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Alternation

**Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of the
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Multilingualism for Access, Language Development and Language Intellectualisation

Guest Editors

Nobuhle Hlongwa and Rosemary Wildsmith

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Editorial

Nobuhle Ndimande-Hlongwa
Rosemary Wildsmith-Cromarty

The Constitution of South Africa (1996) recognizes multilingualism as an important aspect of a democratic African society. More than fifteen years later this has become a point of controversy. There are critics who, although acknowledging the inclusive orientation of the Constitution, lament the lack of implementation of these principles by society at large. Research has shown that English is still the preferred language of instruction at both school and university level, in spite of evidence both in Africa and across the globe that the mother tongue is essential for true learning to occur at a deep level. Government bodies still tend to use English for official communication thereby making an indirect statement about the value of other languages.

Over the past few years, however, government bodies such as Pan South African Languages Board (PanSALB) have been more active in putting pressure on large state-aided institutions such as universities to put a firm language policy in place. Many of the tertiary institutions in the country responded by drafting an initial language policy with a subsequent plan for implementation. This has been the case with the University of KwaZulu-Natal for which a twenty-year plan was designed for the implementation of its language policy. This policy, although recognizing the status of all relevant languages, is concerned with a focus on the elevation of isiZulu to the status of an academic language and a language of instruction, as well as of general communication with the public. To facilitate this aim, members of staff from various Colleges in the University, together with other tertiary institutions in the province, collaborated in a joint research project in partnership with the South Africa-Norway Tertiary Development Programme (SANTED). The project was entitled *Multilingualism to Promote Access, Retention and Successful Professional Training*, the broad aims being to

promote multilingualism in higher education. This was to be done by providing short courses for students and staff to learn additional languages and to help students registered for professional degrees such as Nursing, Psychology, Education and Dental Assisting to learn the language of their clients in order to provide a more effective service to the public.

The medium to long term objectives of the SANTED project were to promote and develop higher levels of language proficiency in isiZulu; to produce graduates who have the capacity to interact professionally in both isiZulu and English; and to contribute to the development of a specialized discourse in isiZulu in selected disciplines by translating selected course materials into isiZulu and by using isiZulu as a language of instruction for tutorials. The duration of the project was three years (2007-2009). The various experiences of the process, the accompanying discourse and critical engagements with the project, and the results achieved by the different disciplines have been captured in the form of contributions to the present volume of *Alternation*. Due to its relevance, this issue also includes contributions from researchers in the field based at other tertiary South African institutions. As such, the articles in this volume all contribute to the ongoing discourse surrounding the implementation of multilingualism in South Africa.

There are nineteen articles in the issue. Three articles are on language policy. Seven focus on using an African language as a language of instruction, the teaching and learning of African languages as second languages for professional purposes and the incorporating of task-based, communicative techniques, and computer games in language teaching and learning. Another seven articles are on the intellectualization of the African languages through spoken and written corpora, translations and the promotion of these languages on the web. They also address issues related to terminology development, culturally-adapted translation in the Health disciplines, and attitudes towards language policies. The final two articles engage the status of other languages such as Afrikaans in education, legal interventions in language planning, and promoting social and racial integration through the requirement of a compulsory African language at Grade 12 respectively.

The order of appearance of the articles in this volume is deliberate – we begin with an appraisal of attempts at implementation of the language

policy, and end with a way forward – that of addressing the problem of implementation at school level. This volume is testimony to the fact that, whatever the critics have to say, language policy implementation is, indeed, happening at tertiary level, however small. This, we hope, is set to grow in the near future.

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Are Multilingual Education Policies Pipe Dreams? Identifying Prerequisites for Implementation

**Ernst Kotzé
Liesel Hibbert**

Abstract

Fifteen years after the advent of democracy in SA, in the changeover from a bilingual to a purportedly multilingual dispensation, accompanied by the constitutional recognition of eleven languages, a balance can be drawn up of the extent to which this recognition has been reflected by the implementation of education policies. In spite of empirical research into various aspects of the role played by language in education in this country and proposals aimed at giving effect to the constitutional ideals, a tacit policy of monolingualism has been in evidence. In this article, it will be argued that a social Darwinist¹ approach has been followed in the handling of language matters in education at large, and that attitudinal factors accordingly play (and will play) a decisive role in effecting a paradigm shift, not only among educational policy makers, but within the minds of all role players. Such a paradigm shift, which is a prerequisite for generating the political will to effectively implement any proposals based on empirical research, can be shown to have taken root in the thinking of political policy makers at the parliamentary level. However, a recognition of the realities of language in education is still

¹ Social Darwinism is a term that applies the linguistic framework of Darwin's biological theories to the realm of human social relations (Dafler 2005:1).

lacking at the level of implementation. By way of a limited case study, a proposal for such implementation at a tertiary institution is discussed.

Keywords: language policy implementation, higher education, multilingual education, attitudinal factors, pedagogy, multimodality, multiliteracies, linguistic Social Darwinism, vernacular, colonial language, language shift

Introduction

Our point of departure is that language in education is one of the most sensitive indicators of the viability of a national policy of multilingualism. In this article, the role played by attitudinal factors in the implementation of a multilingual education policy will be investigated. The focus will be on a possible motivating force causing the resistance to vernacular language development and its effects on education, and certain changes in attitude which occurred in the course of the evolution of South Africa's fledgling democracy since 1994. The role players in this process will be identified and it will be shown how the changes in attitude became apparent through the tone and content of debates on the topic in an important policy making body. At the same time, factors which seem to have a positive influence on the acknowledgement of the value of a multilingual approach will be identified, leading to the proposal of a reality-based approach to be followed to create conditions for the implementation of a viable policy of multilingual education.

Background

The political history of Africa, and in particular the process of emancipation from the status of colonies under the sovereignty of European nations to political independence, left its imprint in the form of rather similar language configurations in the ex-colonies. A common factor is namely that of both individual and societal multilingualism in African countries, in which a European language, such as English, Portuguese or French, plays a dominant role as the medium for higher functions. A second common factor, a

corollary of the first, is that of sociolinguistic inequality between the erstwhile colonial language and the indigenous languages of the African country concerned. This inequality is nowhere more clearly to be seen than in the role historically played by language in education, from the earliest introduction of formal schooling until today. By saying this, we do not deny the important role of language in other spheres of society. However, it is probably an axiom that language habits and perceptions are formed during the cognitive development of the rising generations, that is, in the process of education, and old habits tend to persist. Furthermore, it is these language habits and perceptions that form the basis of language attitudes, both towards the vernacular used as a home, or first language, and the erstwhile colonial language, which is used, almost without exception, as a language of learning in Africa.

Generalisations

Let us leave aside for a moment the reasons for the sociolinguistic inequalities between the vernacular(s) (henceforth the V-language) and the relevant European language (henceforth the E-language), and focus on the nature of language in education policies. This is no simple matter when one compares various countries on the African continent with each other. However, the language situation in the field of education could possibly be generalised to two basic situations:

- An E-language is regarded as the most important medium for higher functions in society (and consequently for education), while indigenous languages fulfil a subordinate position and only play a role in basic education (if at all), as in the case of African countries in the French, Portuguese and (in the most cases) English spheres of influence.
- One or more indigenous languages (V-languages) are, in principle, developed as far as possible on a par with the E-language, or to a certain extent, and also used as medium of education, in various combinations (as in the case of Kenya, Tanzania, Nigeria and South Africa).

