above excerpt that the girls seemed to be more interested in what boys wanted and expected. They seldom talked about their own expectations and desires, and did not seem to have to language to do so. It is possible that even if they did have the language, they were not free to express themselves because of social expectations that girls are objects of desire rather than desiring subjects. The use of the conditional *if* and *have to* by Gugu in the first instance suggests that boys' declaration of love is conditional and would demand a mandatory response of *anything to please him*, and this would include unsafe sex. There is also reference to the fear of being 'dumped'. This colloquial term was used frequently by the girls and it has strong implications of being permanently discarded and having no further value.

Throughout this discussion the girls referred to *some boys* and *some girls* which meant that they had some understanding of differences among girls and differences among boys. This understanding is articulated directly by Gugu (in Excerpt 1) and is significant in that it provided spaces for understanding and constructing alternative identities that are more conducive to sexual safety. It is also evident from Ayesha's use of *one thing*, which refers to sexual activity, that girls were not free to talk openly about sex and used euphemisms in their communication. Boys, on the other hand, were able to talk freely and directly about sex, for example: *'Because the sex is better (without a condom) and the feel of the vagina rubbing against my penis is very nice"* (Bheki). This is an interesting use of the words *vagina* and *penis* by an African language speaker. This was not uncommon among young Black males, while females' use of language was more restricted (see Excerpt 2, below).

Interestingly, for girls, love and trust are seen as protection against HIV/AIDS. This construction of ideal relationships is seen to reduce sexual risk. For example: *'It (HIV/AIDS knowledge) teaches us that having sex is something serious. If you have sex you must be sure and be able to love and trust the person it happens with'* (Kogie). The participant articulates a conditional relationship between 'sex' and 'love and trust'. She also positions girls as passive in this process, in her use of the word *happens*. This word suggests that women cannot chose the person that they want to have sex with and must therefore compensate by taking charge of their attitudes.

There was more agreement amongst girls that love necessarily makes sexual behaviour clean and pure, eg., *'If you love someone, you should be able to do anything with them'* (Nelisiwe). In this sentence *should* indicates the obligatory character that love seems to have for women, that compels them to accede to *anything* through the discourse of romance. While these constructions are clearly contrary to sexual safety within the context of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, this did not seem apparent to the girls.

However, some girls do demonstrate some recognition of the contradictions between safe sex choices and sexual practices based on satisfying partners and keeping relationships. There is some evidence of girls taking the lead in organising their own lives, and consequently exerting more power within relationships. Some girls suggested that they are not always passive victims and are able to decide on the terms of a relationship. For example:

Gugu: *There's a lot you can do with your boyfriend. It does not mean that you have to sleep with him to prove your love for him...Trust is the most important thing in a relationship.*
Thabisile: *No, I told them that if you love me, you love me; you don' t love my private part.* (Excerpt 2)

In Excerpt 2, Gugu challenges the conditional status of love and sex. Thabisile's reference to *private part* once again suggests the restrictions on

girls' talk whereas the language used by boys (see Bheki's statement discussed above).

Many girls also expressed concern about the negative connotations of introducing condom-use into a relationship, since it not only suggested distrust in the sexual partner, but also suggested that they (the girls) have been promiscuous. For instance, there was the comment: *' You can't mention condoms, he will think you sleep around'* (Jenny). Once again, the silences to which the girls are subjected indicate the importance of what boys think and expect.

Boys' Constructions of Ideal Relationships

Boys tended to be very silent on issues of love. When they did mention it they mainly talked about love as being something that girls were interested in. Boys talked about feelings in terms of physical contact, for example: *'They (boys) want 'flesh to flesh' so that they can feel what their partners feel for them'* (Bheki).

The first 'feel' refers to (boys') physical contact and the second feel' refers to (girls') emotional response. This is related to the issue that for many boys, having a partner is often associated with access to sexual pleasure. For example, one of the reasons that was given for having a girlfriend: *'They feel lonely and get horny and they want to get it on'* (Rishi). Here sexual activity is explained through the use of a trendy phrase, *get it on*, as a way to cure loneliness.

Linguistically what is interesting is that while males are perceived as the ones with power, the use of the third person plural pronoun *they* also reflects their inability to speak directly about the issue. The silence is therefore not just relegated to females but to males as well and that the two groups have different strategies to cope with the issue.

Some boys expressed resentment at girlfriends' expectations of attention and affection. They felt that being associated with one girl was damaging to their masculine reputation. For example:

Shakila: *Do you have girlfriends?*
Alan: *Yes, girlfriends. We can't be tied to one girl and she wants to be with you twenty-four- seven. You can't be with the guys and...*

Shane: Sometimes girls like to show other girls that they own you and stuff. You have to be with her and hang around at lunchtime and after school. (Excerpt 3)

While girls are often treated as commodities, as reflected in the language used by boys (e.g., *'as we get bigger we have certain needs such as sex, so by having a girlfriend, we can obtain these needs'* (Jay), Shane indicates that he does not like to be owned. He uses the plural *we*, which the boys frequently did in the presence of other boys, suggesting a common experience. When I enquired about differences among boys, Sibusiso said, 'O.K. Some. There are some boys who are caring and patient'. The slow *O.K.* and the qualification *some* suggested that this was a reluctant admission about something that boys are not proud about.