Of these two situations, the first represents the easiest route in terms of language planning, and in countries where the second situation applies, there

seems to be a tendency (for reasons that will be discussed below) to yield, in varying degrees, to the easiest route and diminish the role of the V-languages.

A crucial decision is what the role of the V-languages as medium of education should be in situations of multilingualism. The argument that the V-language should be the *only* medium is almost never an issue. A common practice is that the vernacular is used as a bridge to the adoption of the E-language (or dominant indigenous language, such as Swahili).

Motivating Force and End Results

The reason(s) for the preference for a colonial language have been the subject of discussion for many years. In a recent publication, Stephen May (2001: Ch. 1 & 4) links this tendency to a combination of so-called linguistic social Darwinism and a resulting theory of modernity. He says:

The promotion of cultural and linguistic homogeneity at the collective/public level has come to be associated with, and expressed by, individual monolingualism. This amounts to a form of linguistic social Darwinism and also helps to explain why language shift, loss or decline has become so prominent.

This argument articulates an evolutionary discourse, assuming that socio-political change and language shift occur through the aggregation of individual rational choices and that individuals freely endorse new sets of values to participate in the 'modernisation' of society. In the process, a series of dichotomies is established, creating hierarchies of values and norms, in which traditional values become obsolete and/or suspiciously irrational: modernity is equated with progress – and modern, urban, universal values are lauded and confer prestige – whilst traditional, rural, parochial values are stigmatised (May 2001:141).

If this process is left unattended and allowed to run its course, linguistic and cultural death can become inevitable. One of the clearest symptoms is the phenomenon of language shift, which is described as follows:

[A] ‘majority’ language – that is, a language with greater political power, privilege and social prestige – comes to replace the range and functions of a ‘minority’ language. The inevitable result of this process is that speakers of the minority language ‘shift’ over time to speaking the majority language. The process of language shift described here usually involves three broad stages.

The first stage sees increasing pressure on minority language speakers to speak the majority language, particularly in formal language domains. This stage is often precipitated and facilitated by the introduction of education in the majority language. It leads to the eventual decrease in the functions of the minority language, with the public or official functions of that language being the first to be replaced by the majority language.

The second stage sees a period of bilingualism, in which both languages continue to be spoken concurrently. However, this stage is usually characterised by a decreasing number of minority language speakers, especially among the younger generation, along with a decrease in the fluency of speakers as the minority language is spoken less, and employed in fewer and fewer language domains.

The third and final stage – which may occur over the course of two or three generations, and sometimes less – sees the replacement of the minority language with the majority language. The minority language may be ‘remembered’ by a residual group of language speakers, but it is no longer spoken as a wider language of communication (May 2001:1).

There are many variations of this process, but it seems to be the most general symptom of linguistic social Darwinism on the African continent. Language planners, and particularly those involved in education, are often intuitively aware of this tide, and increasingly also informed about the results of research confirming the mindset of such language communities. If so, they are able to appeal to reason and influence the relevant role players.

Modernity and Language in Education: South Africa

Let us now focus on the dynamics of a multilingual situation in an African

country where changes have taken place as a result of large scale political and social transformation, and where language and education have been in the forefront of the quest for modernity, i.e. South Africa. With the adoption of eleven official languages in SA, the relative positions of all indigenous languages (including Afrikaans) changed completely. While English is the undisputed *de facto* language of preference in government (including the Department of Education), five of the V-languages (i.e. Zulu, Xhosa, Afrikaans, Northern Sotho and Setswana) have larger mother tongue communities than English (Van der Merwe & Van der Merwe 2006: 15) and are in principle sufficiently standardised to be used as media of instruction up to an advanced level of education, as are the remaining five, to varying extents. (The language provisions of the Constitution (SA Constitution, Section 6.5), the activities of PanSALB, and published language policies by the Department of Education are also in support of this objective.) However, conflict between language attitudes have led to an almost stalemate situation in promulgating legislation, which has been drafted and in existence for more than six years, to give effect to a general recognition of accepted principles of multilingualism and of the value of first language education (as medium) in empowering the youth of this country.

Turning of the Tide

Let us briefly look at how attitudes have changed regarding language in education by noting the reports of meetings held by policy makers over a period of time. A drama of ten to eleven years unfolded in the committee rooms of Parliament, with the following *dramatis personae*:

- (a) the parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Education, consisting of members of various political parties, where proposed legislation and policy are analysed and debated before being submitted to Parliament as draft legislation;
- (b) the Minister;
- (c) executive officials of the Department of Education; and
- (d) PanSALB, the Pan South African Language Board, created by the SA Constitution to promote (SA Constitution, Section 6.5) and create

conditions for the development and use of all languages in the country.

As a run-up to the functioning of the Portfolio Committee, the Department of Education published two policy announcements in August 1997, i.e. the Language in Education Policy (in terms of the National Education Policy Act of 1996) and the Norms and Standards regarding Language Policy in terms of the SA Schools Act, also of 1996. This policy was based on the NEPI (National Education Policy Initiative) report, a well-researched investigation of 13 volumes into various aspects of education in South Africa published in 1992 (NEPI 1992). In the policy, the promotion of multilingualism was stated as a prime objective, together with strong support for either home language or dual-medium education. Although the right to choose the Language of learning and teaching (LoLT) lay with the individual, it was to be exercised against the obligation to promote multilingualism, and the LoLT had to be an official language (or languages)².

After three and a half years, in February 2001, a meeting of the Education Portfolio Committee was held to discuss a PanSALB presentation and recommendations to the Minister & Department of Education on the implementation of the Language in Education Policy. It was noted by PanSALB that the policy had still not been implemented. In fact, a previous policy of switching to English after four years of home language education, already instituted in 1976 (the year of the Soweto uprisings), with disastrous results regarding the matric pass rate, had been continued as under the apartheid rule. This was despite intensive research into the effects of an abrupt switch to English undertaken by various research institutions. The arguments and detailed recommendations by PanSALB were swept off the table by the Committee, including the then Director General of Education, who maintained that language was only a small element influencing results, and that poor performance was a class issue, where schools with a lack of resources fared poorly. A question to the Director General about the importance of mother tongue education in performance was disallowed by the Chairperson (Parliamentary Monitoring Group 2001:1).

² The actual wording of the policy statements can be found in Appendix A.

Are Multilingual Education Policies Pipe Dreams? ...

In July 2006, a language colloquium was held in Cape Town, attended by the then Chairperson of PanSALB, the president of the Academy of Languages in Mali, parents of pupils and others, where the Minister confirmed the Department's intention to comply with the aims of the 1997 policy statement. An important statement made by the Minister was as follows:

The benefits that language diversity confers on any society far outstrip any advantages that monolingualism may offer. All recent research confirms this view.

Further:

It is also now conventional wisdom that a strong mother tongue foundation provides the best platform on which to base the learning of a second language; it makes it easier and faster.

Lastly:

There is also mounting evidence that a correlation exists between mother tongue loss and the educational difficulties experienced by many learners using another language for learning (Pandor 2006:2).

The 2006 colloquium in Cape Town, preceded by a change of political role players (although from the same parties) after a general election, led to a different approach and tone of debate in the Portfolio Committee.