It was evident that context is an important sociolinguistic variable that may help explain changes in speech patterns. This was demonstrated by the strikingly different statements produced by individual boys in the group and in private. In private, some boys mentioned that love is important, but that it is not a good idea to declare your love for someone. Stereotypically for boys, declaring love is regarded as showing weakness while receiving love is regarded as a show of strength. Having their declaration of love rejected was a concern, for example: *'If you tell a girl that you love her, she may laugh at you and tell all her friends and everyone will come to know that and the other boys will make fun of you.'* This admission of 'weakness' was not a feature of group discussions. The manner in which they expressed themselves in-group situations indicated their understanding that boys' relationships should be about 'sex' and not 'love'. However in private, they admitted to emotion and expressed a fear of rejection. These dissonant public and private verbal performances were very prevalent in boys' articulations about feelings and love.

Girls and Boys' Constructions of Ideal Relationships

In the mixed sex settings, some girls continued to talk about love and trust, and notions of ideal relationships, which made sexual relationships safe. This idea was challenged by other girls, while the boys remained largely silent about the possibilities of being affected by 'love'. Instead they were

concerned with projecting masculine characteristics, as emerged in their discussion of sexual technique.

Mbuso: *Yes, you must practice.*
Nelisiwe: Why do you need practice? It's (sex) something within you. You should know how to do it without any practice.
Smanga: *Let's say you never had sex then you would be with your wife who has done it then that will be a problem when she has to teach you.*
Mbuso: *That's very embarrassing.*
Nelisiwe: *No, it isn't.*
Mbuso: *It is, it is.*
Nelisiwe: You shouldn't be embarrassed if you love someone, you should be able to do anything with them *(Excerpt 4).*

In this discussion it was clear that both boys and girls agreed that it was boys who should take charge of sexual activity and should therefore be experienced and knowledgeable about it. Smanga indicates that if it were the woman partner who had experience in and knowledge about sex, it would be a problem. Nelisiwe challenges this idea, but her main counterargument is that *love* is a solution to any problem in a relationship. Her contradictory and confusing constructions are also evident in her response that *it's (sex) something within you.* This shows that she shared the view that boys are expected (*should know*) to be innately (*something within you*) knowledgable about sex.

In mixed sex interviews, some boys challenged the traditional notions of power within relations. Consider the following extract:

Lucky: *One thing for sure, I won't be forceful.*
Themba: *There are two different kinds of 'no'. There is 'no' with a smile in it and there's a strong 'no'.*
Lucky: *'No' is 'no' anytime* (Excerpt 5).

In this conversation Themba displayed a fairly common male view that girls who say 'no' (to sex) do not necessarily mean 'no', and that presumably he would be able distinguish between the two kinds of 'no'. Lucky, on the other hand, challenged this view within this mixed group setting, demonstrating

that there were differing ideologies between the two. Interestingly, his discussions within boys' only groups were vastly different. On those occasions he either agreed with or reinforced dominant masculine constructions.

Discussion

The data presented in this paper suggest that that the language of young men and women positioned them within dominant versions of masculinity and femininity. It is evident in the language used by the girls that they experienced immense pressure to conform to aspects of traditional femininity which include: appearing sexually unknowing, aspiring to an ideal relationship, being trusting and loving and making men happy. The language used by the boys suggested that they also experienced pressure to conform to aspects of masculinity, which included having multiple girlfriends, having sexual knowledge and prowess and distancing themselves from 'feminine' interests such as 'love'. In the following sections I discuss the implications of these dominant discourses of love for safer sex practices.

Safe Love or Safe Sex?
The girls articulate a powerful discourse of romantic love, along with the promises that accompany it. The language used by the girls suggests that the need to love and be loved is a powerful determinant of the extent to which they are prepared to assert or compromise their agency in a relationship. These findings add to the existing research, which suggests that teenage girls link sexual activity with love, and love is a legitimate reason for sex. According to Lees (1993), the 'legitimacy' of love is precisely its role in steering female sexuality into the only 'safe' place for its expression. The boys, on the other hand, recognizing the significance of love in the lives of the girls, mainly used promises of love to gain access to sexual satisfaction.

The manner in which the participants (especially girls) talk about love further complicates their notions of sexuality, in that 'love', which is closely tied to 'trust', in itself makes sexual practice safe and pure. Following on this, risk is then assessed in terms of love and trust for a partner. As a result, demanding condom-use, for example, undermines those constructions of love and trust. It is clear that when sex is constructed in terms of trust, romance or love, sexual safety becomes a contradictory

practice. The language of the girls suggests that their experiences of sexuality are closely tied to the competing discourses of romantic love and sexual safety. Some girls and boys manipulate the knowledge they have about safe sex to rationalise their risky behaviour and explain why safer sex is not necessary for them. Positioning themselves within patriarchal versions of femininity that disallowed female desire, the girls often talk about the need to satisfy their loved ones, rather than about their own needs or desires, or what they know to be unsafe. Boys, on the other hand, talk about satisfaction (sexual and otherwise) as being their right.

Public and Private Language of Love

The language these young people used to construct their sexual identities in relation to love and safe sex was different in the different groupings (see section on methodology and theoretical framework). The findings of this study draws attention to three important sociolinguistic variables, namely, participants, topic and setting. The dissonances between private and public language were more resounding in the accounts of the boys than the girls. Through a poststructural feminist lens, the issues of power and ideology become clear in the reportage of the boys, which displayed more inconsistencies than that of the girls.