From this point onwards, meetings by the Portfolio Committee took no issue with the right to be educated in the mother tongue whilst having access to a global language such as English, even though it countered the dominant view among teachers and parents that English should be the medium of education as early as possible. A summary of a meeting held in September of 2006 reads as follows:

.... the Committee agreed that advocacy was needed to convince parents, school governing bodies and teachers of the advantages of home language education.

The major problem to be addressed by the Committee was a matter of attitude, a general attitude of ‘you need to speak English and if you speak your mother tongue, it will slow down the development of your English’ (Parliamentary Monitoring Group 2006: 2). The power to change this mind-set did not lie with the Committee, but with the schools, and these were not convinced. The question now was how this mind-set was to be changed.

A Two-pronged Approach

Positive factors are (1) that the Department’s own reference base (e.g. Plüddemann *et al.* 2004) and the Wits-EPU report of 2009, showed time and again that cognitive development and academic achievement were markedly superior in schools where the home language was used as medium of education, and (2) that the major role players who oversee education policy are in agreement, by and large, about the necessity to implement the policy principles, and about the need for advocacy so as to convince teachers and parents about the validity of these principles.

Negative factors are the following: (1) In addition to the mind-set conditioned by the element of linguistic social Darwinism, fewer and fewer prospective teachers specialise in indigenous languages or are simply not able to teach their subjects in the mother tongue, and (2) although a majority of teachers in particularly rural schools where English is the LoLT switch to the home language to make themselves clearly understood, exam papers still have to be in English. The idiotic situation exists that in many, if not most, instances the teacher and the class share the same home language, but the tuition has to be in a language in which none of the two parties is proficient. Even the accommodating gesture by the Department to translate some key examination papers into the mother tongues of candidates to provide more clarity to the learners was only partially effective, since the papers still had to be answered in English.

It seems to be clear from an analysis of the series of events over the last fifteen years and the pace of development towards the engaged recognition of the multilingual nature of education that a two-pronged approach is necessary: (a) A long-term process in which positive attitudes towards the vernacular and an acknowledgement of its formative and

economic value are inculcated; and (b) a short to medium-term approach which deals with the status quo at hand in the most appropriate way.

In support of the long-term approach is the following remark by Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000:7) regarding the results of non-mother tongue education in South African schools:

The decision of school authorities and parents to use English as the language of learning in schools (especially primary schools) has definitely contributed to the underdevelopment of the South African people. One of the tasks that language people in South Africa need to undertake is to persuade parents that the answer to their needs and those of the children lies in the language of learning that their children know well, together with high quality teaching of English as a subject.

While education policies addressing the needs of a multilingual society can be implemented at short notice at the primary and secondary school level (as has been the case with new policies in the SA context during the past decade), the end result can only be expected to filter through to the tertiary level after an extensive period of exposure to the new paradigm. A different approach is therefore needed to ensure that the maximum benefits of a multilingual policy are derived by universities in the short to medium term.

Current Paradigms Impacting on Language Policy

Recent years have seen a shift from second language acquisition theories to one of cognitive and linguistic development embedded in social and discourse theory. The notion of additive and mother tongue based bilingualism has largely been replaced by that of simultaneous bi-literacy, namely what Gracia (2007) advocates as 'dynamic plurilingualism'. She defines this as a two-way polydirectional bilingual education. Her emphasis is on translingualing in the classroom. By this she means that the teacher and the learners move between two languages as a matter of routine. The aim of literacy development, regardless of language, is to empower communities and individuals linguistically in such a way that they can participate with a view to their own economic wellbeing, à la Bourdieu (Carrington & Luke 1997:96ff).

The Way to Go

How should this be achieved? On one hand, an essential step is to utilise the political will, as evident from the discourse around language in education in the Portfolio Committee mentioned earlier, to effect infrastructure spending in order to create stability, security, employment, increased earnings, and enhanced sharing of resources. While these objectives can only be achieved by way of a more general language policy, a draft of which is purportedly under discussion at cabinet level, changes can already be initiated at institutional level by making use of the latent multilingual dynamics of the system. One example of this is the fact, as mentioned earlier, that teachers use vernacular languages in the classroom, despite English-only policies, something which also occurs, albeit to a lesser extent, at university level. This practice may be regarded, we believe, as a strength in the system, and probably the backbone on which new policy can be built. This ‘multilingualism on the ground’ needs to be mobilized into the institutional realm through implementation, not only officialisation. In terms of languages of learning and teaching in Higher Education in Africa, and specifically South Africa, the institutional ethos of institutions needs to be addressed before embarking on implementation of an inclusive framework for linguistic empowerment of students. The ethos is created through addressing diversity management and transformation, with the aim of community-building to address inclusivity and the often poor quality of cross-cultural and cross-linguistic interaction. One step to take would be to acknowledge that some of the historically entrenched institutional racial, ethnic and linguistic divides are still intact. Some of these manifest themselves in old, established, strategically protected networks of power. Others are visible in what may be termed ‘ghettos’. The ‘ghettos’ are those pockets of employment and participation which are occupied by those cultural and linguistic groupings which remain persistently undervalued and economically marginal.

Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU)

As an example of an institutional multilingual implementation strategy, the next section will shortly refer to the broad outline of what is presently under consideration at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU) in

Port Elizabeth, where a trilingual language policy has been accepted, but not implemented as yet, since English is the *de facto* language of learning and teaching. It has to be stressed that the considerations discussed are peculiar to this university, although they might be extrapolated to similar situations elsewhere.

Firstly, for a meaningful change towards accommodating multilingualism, the institutional ethos has to be addressed, in line with the vision that the university is to be perceived by all as ‘a linguistically diverse community in transition’, so as to create positive identification and buy-in by all participants. The motivation behind such linguistic engineering should be to lend status to the language(s) that one is advocating. This strategy is geared towards ensuring the long-term psychological and economic well-being of its speakers.

While Xhosa-speaking students comprise the overwhelming majority in the institution, historically entrenched racial divides existing in the university do not allow the language to take its rightful place among the other languages. In addition, its status is compromised by the legacy of the power of Afrikaans in the system. The administration and top management professional networks still operate orally largely in Afrikaans, even though all the documentation is in English. Xhosa, despite being a generally accepted campus language, is not presently under consideration for any administrative or educational purposes.

Furthermore, creativity needs to be acknowledged as the globally recognized engine of social development. It is increasingly being recognized that identification with and ‘buy-in’ to new cultures, are effected through creative engagement, lateral thinking and affective factors. This can only be turned into a strategy through remediation design, which means ‘designing learning ecologies for collective activity’ (Guitierrez *et al.* 2009:234). This activity-theoretical approach which is advocated by Guitierrez *et al.* encourages critique as well as extension of knowledge through active text production, performance, interaction and cultural inclusivity. It follows that the institutional ethos, as well as the design for learning, needs to be remodelled and transformed to mediate something which is perceived and conceived as linguistically and affectively empowering.

Bilingual and multilingual, multimodal cultural identities would emerge if students were to be encouraged to be innovative in expressing

themselves. If students were to produce texts which could be regarded as style fusions, albeit within discipline-specific prescribed genres, they would be well on their way towards becoming agents of change. Style fusions refer to the kind of writing which consists of a mixture of the student’s conversational voice and institutional academic conventions applied by the student. Although this might result in the student text not constituting what may be regarded as ‘proper English’, it lends the language educator the opportunity to point out the distance between the accepted disciplinary style conventions and the informal conversational style of the student writer. For students who are currently attending NMMU and who are from previously marginalised groups, this approach should be high on the agenda. As already outlined, the greatest challenge to the language development staff at NMMU at present is to put strategically designed provision in place which underline and encourage this approach. The provisions suggested appear in the next section.