Love is an important factor through which the girls understand their sexuality. Conforming to dominant versions of femininity, for many girls there was a close connection between love and sex, and 'sex' was understood as 'making love', while for the boys, talking about *love* is embarrassing. This is not surprising in a society that associates 'soft' emotions with girls and 'aggressive' emotions with boys. 'Love' is not part of the boys' discussions about sex, except when they talk about promising love to gain access to sex. They understand 'love' to be something that occupies the minds of girls, and admit to manipulating this knowledge for their own purposes. Positioning themselves within dominant versions of masculinity, the boys largely distance themselves from being interested in love, otherwise it would mean that they are 'soft' and 'weak' and they could be hurt and rejected by girls. This loss of power is inconsistent with the performances of hegemonic masculinity of the majority of the boys. Falling in love makes boys vulnerable, and it seems that achieving successful masculinity puts them under pressure to mask the vulnerability associated with loving, caring or any characteristics usually associated with girls.

Some of the boys, especially in private discussions, revealed conflict between how they really felt and masculine performances that were expected from them (from other boys as well as from girls). Away from their peers, some boys say that love and emotional pain is a feature of their lives as well, but in conforming to hegemonic masculinities, they neither acknowledge, nor display these 'feminine' characteristics. Boys also appeared to be more sensitive in mixed-sex discussion groups. Since the girls, in their construction of ideal partners, indicated that they value sensitivity and some of those 'feminine' characteristics that boys often mask, it is possible that the boys who were aware of this displayed more sensitivity and appeared less macho in mixed-sex group interactions than in boys-only groups.

McLeod (1999) explores the idea that because love is considered to belong in the private realm and is not to be spoken about, it is women's business, whereas men's business lies in the public realm. She contends that sexuality education must at least examine the constitutive effects of maintaining the silence about the discourse of love, and that ideally, students should be given the chance to examine talk about the profound tensions between safer sex practices and the discourse of love.

Conclusion

The language practices used by these young men and young women in constructing their sexual identities affords some insight into the monitoring and regulation involved in maintaining the gender/sexual order. It became clear from the language used by the girls and the boys that they variously attempt to challenge as well as to reinforce dominant gender relations. For women to negotiate safer sex practices with their male partners would require questioning the traditional basis of sexual activity, where men usually determined how and when sexual activity took place. In trying to adhere to certain stereotypical assumptions about being masculine, many boys attempt to project the required image. However, a closer analysis of the language they use to communicate this image reveals certain inconsistencies between the 'perceived' and the 'real'. This raises serious questions. So, instead of merely understanding language to reflect identity it is more useful to understand language as contributing to identity construction, where

language is not only the expression of unique identity but constructs the individual's identity under socially given conditions, which include structures of power and social conditions, institutional constraints and possibilities as well as the available cultural codes. This opens up spaces for identities to be sociolinguistically challenged and reconstituted to effect transformation.

The shifting nature of the language practices of these young adults is determined by structural influences, and the extent to which they are free and responsible agents are evident in their different performances to different audiences. It is clear that the conventional sexual scripting that young adults receive in our society (such as, "Just say 'No' to sex") needs to be challenged directly. It is important that the language of HIV/AIDS interventions articulate with the realities of young adults, taking into account the social confusions and contradictions. The dominant language offers young men and women limiting gender identities which are often contrary to their sexual safety, especially within the context of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. This study suggests that young women and men have limited access to alternative ways of mobilizing language. It is necessary to provide forums where they can learn new ways of constructing and speaking about their emotional and sexual interests.

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School of Educational Studies
University of Kwa-Zulu Natal
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'It's a matter of trust':
Young People in South Africa and the
Discourse of HIV/AIDS Prevention

Priya Narismulu

Introduction

This article examines how young people are talking to each other about HIV/AIDS and how they tackle related challenges of agency. The article attempts to do this on three levels. Firstly, it draws on a research project conducted by university students, who examined how young people are speaking to their close friends and intimates about HIV/AIDS. The purpose of the research project was to examine the communicative challenges young people face, and to understand, from their discourse, how they are developing their capacity to deal with the crisis. Secondly, the article examines what reflexive roles young people are playing as emerging intellectuals and leaders in the HIV/AIDS crisis, and what they can do to tackle linguistic practices, attitudes and behaviour. Thirdly, as part of the research has been based on work done with and by students as part of a class project in the module Language and Power, the article also engages reflexively with the issues of curriculum development while documenting a method for research and pedagogical intervention[1].

HIV/AIDS and Linguistic Constructions of Self and Identity

One of the key issues underpinning this research is the question of what does

[1] The first version of this paper was presented at the 21st World Congress of the World Federation of Modern Language Associations at Rand Afrikaans University in Johannesburg (2-5 July 2003).

HIV/AIDS have to do with linguistic constructions of the self and identity? Mesthrie and Tabouret-Keller (2001:165) make the point that speech and language are often associated with life itself. This is both an encouragement and a challenge to language practitioners working in the area of HIV/AIDS prevention, for the ability of people to protect themselves against the virus seems to be closely related to social and personal empowerment. This includes the empowered use of language. In their work on the relationship between identity and language, the researchers reiterate Tabouret-Keller's argument about 'the concrete physiological basis that makes speaking seem a part of one's being', and go on to refer to Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's Projection Model, which construes 'linguistic behaviour as "a series of *acts of identity* in which people reveal both their personal identity and search for social roles"' (Mesthrie & Tabouret-Keller 2001:167). This poststructuralist approach to understanding linguistic behaviour has particular value for HIV/AIDS research for it treats identity and language use as being neither fixed nor determined but fluid and open to innovation. This is consonant with the tendency of young people to experiment with identity in the development of their social roles.