The changes to be effected in order for an appropriate conceptual framework to be created, i.e. to transform the curriculum and the general ethos of a university (*in casu* the NMMU) from a traditional to a diversity compliant, inclusive model, can be presented in tabular form as below:

Traditional versus Diversity Compliant Inclusive Curriculum Models

Traditional models of learning and teaching and curriculum design:	Diversity compliant inclusive models of learning and teaching and curriculum design:
Focus on correctness and preferred knowledges, attitudes and beliefs	Focus on discourse as socially constituted and constituting, focus on classroom community-building
Focus on transmission of only ‘vacuum-packed knowledge bites’, Text consumption only	Critical engagement, active text production, strong performance orientation
Unidirectional communication, monologue	Dialectical, interactive
Discreet skills taught as a ‘list’ out of context	Context-embedded critical enquiry
Monomodal	Multimodal

Monoliterate, monolingual	Multiliterate, multilingual, cross-cultural competence
a monolingual classroom culture	Taking account of the wider multilingual context
dominant culture-focused learning and teaching	Diversity-focused classroom cultures

Adapted from Liesel Hibbert (2009).

Strategies to create an ethos in terms of which the university is perceived by all to be ‘a linguistically diverse community in transition’ are outlined below. They are based on a suggested implementation strategy, coupled with a research agenda, based on a commissioned strategic planning document which responds to the NMMU HE audit report section on Multilingual policy and implementation in terms of learning and teaching (Hibbert & Batyi 2009). The strategies outlined in the next section are extracted from the report.

Practical Steps to be Taken

In order to address the affective bond with the institution through stronger identification with the linguistic communities from which the various role-players hail and recognition of all three languages as ‘valid’ participant languages, the university website could be made accessible in all three locally used official languages (Xhosa, Afrikaans and English), giving the user a choice of own language interaction with the website.

Language awareness and meta-linguistic skills in at least two languages, one of which should be English, need to be acquired by all participants (staff and students). A new point of departure is that the identities of all participants are to be viewed as bi- or multilingual. This constitutes a departure from the accommodationist, ‘deficit’ models which perpetuate the notion of ‘disadvantage’ as inherent in all non-English first-language speakers.

Discussion forums on LoLT ought to be extended to include the mainstream academic teaching body. English language courses (for

communicative purposes) ought to become Faculty-based, -owned and -monitored in terms of content and cognitive skills, and should operate as content-linked blended models. This is to be done urgently through re-design of the curriculum in collaboration with first-year language development staff, the lecturers in the mainstream subject-based areas of study, and Faculty-based diversity management initiatives. Although English is the de facto language of learning, the expertise in English is very uneven, and in need to strategic support, among staff as well as students.

Thirdly, the two ‘minority’ African languages (Xhosa and Afrikaans) should be mobilised as languages of learning alongside English. This can be achieved by the introduction of the concept of simultaneous biliteracy in tutorials and small group learning, by utilising various languages to clarify and define terminology. For example, in tutorials, students would be encouraged to express themselves in English, Afrikaans or Xhosa (in the case of NMMU, which is located in the Eastern Cape, these three languages are the official languages of the province and the University).

Mobilizing Xhosa and Afrikaans as languages of learning should be coupled with an enhancement of the existing resource base. This could be done by introducing simultaneous biliteracy in tutorials and small group learning, by incorporating and encouraging the development of learning and language awareness strategies in Xhosa and Afrikaans (i.e. these include talking about the subject in multiple languages, clarifying, circumscribing terminology and refining reasoning procedures and argumentation through the use of all linguistic resources.). The strategies used here need to be researched to show which ones work, how they work and why. This would reveal how Xhosa and Afrikaans can be mobilized for learning.

Multimodal and multiliteracies-based structures for pedagogy (Kress, G. 2000) ought to be expanded on a large scale and ought to be incorporated into all learning programmes. This suggestion is motivated by the fact that Xhosa has not been codified to the extent that Afrikaans has been (by virtue of its previous status as one of only two official languages). Therefore, special measures are required to valorise this language. Re-training in cross-cultural dynamics should be done in order for all to recognise the linguistically hybrid identities of staff as well as students as the norm. Staff training would include code switching strategies for oral interaction in tutorials and lectures. In addition, strictly monitored self-access and e-

learning facilities should be mobilized for language development. Language-specific measures could include customised courses in Xhosa to non-speakers in order to develop sensitivity and affiliation to this major language of the province and, foreseeably, also the university. The ideal should be that in due course, newly appointed academics should be (or become) fully bilingual in at least two official languages, of which English would be one.

It is recommended that all students with no or limited proficiency in the language, attend a compulsory six-month course in Xhosa during the first year in order to develop sensitivity and affiliation to this major language of the province and the university. For this purpose, the teaching capacity in the Xhosa department needs to be expanded. All new lecturing and administrative staff should ideally attend basic Xhosa acquisition courses.

Since English, whose role as language of wider communication is beyond dispute, is a second or third language to most students (most students enter the university with rudimentary academic writing skills in English), lecturers should be exposed to a training course on how to teach English for Academic Purposes in their particular subject area, and to familiarize themselves with issues pertaining to LoLT in higher education.

An academic development unit/department should be set up in each faculty, which works in collaboration with language development practitioners and researchers, as well as general academic literacy development practitioners and researchers. A language development team ought to be set up in each Faculty and should be part of the faculty academic development unit/department. Language development lecturers of the Department of Applied Language Studies should be working closely with the main-stream as well as the academic development practitioners based in the faculties within which they work. Faculty-specific language development models and frameworks should emerge, which would steer away from the notion of free-standing, generic communication-related modules which do not comply with ecological models of linguistic development.

The above suggestions would become realities only through large-scale re-mediation (i.e. re-structuring and redesigning the tasks and procedures put in place for the provision of optimal learning opportunities). The suggested practical strategies are particularly pertinent to the re-mediation of first-year mainstream courses, albeit in partnership with language and diversity practitioners. A three year rolling plan, with built-in

incentives and deadlines, may move the theoretical paradigm shift into the practical realm. At that point, re-mediation and multilingual teaching experiments, those which were identified as successful, can be strengthened through institutional support. An example of such support would be bursaries and funding allocated to this kind of development.

Research

Of course, no changes of this nature can be initiated without the continuous support of a research base, which should also form part of the agendas geared at institutional transformation. As in the case of the practical strategies suggested in the previous section, the research initiatives suggested below appear in the commissioned strategic planning document which responds to the NMMU HE audit report section on Multilingual policy and implementation in terms of learning and teaching (Hibbert & Batyi 2009). The strategies outlined in the next section are extracted from the report. Changes in institutional language policy and practice as the ones suggested above can only be initiated with the continuous support of a strong research base. This research base needs to constitute an integral part of an overall institutional research and equity-related transformation agenda. At present, the transformation agenda is strongly focused on racial equity. We suggest that linguistic empowerment through multilingual mobilization has the strongest contribution to make to empowering individuals, students and staff, in fact all participants, within institutional settings.