The Learning Context

As the HIV/AIDS project represents the culmination of the 50-lecture second level module, a brief outline is offered to clarify the pedagogic and historical context. I have been teaching Language and Power in the English department since 1991, and have focused on the generative roles young people may play as emerging public intellectuals. With the creation of the School of Languages and Literature in 2000, Language and Power moved to the newly-constituted discipline of Sociolinguistics and from level three to level two, as it served as the interdisciplinary programme core module (along with Language and Gender, which was created for level three).

Language and Power has focused on HIV/AIDS since 1997 (Narismulu 1999a, 1999b, 2001, 2003a, 2003b). This is an interactive module that begins by examining how identity is constructed in the family, in society, by individuals, and by subcultures. Through a focus on concepts such as woman-man, mother-father and the individual, the subjectivity of the self and its relation to the other is examined. This is used as the basis for

deconstructing the assumptions and stereotypes that tend to occur in the development of race, ethnic, gender, class and national identities. Attention is given to intellectual discursive practices (eg., Fairclough, 1989, 1992, Bourdieu 1994, Mesthrie 2000, Kress 2001) throughout the module, and particular consideration is given to the historical and social inequalities that inform voicing and silence. Students are also introduced to the challenges facing the languages of South Africa and other countries on the continent, and this is done through the textbook *African Voices* (Webb and Kembo-Sure 2000). The last third of the module is spent on a key discursive and development challenge, and in recent years this has involved a focus on HIV/AIDS.

The Students

In 2003 the project was developed from the outset with the students. There were 47 students in the class, most of them aged about nineteen, and about a third in their twenties, with a few in their early thirties. There were 42 South Africans, comprising eighteen African women, eighteen Indian women, one coloured woman, three African men and two Indian men. There were five students from other countries: two women came from Swaziland, one black and one Coloured; two women were from the United States, one African-American and the other white; and there was an African woman from Malawi.

While the foreign students tended to be middle class, of the South Africans about 70% were working class and 30% middle class. About 60% of working class students were Africans, while the middle class students tended to comprise similar numbers of African and minority students. These characterizations are subject to interpretive error as I do not inquire about the personal data of individual students. However, in a module that deals with identity constructs students tend to identify themselves while tackling questions about subject position.

The Rationale for the HIV/AIDS Project

The focus on HIV/AIDS was driven primarily by the situation that although language is key to communication and HIV/AIDS is a communicable disease

very little is understood about how language is being used as people deal with the epidemic. It was also influenced by concerns about the prevalence of HIV infection among young people, the way in which they are responding to the epidemic, and their level of involvement in HIV prevention:

- Nearly half of all HIV infections occur in men and women younger than 25 years, and, in many developing countries, data indicate that up to 60 percent of all new HIV infections are among 15- to 24-year-olds (UNAIDS/WHO 1998; UNAIDS 2004).
- The CASE National Survey of Youth indicates that the fact young people have information about HIV/AIDS does not seem to be sufficient to protect them from the virus: 'there is no direct relationship between personal experience and knowledge of HIV/AIDS on the one hand, and the measures taken to identify and fight it on the other hand. Beliefs about the disease seem to be at odds with personal experience' (www.case.org.za/htm/yo2000.htm)
- Strategies for dealing with the epidemic generally disregard young people (UNICEF 2002).

Given that young people are the group most affected by HIV/AIDS and key to addressing the epidemic, the research project was initiated in an attempt to understand how young people are using language in relation to the crisis. Further, given that the state is struggling to discharge its responsibilities, it is necessary to work out what members of civil society can do to help themselves. It is also important to understand what young people need to develop as they are well located to intervene in the process. As the group most affected it is in their interests to develop skills and strategies for dealing with HIV/AIDS.

It was important to choose an issue that would engage students' interest in language and illustrate the sociolinguistic and intellectual value and applications of the discipline. For all the personal and social trauma that HIV/AIDS can wreak, it can also be used as an opportunity for education and empowerment in areas such as gender relations. The topic of HIV/AIDS may be used to raise students' awareness of their capacity and potential for addressing major social and linguistic challenges. It can also be used to explore the value of linguistic attentiveness in addressing social challenges

and, in an engaged way, to attend to the 'social' in language teaching and research.

The focus on HIV/AIDS has helped to bring together and reinforce other foci of the syllabus, such as identity constructions, gender relations, and the deconstruction of stereotypes. The approach that is used in this study examines how language about the self can be deployed in constructive, assertive and creative ways. The HIV/AIDS project was also useful to illustrate the equal value of all South African languages in a very immediate way in that students with a command of several South African languages have been able to gather and analyze data from a wider and more representative range of subjects. In this way students recognize the urgent need to develop all lexicons in order to tackle this social challenge effectively. Such a project also enables the use of the classroom to teach Humanities students how to become involved in community work. Much of the approach to handling the project was informed by the philosophy and methodology of action research (McNiff, 1988; MacIntyre 2000), which enables one to achieve understanding and social change at the same time. The methods of action research were used and they were useful for teaching basic research methods, asking in-depth questions about agency, and rehearsing the theoretical, conceptual and cognitive skills taught earlier in the course. Barbara Johnstone's book *Qualitative Methods in Sociolinguistics* (2000) was used to help locate the methods of action research in sociolinguistic approaches.