The major research topics suggested in a recent response to a request for implementation suggestions based on the NMMU Audit Report (Hibbert & Batyi 2009), are as follows:

- Studies are needed which address attitude changes towards linguistic diversity. These studies firstly need to highlight shortcomings in the current perception of the role of African languages in the development of Sub-Saharan Africa. A recent study at NMMU (Zauka 2009) is an example of a study which begins to address the attitude problems youth have towards their home language, Xhosa.

- Consensus needs to be reached in term of the necessary paradigm shift and vision for the institution's enhanced policy of inclusivity. These studies may result in valuable exploration of linguistic mobilisation strategies for African languages within higher education, in this case Xhosa.
- Studies are needed which describe and analyse the psycholinguistic base of cognitive development and the transfer of knowledge and meta linguistic skills from the vernacular to English. This is particularly relevant for English and Afrikaans, as they are both Indo-European languages, and typologically different from other South African languages. More university-classroom-based projects should be set up by drawing on fully bilingual honours and Master's tutor/student research based in the Department of Applied Language Studies. The research base on the teaching of reading and writing practices and culturally-based framing inherent in Afrikaans and Xhosa bilingual literacies should be expanded. Furthermore, research which enhances the understanding and implementation of code switching practices to be instituted in tutorials needs to be expanded. This research needs to systematically uncover how, why, in what instances, and by whom, Afrikaans and Xhosa could be mobilized as additional languages of learning and teaching, and in what instances and to what extent these languages should be mobilized.
- Critique of the existing literature on this issue, as well as existing successful language development practices, nationally and at NMMU, should be collated into a full report with listed shortcomings and recommendations. An audit of recent cognitive psycholinguistics-based research which casts light on how knowledge and meta-linguistic skills are best transferred from the student's own languages to the LoLT, needs to accompany the report. This would highlight a point of departure as well as a strategy for NMMU to follow. The results of this report should be freely available to all participants of the university community.

Conclusion

Addressing individual languages separately may be missing the point. The African languages need to be viewed as one of many which speakers practice in different situations and apply for specific effects and results. Therefore, a bi- or multilingual learning situation in which all discourses embedded in African languages and Afrikaans are mobilized for learning, is advocated. In this multiliteracies approach, supported by multimodal resources, languages are extended through pedagogy, within an intellectual activity realm. This process impacts on the change of perception that African languages are not suited for learning in Higher Education. It will also facilitate the inclusion of these languages in higher education. At present, 70% of the student intake is Xhosa-speaking. However, this may change in time with NMMU's increasing international and pan-African exposure, which means that in 10 or 20 years, other considerations may come into play. Ultimately, economically sustainable models of language in education are the only valid ones. The present symbolic power of African languages in the South African imagination cannot be disputed, which is why it is the ideal historic moment to mobilize them in South Africa.

Although research-based insights into the advantages of multilingual education run counter to the ingrained effects of linguistic Social Darwinism and the quest for modernity, the political climate seems to be transforming itself in favour of a multilingual social structure/ethos. A major stumbling block remains attitudes on the ground, which, in order for democracy to be seen to be practised, have to be accommodated as far as language choice is concerned, although they are difficult to reverse. However, once policy makers have realised the linguistic reasons for the failure of programmes to ensure unfettered access to knowledge, there is no shortage of strategies to change attitudes by means of valorising African vernaculars at both school and university levels, while simultaneously empowering the community of practice to obtain access to the language of wider communication through bi- or multicultural proficiencies and literacy programmes. Some of the implementation proposals tabled at NMMU, if backed by a research agenda to refine implementation strategies, may lead to a more inclusive ethos and enhanced student performance if their implementation plan is monitored and adjusted according to step-by-step research outcomes over a number of years.

We would like to conclude with the logo used by the Department of Applied Linguistics at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland:

Monolingualism can be cured!

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APPENDIX A

Language in Education Policy in terms of

- (a) Section 3(4)(m) of the National Education Policy Act, 1996 (Act 27 of 1996), and
- (b) Section 6(1) of the South African Schools Act, 1996 (Act 84 of 1996).
- According to (a), in the Preamble,

the government, and thus the Department of Education, is tasked ... to promote multilingualism, the development of the official languages, and respect for all languages used in the country

The policy,

is meant to facilitate communication across the barriers of colour, language and religion, while at the same time creating an environment in which respect for languages other than one's own would be encouraged.

This approach is in line with the fact that both societal and individual multilingualism are the global norm today, especially on the African continent. As such, it assumes that the learning of more than one language should be general practice and principle in our society.

A wide spectrum of opinions exists as to the locally viable approaches towards multilingual education, ranging from arguments in favour of the cognitive benefits and cost-effectiveness of teaching through one medium (home language) and learning additional language(s) as subjects, to those drawing on comparative international experience demonstrating that, under appropriate conditions, most learners benefit cognitively and emotionally from the type of structured bilingual education found in dual-medium (also known as two-way immersion) programmes. Whichever route is followed, the underlying principle is to maintain home language(s) while providing access to and the effective acquisition of additional language(s). Hence, the Department's position that an additive approach to bilingualism is to be seen as the normal orientation of our language-in-education policy.

... Policy will progressively be guided by the results of comparative research, both locally and internationally.

The right to choose the language of learning and teaching is vested in the individual. This right has, however, to be exercised within the overall framework of the obligation on the education system to promote multilingualism.

Ernst Kotzé and Liesel Hibbert

The language(s) of learning and teaching in a public school must be (an) official language(s).

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The Development of a Sustainability Model for the Integration and Use of an African Language as a Language of Learning and Teaching in Higher Education

Rosemary Wildsmith

Abstract

This paper discusses the organic development of a Sustainability Model for the implementation of an African language, *viz.* Zulu, as a language of learning and teaching (LoLT) at tertiary level in a South African University. The model created the conceptual framework for research into and implementation of Zulu as a medium of instruction in selected subject areas at University level. The aim of this project is to promote multilingualism in higher education. It has been funded by the South Africa-Norway Tertiary Education Development (SANTED) programme. This article traces the initial development of this model, which drew on the findings of various research studies over a period of ten years, culminating in its application to the development of specialist discourse and terminology in Zulu in specific subject areas in the Social Sciences, Health Sciences and Humanities curricula. The project involved the collaboration of various subject specialists in Psychology, Nursing, Dentistry and Education (Foundation Phase level). The implementation has been two-fold: the offering of basic communication skills courses in Zulu for non-Zulu-speaking staff and students involved in the above professional disciplines, and terminology development in the respective disciplines in order to enable the use of Zulu in selected materials and tutorial groups. This SANTED-funded initiative (2006) has been a systematically-planned and deliberate intervention on the

part of lecturers and researchers to introduce an African language as a potential LoLT, whilst at the same time contributing to the intellectualisation of the language in question.

Keywords: language acquisition, isiZulu, multilingualism, second language learning, second language teaching, language intellectualisation, language development and promotion, medium of instruction

Introduction

In response to SANTED's call for projects which addressed multilingualism in order to promote access and retention in higher education, the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), together with the Durban University of Technology (DUT), submitted a proposal addressing three main focus areas. These were the acquisition of additional languages, specifically, an indigenous language, for students registered for professional programmes which involves working closely with the general public such as the Health Sciences, Social Sciences and Education; short courses in basic communication skills in Zulu to promote multilingualism amongst university staff and students, and the piloting of an integrated approach using Zulu as a language of learning and teaching in class sessions and tutorials in selected disciplines. These three focus areas were perceived as interdependent and mutually supportive and led to further objectives for the project: the translation of materials in the professional disciplines into Zulu; terminology development workshops, and workshops for capacity-building and the continued professional development of Zulu language teaching specialists. The overall objective for the project, therefore, has been sustained language acquisition and development for both staff and students in selected professional areas, involving collaboration among staff in the specialist disciplines, Zulu language specialists and Applied Linguistics specialists across the institutions. A Sustainability Model for the acquisition, development and integration of Zulu as a LoLT in selected professional disciplines provided the overall conceptual framework for the project.

The Sustainability Model

The Sustainability Model was founded on key research insights into the processes of language acquisition, one of these being that language learning is developmental (Ellis 1985; 1994) and incremental, and thus needs to be sustained over time through exposure to and use of the language in real-life situations for genuine communicative purposes (Wildsmith-Cromarty 2003a). In a higher education institution, using the language as a LoLT in certain subject areas ensures active and repeated use of the language in an academic setting, which supports the development of cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) (Cummins 2000) for both mother tongue/primary language and additional language speakers. An observation from Doughty and Long (2003:4) make this point clear:

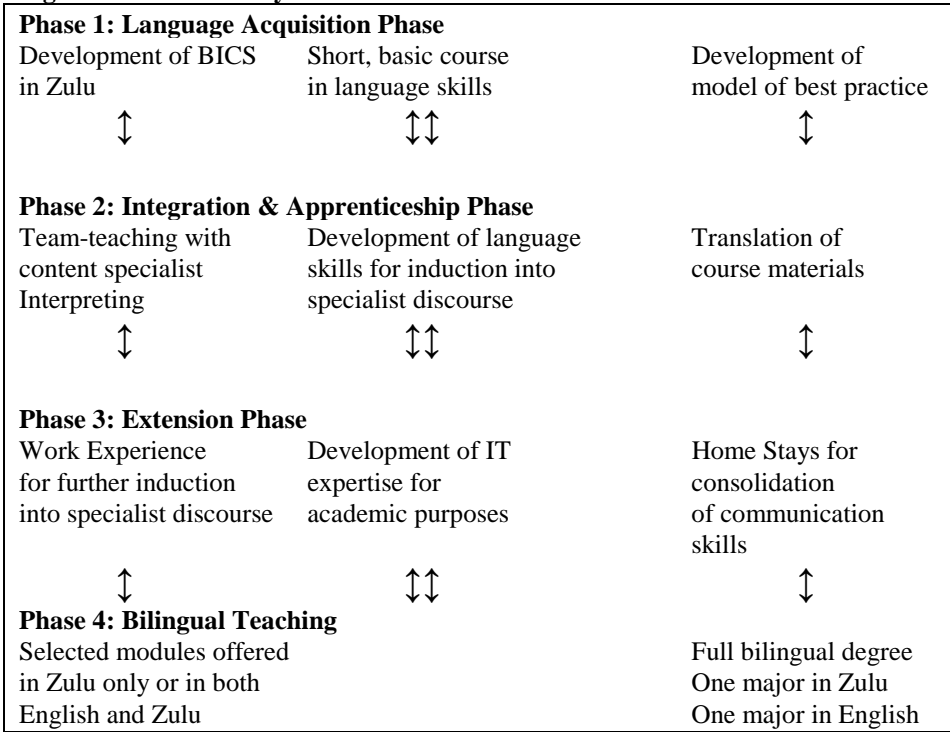
... language learning, like any other learning, is ultimately a matter of change in an individual's internal mental state. As such, research on SLA is increasingly viewed as a branch of cognitive science.

This method of facilitating language acquisition whilst simultaneously teaching subject content is known as Content-based Language Instruction (CBI). This approach has been implemented in both Canada and the USA very effectively (Brinton, Snow & Wesche 1989) and entails a language teaching method whereby content subjects are taught through a second language with dual aims: the learning of subject content, and the simultaneous acquisition of the additional language. Learning subject content through the medium of another language preserves linguistic and cultural diversity and opens the way to increased intercultural and international communication. This is essentially what Luckett (1995) refers to as an *additive* bilingual education model. In a similar way, the SANTED project encourages the sustained use and development of more than one of the official languages in a tertiary education setting. At the same time, it also attempts to foster increased linguistic and communication skills in professional trainees working with indigenous communities in South Africa.

In the SANTED project, both Zulu and English are used thus enabling further acquisition of both languages. In the same way, work experience, where the language is used with clients in professional settings, also provides opportunities for practice and further supports the development

of basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) (Cummins 2000). This could also be regarded as a form of language *socialization* (Watson-Gegeo & Nielsen 2003) whereby the context of language use drives acquisition. This is a Vygotskian (1978) approach to the negotiation of comprehensible input (Krashen 1985) in social interaction in which learners are pushed to communicate beyond their actual competence levels. The use of a content-based approach to language learning also encourages further development of the language itself as terminology needs to be created for the relevant concepts. The model was initially conceptualized in terms of four phases, although the project encompassed the first three only. The fourth phase was considered as a goal to be attained over the longer term.

Figure 1: Sustainability Model



Phase 1 is the *language acquisition phase* where the focus is on developing basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) (Cummins 2000) in Zulu for non-Zulu staff and students. Related to this is a further focus on developing a ‘best practice’ pedagogic model for the teaching of Zulu as an additional language in a short course.

Phase 2 is the *integration phase* and entails the creation of partnerships involving Zulu specialists and content specialists in selected disciplines. This phase involves the integration of some use of Zulu in tutorial sessions where classes are mixed in terms of Zulu/non-Zulu speakers, and the sole use of Zulu as LoLT where classes are comprised solely of Zulu speakers. The integration of Zulu into a discipline-specific academic discourse facilitates access to the discourse of the discipline for Zulu native speakers, and also enables non-native speakers to gain a working knowledge of the language for professional purposes. This creates the need for the translation of selected materials into Zulu, and the development of appropriate terminology. It also requires team-teaching, either with a Zulu colleague in the discipline, or with a Zulu specialist as interpreter/facilitator.

Phase 3 is the *extension phase* where language development is sustained by means of contact with the community through work experience. Ideally, students working in their professional contexts either part-time or during vacation periods will draw on their knowledge of the language during their internships, clinical sessions and teaching practice when dealing with health professionals, hospital patients, caregivers, teachers and children. This would also facilitate further induction into the professional discourse. Further contact with the speech community is envisaged through ‘home-stays’ for the consolidation of the basic communication skills. A third aim in Phase 3 is the development of expertise in Information Technology for general academic purposes such as sourcing (or developing) language learning programmes in Zulu or encouraging the use of on-line messaging on various topics.

Phase 4 would be the ultimate target of the developmental process during the first three phases—bilingual learning and teaching, where selected modules in the professional programmes could be taught in one or other language, or both. An alternative development in this phase could take the form of a

bilingual degree programme with two majors: one taught in Zulu and the other in English. Each stream would comprise various modules drawn from both the discipline of Zulu Studies, and a specialist discipline such as Applied Language Studies. An example of such a degree programme at the University of Limpopo has been documented elsewhere (Ramani et al, 2007). The researchers implemented a dual-medium undergraduate degree in both Northern Sotho and English in an attempt to implement an additive bilingual model of education at tertiary level. What is interesting about their approach is that they worked from the bottom-up and grounded terminology development in their daily experience of pedagogic practices. They achieved this through getting learners to engage with cognitively challenging tasks that led to the assimilation of new concepts. They maintain that terminology for discipline-specific purposes can be developed very effectively through pedagogic processes, and that acquisition planning can indeed precede corpus planning in this way. They conclude that:

Such a pedagogically-responsive and discourse-embedded use of terminology locates the site of resource building for African languages within the pedagogic use of these languages as media of instruction (207)

To some extent, this was the approach adopted by certain partner disciplines in the SANTED project, particularly psychology and nursing, where terms were created in workshop contexts with various stakeholders as the need arose.