The HIV/AIDS Project

Establishing the Focus of the Research

The focus of the students' research was on the ways in which young people are speaking to their close friends and intimates about HIV/AIDS and, more reflexively, on the roles young people are playing as emerging intellectuals and leaders. I began by asking the class if they would discuss what their peers were saying about dealing with HIV/AIDS in their personal and intimate relationships and many students made the comments 'nothing' or 'very little' to describe what their peers were saying. Asked why this is the case there was broad agreement among the students that the issue was 'too personal'. Many students responded to the silence that seems to surround

HIV/AIDS by feeling discouraged from pursuing this line of research while, a smaller number (about twenty per cent) of the students conversely argued that the silences justified the need for research. One student made the following argument: 'Well, we know it's difficult to talk about race and gender, but we also know that that doesn't mean we should just cave in.' The way in which her argument combined the interactional functions with the transactional functions of language served to clinch the debate. The student's repeated use of the plural personal pronoun signaled solidarity with the class as a community (Pennebaker, Mehl, Niederhoffer 2003:24) even as she expressed disagreement with most people in the class. Her choice of language was strengthened by her reference to the work done earlier in the module, which reminded her fellow students that they already had some experience in dealing with such challenges. This speech act reflects the 'close links between the concept of community and the linguistic realizations of a strategic behaviour' (Iñigo-Mora 2004:48).

Through further reflective discussions about the behaviour of their friends, many students pointed out that although young people know how HIV is transmitted, they seem to find it difficult to change the behavior that puts them at risk. It was interesting that this seemed to bear out the results of the CASE survey (2000) and I encouraged this line of research without telling students about the survey at this stage of the project, so as not to influence their findings. The class decided that the point of the project was to understand how young people talk to each other about sex, disease and death.

Preparing for the Interviews

As the students were not certain how to turn these ideas into a research project I suggested that they use the interview method, based on open-ended questions (Johnstone 2000) to gather data on how young people talk to each other. After more discussion, it became clear that the students were finding it difficult to work out ways to get strangers (let alone friends) to talk to them frankly about HIV/AIDS. The World Health Organisation uses a method of dealing with sensitive issues by asking interviewees questions that are not about their own behaviour but about their friends (Stimson et al 2001). I suggested that students try this strategy. We decided that each student would

interview at least three young people, who would be randomly selected. It took a few periods to work through possible questions and evaluate combinations that were tested through pilot interviews. Eventually the following combination of questions was developed to elicit responses that offer an indication of young peoples discursive responses to HIV/AIDS:

1. Would an HIV+ friend inform other friends in your circle of his/her status, and why?
2. Are any of your friends engaging in casual and unsafe sex, and why?
3. Do any of your friends think their partner/s are worth dying for, and why?

The class then had the task of formulating the assignment question, which many found daunting. Reminded that Language and Power is about their own empowerment, they worked through possible questions, and eventually their confidence was boosted by the framing question that they developed: Are young people responding to the challenges of HIV/AIDS?: an examination of language and behaviour. The process also helped the students focus on key issues in their challenging project. This approach is part of a transformative pedagogy (eg., Hope and Timmel 2002), which is necessary to strengthen learning and intervention in this urgent social problem.

In line with one of the module's sub-themes of fair exchange, the class was encouraged to use the interviews to do more than gather data. After each interview students could, for example, share relevant information about discursive strategies for exercising personal and social agency. The students were enthusiastic about this and paid closer attention to the information they had on HIV/AIDS. Some shared information they had collected from the internet, magazines, the press, clinics and agencies. The students were much more motivated to develop their knowledge when their tasks involved interactive communication, and many drew skillfully on this process to answer an examination question at the end of the semester.

Findings and Analyses
The interviews were conducted mostly with tertiary students from the Westville and nearby campuses, but also included some young people who are either at school, working, or looking for work. During the interviews the students recorded the answers to all questions, collated their data, selected

the information relevant to their project, and drafted their arguments in the form of essays that were discussed in class. In this way they honed their analytical and writing skills, and I collected each draft for marking and accrediting.

The students reported interesting responses to the questions. Although the class had been urged not to ask interviewees to speak about their own lives, some interviewees, of their own accord, responded to the questions in the first person. Other interviewees began their answers by speaking about their friends and then went on to talk about themselves. The reason for this could be either that they thought that the third-person form of the question was mainly a matter of diplomacy, or that young people have a pressing need to communicate (under conditions of anonymity) about the subject of HIV/AIDS.

This seemed to be the case in the responses even to the first question (Would an HIV+ friend inform other friends/partner of their status, and why). It was interesting that many of the interviewees were reported to have immediately or gradually answered the initial question in the first person, stating quite categorically as one did that she would 'definitely not reveal her HIV+ status to her close friends [because she] did not trust them to deal with it well'. The emotive content of the subject and the tension generated by the social/psychological contradiction (that a person feels unable to trust close friends with such information) seems to clarify why many interviewees chose not to remain in the more distanced zone of the third person that the interviewers offered. Such unsolicited direct involvement in the responses early in the interview may be an indicator that the interviewees felt able to speak freely. Or it may indicate the scale of the contradiction that moved them to respond quite intensely in the first person.

One interviewee addressed fears that were present but less explicit in other interviewees' responses: 'If it were me I would be so afraid of condemnation from my friends. To be honest, if my best friend told me she had HIV I would feel uncomfortable around her'.