Background to the Development of the Model

Initial Research Studies

The research studies which underpinned the development of what eventually became the current model will now be described.

Three research studies fed into the organic development of the model from its inception in 1999 to its implementation in 2005. Two of these studies investigated various aspects of the acquisition of Zulu as an additional language at both secondary and tertiary levels. Findings from these two studies then fed into the third study, which involved research into

the development and implementation of a course on the teaching of Zulu as an additional language to second and third year Zulu mother tongue students at university.

Research Study 1—The Acquisition of Zulu Morphology by School Learners

The first study was on the acquisition of Zulu morphology by grade 6 and 7 learners at selected secondary schools in KwaZulu-Natal (Wildsmith-Cromarty 2003b). The investigation was motivated by the desire to learn more about the acquisition of Zulu as an additional language in order to teach it more effectively. The focus of the study was on the relative ease of acquisition of the identificative copulative and the noun class and agreement system in varying contexts and with reference to both spoken and written modalities. Varied tasks were used to examine learner performance as it has been shown (Romaine 2003:409) that grammatical accuracy can vary depending on task demands ‘with more target-like performance typically more frequent on formal tests than in casual conversations’. The study was both longitudinal and cross-sectional in nature, with data being collected at intervals over a two-year period. Tasks were both form-focused and meaning-focused, consisting of informal letters to a Zulu-speaking pen-pal and a more structured interview.

The findings from this study revealed both omission and overgeneralization (Ellis 1994) of noun class prefixes and subject markers, and the further identification of two types of morphemes in the same system, which Suzman (1991:8), on the basis of her own research into first language acquisition of Zulu, referred to as Type 1 and Type 2 morphemes. Type 1 morphemes are learned in association with the noun, such as the adjective or object markers in the phrases *abafana abajabulayo* ‘happy boys’ and *izicathulo engizithandayo* ‘favourite shoes’. Type 2 morphemes are rule-learned as pronouns and carry ‘an anaphoric, multipurpose element for L1 children’ (Suzman 1991:8). This type of morpheme is more difficult to learn for both L1 and L2 learners as it is not learned in association with the noun (Suzman 1991 1999). It is thus more susceptible to overgeneralization and, in the case of L2 learners, confusion. An example would be the overgeneralization of the subject marker /i/ in the context of a Class 5 noun

which should normally take the SM /li/ as in *iphi ibhola* instead of *liphi ibhola*: ‘Where is the ball?’. The important factor here for L2 learners in particular was the nature and degree of exposure to these morphemes in naturalistic contexts, which, in turn, held implications for second language pedagogy and course design.

The findings from this study were analyzed in terms of an *interlanguage* (Selinker 1992) theoretical framework with a focus on *variability* as a crucial explanatory construct. Interlanguage is considered as an interim system in its own right which sits somewhere between the learner’s primary language (L1) and the target language (TL). It is permeable, dynamic and systematic and consists of formulas or *chunks* in the early stages, constructed from the use of strategies such as pattern imitation, memorization, partial pattern analysis, substitution and analogy. The latter stages of interlanguage are characterized by rules and hypotheses once learners have begun to internalize the linguistic system. Among the cognitive strategies used at this point are pattern analysis, inference, expansion, simplification and overgeneralization. Interlanguage variation, however, may also be defined by the learner’s current level of processing, and the limitations that this has for the acquisition of various structures at a given point in time. Pienemann’s (2003:686) *processability theory* offers an alternative perspective on the phenomenon of interlanguage, viewing language learning as incremental in that at any given stage of development ‘the learner can produce and comprehend only those L2 linguistic forms which the current state of the language processor can manage’.

The insights gained from the findings of this study fed directly into the development of a course on teaching Zulu as an additional language for third year mother tongue Zulu students at tertiary level aspiring to become teachers of Zulu at secondary school level. This course also represented the beginning stages of the development of the Sustainability Model in question as the findings from the research into the acquisition of Zulu morphology formed part of the content of the course.

Research Study 2—Learning Zulu as an Additional Language at Tertiary Level

Running parallel to the above study into the acquisition of morphology by

secondary school learners was a second, longitudinal study into the acquisition of Zulu as an additional language by first year students at a South African university (Wildsmith-Cromarty 2003a). The initial research was conducted over a year and took the form of a diary study of one learner's experiences of learning Zulu at first-year level, supplemented by data from responses to questionnaires by her co-learners in the same class. The study was motivated by the desire to revise both syllabus and curriculum for the teaching of basic communication skills in Zulu at tertiary level. Lecturers were concerned that students would emerge from a major in Zulu and not be able to hold a basic conversation in the language. The researcher-learner, who was an applied linguist with a specialization in language acquisition, decided to enrol for the first-year course in order to gain insights into the curriculum, materials and pedagogy from the learners' perspective. It was felt that course design would be best informed from the 'bottom-up' and that tasks and activities might be more appropriate if they were designed according to what learners found challenging, and also according to the way learners learned the specific language system under study. This latter aspect tallied with the findings from the school study on the acquisition of morphology.

Especially significant to the course design for the Zulu students aspiring to teach Zulu as an additional language was the way grammar was presented and taught in the original Zulu first year course (Wildsmith Gordon & Godlonton 2007). The approach was traditional, having a structural focus and using the grammar-translation method to teach both syntax and vocabulary. Vocabulary was presented in the form of decontextualized items in lists, categorized according to the various noun classes in Zulu. This forced a rote-memorization strategy on the part of the students and, in addition, enhanced the learners' confusion regarding the morphology of the language, which, in turn, encouraged either omission or overgeneralization of noun class prefixes and subject markers. This phenomenon had been noted earlier in the findings of the school study on the acquisition of Zulu morphology (Wildsmith-Cromarty 2003b).

In response to the distinction made in the earlier school study between Type 1 and Type 2 morphemes, lecturers and researchers involved in the university study decided to design course materials for teaching Zulu morphology according to this distinction. They thus designed materials that

would highlight the pervasive noun class and agreement system by presenting vocabulary items (a) within a context containing lexical items belonging to a particular noun class, eg. NC 5, which carries the NC prefix /i/ for naming objects in a classroom, and (b) presenting expanded noun phrases (as opposed to isolated nouns) where the agreement is clearly perceptible, such as adjectives with nouns (eg. *abantwana abancane* ‘small children’; *isinkwa esimnandi* ‘tasty bread’), or structures where the object marker clearly agrees with the NC prefix (eg. *umculo engiwuthandayo* ‘song which I like’ ‘my favourite song’; *isifundo engisithandayo* ‘subject which I like’ ‘my favourite subject’). Findings from this study thus held major implications for the teaching of basic communication skills courses in Zulu which were subsequently fed into the development of the course on teaching Zulu as an additional language. This latter course, which is described in more detail below, served as the basis for the development of a Sustainability Model for language acquisition.