The language of this interviewee indicates the extent to which people feel blocked on the question of HIV/AIDS. It is interesting that this interviewee decided to respond to the question at a personal level ('If it were me') and with an emphasis on candour ('to be honest') at the same time as she chose a hypothetical formulation that served to distance her. What she

goes on to express is even more interesting. The word 'afraid' is unexpected and not normally used in relation to friends, and this suggests the depth of the social crisis generated by HIV/AIDS. That the word is qualified by the use of the word 'so' makes it even more curious and suggests the extent of the fear of condemnation. What is most curious is that the speaker expects to be condemned by people who are her *friends,* and the unexpected adjective 'afraid' suggests the extent of condemnation that can be expected from people who are not friends. But before the listener can process that deeply anomalous statement the speaker follows it up with an even more striking confidence that seems to parallel the first sentence (in the repetition of the conditional 'if') but which completely abandons the cautious distance that it establishes. In this statement the speaker refers to her own response to news of infection from not just any friend but from 'my *best* friend'. The structure and frankness of the respondent's statements offer an indication the extent to which people are socially demobilized by the virus and how their responses to it are informed by fears that are not rational but all too human.

It seems that young people who are involved in friendly peer networks feel blocked in their social expression by fear of rejection. Fear of being infected seems to be so powerful that it produces judgements and silences that destroy the possibility of empathy or sharing. This quotation this seems to be the case even among friends who have lived in this region that has been so badly affected by HIV/AIDS, who have received HIV/AIDS education at school, who have been exposed to the advertising and know that this is not a disease that is normally communicable between friends.

It appears that public education about HIV/AIDS is not addressing the deep crisis young people are experiencing, and that communication about this subject is stymied even in close friendships. Most of the student-researchers who examined the issue showed awareness of the disjuncture between what is publicly articulated and the private fears that force people into silence. One student expressed the contradiction as follows: 'HIV/AIDS seems to have a public and a private face. The public face has all the right information and can talk about it rationally while the private face fears the virus and anyone infected with it'. This neat juxtaposition captures the fact that this Derridean binary (Derrida 1981) does not reflect opposites (that more or less balance each other) so much as a communication pathology, skewed towards the hegemony of silence.

Many students found that silence also seems to characterize intimate relationships. These students reported that young people seem to be experiencing a communication crisis, with one student arguing that: 'HIV is often contracted in the context of intimate relationships yet that is where the most silence is. Partners do not talk about it'. Such an analysis is alert to the fact that close relationships by definition involve close communication. The analysis renders the social contradiction and the norm it violates through an ironic balancing of the two halves of the first sentence. The argument made by this student was supported by other students who also made ironic observations such as 'The silence around HIV/AIDS is deafening', while also recording that their interviewees were reporting (in response to the second question) that many of their friends engage in casual and unprotected sex. There were many explanations for the silence. Some of the students who take another module, Language on Gender, drew on a reading by Carole Boyce Davies and 'Molara Ogundipe-Leslie (1995) to suggest that the reasons women seem to be without speech is the result of patriarchal control of language and relationships, that women have been raised to believe that they should be silent and accept subordinate social roles, that there are concerns with being characterized as difficult or having loose morals, and that there is fear of violence.

The students reported that most of their interviewees who chose to answer the questions (either partly or fully) in the first person were shocked by the third question (Is the partner worth dying for, and why) because 'they had not thought of [the issue] in that way'. The students reported on this response with some satisfaction, believing that the question had been enlightening for their interviewees, even though many interviewees went on to say that they loved their partners and were willing to die for them. On analysing this finding, many students felt that despite the responses, the question would 'make them think'. Another student took a less optimistic line of argument, concluding that: 'It seems that once young people enter relationships they feel obliged to risk their lives'. There seems to be a clash between the discourse of romance and the safe sex messages. Whether or not many young people are aware of this contradiction is not clear, what is clear is that it is not being addressed between friends or partners. It seems that as young people do not talk about their emotions and HIV/AIDS among their friends or partners, they do not get a chance to articulate the contradictions,

much less reflect on what they can do about them, either individually or as a group. What seems to be emerging from the research of the students is that the discourse of romance seems to have a more powerful impact on young people's behaviour than the more overt discourse of safe sex.

Several students made the observation that, of the women who were prepared to speak openly about their own lives, many reported 'being in sexual relationships that do not allow the use of a condom'. The words 'do not allow' signify the operations of patriarchal control and contradict the fact that this generation has grown up under a constitution that recognizes gender equality. Many women interviewees reported not being able to talk about the use of condoms with their partners. This adds weight to Strebel's observation that owing to their positioning 'in discourses of gendered power relations', these women seem to be 'dependent on men, lacking control over their lives, and so unable to insist on condom use, abstinence or monogamy of male partners' (1997:116). This seemed to be quite a pervasive subject position for women even as many were expressing awareness that their partners engage in unprotected sex with other people. Clearly some of the silences that surround romantic love, sexual behaviour and HIV have their roots in the asymmetrical power relations that accompany patriarchal dispensations of power. One student drew on work that was done on stereotyping and Derridean dichotomies earlier in the module to make the observation that:

> Stereotyping seems to play a big role in HIV/AIDS transmission: men try to act macho and value having many partners while women have no say in negotiating condom use and feel that their partner will leave them if they insist .... [M]any know that their partners are unfaithful to them and do not seem to be able to talk to them about it [condom use] or to leave them.

The qualified nature of this analysis is apparent in words such as 'seems,' 'try,' 'feel,' and 'do not seem able' and as the analyst addresses various stereotypes about men and women but keeps a cautious distance from them, at both the macro- and micro- levels of the analysis. There are two unqualified statements pertaining to women who 'have no say in negotiating condom use' and who 'know that their partners are unfaithful' and these

occur along with the conditional '[women] feel that their partner will leave them if they insist'. Through such juxtapositions the statements challenge various assumptions to suggest that while stereotypical men may have agency in heterosexual relationships, women cannot simply be stereotyped as being bereft of agency or language.

Equally interesting among women and men interviewees who answered the second question in the third person, was the revelation that their men and women friends who had a steady partner were also engaging in casual and unprotected sex with other people. Dealing with this finding, several students drew conclusions along the lines that responding with empowered behaviour (which includes assertive language) to the challenges of HIV/AIDS appears to be closely linked to levels of self esteem and interpersonal negotiating skills. Some students suggested that what seems to be missing in the discourse of young people, particularly women but also men, is the ability to speak and act assertively on their interests and rights as people expressing themselves sexually in the context of the epidemic. Women and men's ability to take responsibility for safe sex seems to be curtailed by the ways in which men are able to exercise power in heterosexual relationships. It seems that even though the young urban people, who were the subjects of most of the interviews, are fairly well informed about HIV/AIDS, there is a gap between knowledge and behaviour, and awareness and action. This suggests that consciousness and its most overt and effective instrument, language, is centrally involved in the spread of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Students argued that what compounds this challenge is the existence of a culture of denial that seems to pervade, 'to the extent that the person denies that s/he can get infected, or that the virus exists'. Some students tried to analyse the various ways in which their interviewees were denying reality, and a few challenged the conventions of disavowal that accompany the culture of silence.

What was equally interesting in the students' findings was that several women and men who said that they were willing to die for their partners also indicated that they and/or their partners were engaging in casual sex with others. Alerted to this issue during the testing of the initial questions, some students probed the issue further. They recorded that interviewees expressed no emotions about partners engaging in other sexual liaisons while placing them at risk by insisting on sex without condoms.

Perhaps these are cases of the most abject silence or resignation. The students identified other contradictions in their interviewees' responses to the different questions, such as people who admitted to shunning friends with HIV while at the same time participating in sexual relationships that placed them at risk of contracting the virus:

So many report being terrified if a friend discloses being HIV+ and withdrawing from the relationship even though the friend's virus cannot harm one, yet at the same time most of the women report being in sexual relationships that do not allow the use of a condom.

Although most of the students did not comment on these silences directly, it seems that many individuals feel that despite being in the middle of an epidemic that is threatening everyone's wellbeing, they cannot discuss issues of sex and infection with friends or intimates. These indicators of communicative disempowerment suggest the need for further research. What is interesting about these contradictions is that they offer insights into how young people are navigating various permutations of social isolation. It also indicates how irrational fears may drive them to foreclose on the social networks of support that are integral to how people cope with the realities of the epidemic, with the result that individuals may be left even more silenced and dependent on risky intimate relationships for social sustenance. Perhaps it is the combination of fear and patriarchal hegemony that drives people to treat these relationships like binaries, as though sacrificing friendships that pose no threat of HIV may magically secure immunity in the intimate relationship/s.

Trust

Given the urgent need to intervene to effect social change through understanding discourse (Strebel 1997) the initial part of the module has long focused on deconstructing key markers of identity such as 'individual', 'gender', 'race', 'class', 'ethnicity' and 'nationality' (Narismulu, 1999a, 1999b, 2001). Drawing on this background during their classroom discussions, many students took to treating the constructs of 'love' and 'trust' as key concepts in the spread of epidemic and tried to understand how these are deployed among close friends and intimates. One student explained what many other students were reporting in various ways: 'Women feel that

once they are in love they are obligated to trust their partners without question'. This observation alludes to the gendered nature of trust in the discourses that she has encountered in her research.

One of the purposes of the module was to enable students to tackle problems of communication. To this end the HIV/AIDS project challenged the students' capacity for interpreting and reporting on challenging questions. It required them to pay particularly close attention to their interviewees and peers, and to their own practice as interpreters, analysts and activists. During the course of the project they tackled these challenges in thoughtful ways, with one striking exception that arose during their discussions of their third draft and had everyone engaged during the discussion of the fourth (final) draft of the assignment. This had to do with the way the students represented and argued the responses of those women interviewees who articulated the issue of trust in the following terms: 'To show your boyfriend that you are not cheating or interested in someone else you will let him have sex with you without a condom'. Those students who interviewed young men who addressed this matter reported corresponding arguments along the lines of: 'If she wants you to use condoms that means she does not trust you', or (more commonly) 'then you have reason to wonder whether she has been faithful'. Questioned about this finding in class, most students dealt with it laconically as 'a matter of trust'. Asked to explain further, they would shrug as though experiencing a conceptual barrier and return to the formulation 'It's a matter of trust' as their most substantive argument. This particular interpretive frame (Goffman cited by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003:105) turned out to be very significant. For one thing, it contradicted my assumption that if fairly well educated young people are aware of the dangers of HIV/AIDS and 'empowered to' articulate their rights and interests, the threat of the disease could be substantially reduced.

Even though the students had been working on assertiveness, identity constructs and stereotyping for several months and were producing sophisticated analyses, they turned out to be quite susceptible to their interviewees' conceptions of victimhood and to their explanations for their failure to protect their rights and negotiate safer sex. When asked to reflect on what they were saying a range of students each in turn unconsciously repeated the statement 'It's a matter of trust' in their otherwise rambling

answers, as though it is a magical formula that clarifies everything. Other students nodded in assent whenever this formula was produced. No one in the class seemed to recognise that the stock phrase had beguiled them into accepting an explanation that either denied reality or made excuses for an abdication of responsibility.

It seems that the arena of intimate relations, as it is configured in South Africa today, is largely inimical to the exercise of basic human rights. This is exacerbated by the fact that "'private' relationships are a central locus of the gender order" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003:113) and these relationships therefore vulnerable to mystification and abuse. It is these factors that seem to have impacted on even the most engaged students in the class, who did not think of questioning the pervasive though patently faulty assumptions in the construction of trust. The students appeared to have accepted the construction that trust in an intimate relationship is expressed through a willingness to risk dying for one's partner. Despite a series of disbelieving questions from me, it did not occur to any of the 47 students in the class that they could question the supposedly romantic assumption that the only way in which trust manifests in an intimate relationship is through behaviour that signals a willingness to risk dying for one's partner. The pervasiveness of such a belief among young people is corroborated by the research dealing with secondary school students (Reddy 2003) as well as a recent paper about Mozambican youth (Manuel 2004).

The students took part of two contact periods to reflect on their reasoning and the implications of their position, which seemed to foreclose on the silences and on the dangers of infection. Eventually I had to challenge them that it seemed as though they were entertaining discursive practices that disempower people. It seemed to me that at that point in the module they should have been questioning the assumption that trust comes down to the non-use of a condom and not surrendering their own agency by echoing a phrase that sounds wonderful but leaves people vulnerable to the virus. I asked the students what constituted trust amongst other couples they know, such as parents or other relatives: 'Is trust based entirely on the non-use of a small piece of latex or is it a function of much more?' This question helped to dislodge the power of the disabling myth, at least in the classroom, as indicated by the embarrassed responses, particularly from those students who see themselves as feminists of one sort or another. The class quickly

recognized that no person can afford to abdicate responsibility for her/his own welfare and that emotional needs have to be addressed in ways that are safe. They recognized that the HIV/AIDS epidemic makes the question of surrendering agency even more untenable, irrespective of how trustworthy the partner may appear. And they learned that analysts need to be wary of neat, all-encompassing expressions, for the warmth they generate may be at the expense of light and life.

The Projection model of Le Page and Tabouret-Keller helps clarify the hiatus in the transformatory agenda of these otherwise incisive young analysts. The model indicates that speakers implicitly invite others to share their projection of the world, and to share attitudes towards it. The feedback that people receive from those with whom they talk may fortify them or cause them to modify their projections, both in form and content (Mesthrie and Tabouret-Keller in Mesthrie 2001:167). Given the pervasiveness of what they had been hearing from their interviewees (which was reinforced by their friends and peers), the students seemed to have accommodated this particular line of argument and accepted its internal logic without questioning its foundations or even recognizing how it was disabling them. Their adoption of this mystifying and silencing way of dealing with HIV/AIDS shows how hegemonic the established logics and ways of speaking are, and how insidiously they function. It also shows how informed and ideologically alert subjects may be co-opted, even while in their community of practice as researchers into HIV/AIDS and language use. What this indicates is the scale of the challenge that has to be addressed in the struggle against the silences and discourses that participate in the advance of HIV/AIDS. In order to do this, Janks and Ivanic argue, the '[language] practices which maintain and reproduce patterns of domination and subordination in society [need to be identified and] contested' (Fairclough 1992:305).

The question arises, given their manifest skills and commitments, why did these young researchers struggle with the question of trust? It seems that unlike other generations of young people who did not have to worry about dying when they fell in love and/or wanted to have sex, this generation of young people have the difficult challenge of navigating taboos and sanctions that reinforce each other several-fold. The students' initial tolerance of the logic of 'trust ' offers insights into the elisions and operations of the hegemonic ideology and language of patriarchy. Power, to

the extent that it operated through the logic of statements about 'trust', was concealed even from these analysts who knew that they needed to be alert to the vulnerability of their own subject positions. Whether in relation to HIV/AIDS or other challenges, such learning experiences suggest the value of discourse analysis in enabling young intellectuals, and for that matter their teachers, to translate their proximity and knowledge into critical practices of social empowerment. As Janks and Ivanic point out, and as I learned again and again in this project, '[k]nowledge about emancipatory discourse has to be learnt in the front lines' (Fairclough 1992:330).

Conclusion

Activist-intellectuals need to resist discourses that require the mystification of reality and that entrench self-defeating views of the world. Such usage norms can have the effect of disempowering activism critical to addressing the epidemic. Indeed, once alerted to the contradictions, many students went on to produce engaged arguments in their final drafts, portions of which have been quoted in this essay. As one student argued when she questioned the assertion of many interviewees that young people feel obliged to risk their lives in the name of love:

> there is something wrong with the ideologies that define love and intimate or friendly relationships. The concepts of love and trust seem to be disempowering and make people irrational so they cannot protect themselves.

It emerges that despite the formal recognition of gender equality, the discourse of romance lies, unreconstructed, at the heart of much of the confusion around gender relations. Beginning, as Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1994) suggest, even with small, if influential, communities of practice, it seems that linguistic activism can make a difference to such attitudes, behaviour and practices. What emerges from this exercise in action research is that the question, what does HIV/AIDS have to do with discursive constructions of the self and identity, is an important one for analysts in societies such as South Africa. As important, and perhaps more fundamental, is the question of what do discursive constructions of the self

and identity have to do with HIV/AIDS. These challenges have implications for research, teaching, service learning and curriculum development. They also suggest that work on discursive representations of identity in this postcolonial and multicultural society is key to tackling important challenges in HIV/AIDS prevention.

School of Literary Studies, Media and Creative Arts
University of KwaZulu-Natal

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