Research Study 3—A Bilingual Model for Course Design

The third study focused on research into and development of a course on the teaching of Zulu as an additional language using a dynamic, bilingual approach to the production of knowledge in order to facilitate learning. One of the main aims underlying this course was to explore the effects on student learning and performance of using two languages of instruction. It was thus fundamental to the conceptualization and design of the Sustainability Model as it allowed for the use of both English and Zulu as languages of learning and teaching (LoLTs) in a content subject. The research approach adopted in relation to this course was essentially exploratory-interpretive in the early stages of its implementation as the researcher wished to examine the interaction between the two languages as it occurred naturally and spontaneously among the various participants in class. To this purpose, each session was audio-taped in order to monitor the nature and function of the mother tongue/primary language in the classroom in order to inform future pedagogy. Data was analyzed within a broad discourse analysis framework, the focus being on the use and function of Zulu where and whenever it occurred in the general classroom interaction.

The course was a semester course consisting of both input and practical sessions. A major goal was to induce in the student trainees an understanding of the language acquisition process from the *learners'* perspective. To this end, data from the two research studies described above were used as examples of learner language which the student trainees were required to analyze. The course required critical assessment of various theoretical positions on the learning and teaching of additional languages; an understanding of the differences between naturalistic and instructed language learning and the implications of these for teaching; matching of learner needs with appropriate methodologies, activities and content and application of their understanding of the processes involved to the development of proficiency in the four skill areas of listening, speaking, reading and writing. Assessment was in the form of regular practical exercises, a major assignment, tests and a final examination. The purpose of the practical exercises was to help students gradually build up a frame of reference which was comprised of crucial concepts in the discourse of the discipline. The major assignment was intended as a consolidation of this knowledge in its application to real data. Students were free to use either English or Zulu in class sessions and were allowed to respond in either language in their examinations. In the first two years of teaching the course, however, students were required to use English in their practical exercises and assignments in order to assess whether they had indeed understood important concepts in the discipline. This was because the use of Zulu in class was not systematic or pre-planned in any way with the result that many of the concepts specific to the discipline were not necessarily translated into their equivalents in Zulu. For some assignments, however, they were asked to respond in both English and Zulu in order to assess how well they managed to express key concepts in both languages.

Pedagogy for this course involved team teaching by an applied linguist who was the subject specialist in terms of language learning and teaching theory, and a Zulu specialist who was responsible for acting as translator and facilitator in class sessions. The main language of instruction for presenting substantive content was English, and the applied linguist was the person responsible for this. Each session would thus begin with an English presentation of the content. The Zulu teacher would then translate, paraphrase or elaborate on the content in Zulu in order to ensure

understanding. This, in turn, would trigger responses from the students in Zulu, leading to lengthy interactions in this language before the applied linguist would attempt to summarize the discussions in English again before moving on to the next concept. In this way, English was used to present the conceptual content, and Zulu was used to facilitate understanding of these concepts. This led to a ‘code-switching’ approach where students and lecturers used both English and Zulu interchangeably—the kind of pedagogic interaction proposed in Phase 3 of the Sustainability Model. An example is provided below. Each interactional ‘turn’ is numbered.

Example 1

[The class are discussing the meaning of ‘mother tongue’ and trying to arrive at a definition]

[Key: ZL = Zulu lecturer; AL = Applied linguistics lecturer; S1 = Student 1; S2 = Student 2; S3= Student 3]

1. ZL: *Do people know what’s ‘mother tongue’? Do people all know that?}*
 2. S1: *Ja....?}*
 3. AL: *What do you call it in isiZulu?*
 4. ZL: *Ulimi... Ulimi lwakho...your language.....*
 5. AL: *.....Ulimi lwakho?(your language)*
 6. ZL: *....or Ulimi lwasekhaya (home language)*
 7. AL: *...and if you speak three then which one are you talking about?*
 8. AL: *...wasekhaya....(home)*
 9. ZL: *...lwasekhaya...ja...um....most people will say all three...or that’s what I would do....you can’t specify which is the exact one, if you speak three...}*
 11. S1: *Three...? Like....}*
 12. ZL: *...uma ukhuluma izilimi ezinathathu..ukhuluma kodwa (if you speak three languages...you speak, but...) ..What do you say? Which is your mother tongue?*
 13. S1: *NjengoMa nje (like my mother). Umama ukhuluma... (Mother speaks...)....*
 14. ZL: *...isiZulu, isiNgesi, isiBhunu....}*
 15. S2: *Kodwa kukhonahhayi!! (But there is.....No..!)}
.....*
-

16. S3: *Ngeke ukukhulume ngokufana....(No way can you speak it/all in the same way) }*
17. S2: *Hhayi ngeke! (No way!)*
18. ZL: *Kokubili, kokuthathu (be it two or be it three...)...kuyafana...(it is the same)...*
19. S3: *Uh..Uh...Kodwa emuva ngicabanga ukuthi uma kukhulunywa ngeMother Tongue usuke ubheka emuva.....(Uh..Uh... but your history, I think that if you speak about the Mother Tongue, you tend to look at the history/background)*
20. ZL: *ukuthi walifundanini? (As to when you learned it?)*
21. S2: *No.....*
22. S3: *usuke ubheka ibackground—asithi nje ama-Ancestors....(You have to look at the Background—let’s just say your Ancestors)*

In this example, although the matrix language is English initially, the Zulu lecturer switches to Zulu in turn 12 for a translation of the English, which, in turn, triggers a response in Zulu from S1 (turn 13), in spite of the fact that ZL continued in English in turn 12. The rest of this interaction remains in Zulu. The function of the code-switching on the part of the Zulu lecturer, in this case, was for purposes of clarification, instruction and explanation. This function is similar to that described elsewhere in the literature in relation to code-switching in South African schools (Adendorff 1993; Moodley 2003). Other functions identified in the literature include asserting solidarity and in-group identity, framing of academic and pedagogic goals, and providing contextualization cues for introducing key concepts and related terms (Adendorff 1993). However, in the above interaction, the students chose to continue in Zulu (turns 15 - 24). One of the reasons for this could be that they found it easier to use their primary language to challenge what the lecturer was saying, and to present their own point of view (the language of the Ancestors - turn 22), i.e. the language was being used for argumentative purposes. This type of function can thus be added to the list of functions for which code-switching is used.

Students were free to use either English or Zulu in class sessions and were allowed to respond in either language in their examinations. Interestingly, many chose to interact in Zulu in class but wrote their assignments in English. One of the main points of focus of the research was

how crucial concepts specific to the discipline of applied linguistics, and specifically language learning and teaching theory, were translated from English to Zulu, if at all, and how effectively these were communicated to the students as gauged from students' assignments and tests. The use of Zulu in class had not been circumscribed in any way so its use was not systematic or pre-planned, with the result that many of the concepts specific to the discipline were not necessarily translated into their equivalents in Zulu. An analysis of the data collected from audio-taped class sessions revealed that many of the terms for the discipline-specific concepts being taught on the course were not translated as *terms*. Rather, paraphrase was used as a technique to facilitate understanding of the concepts, and the English terms themselves were rendered as borrowings, such as *uya-overgeneraliza* (she is overgeneralizing) or *iChunk* (the chunk) for concepts such as *overgeneralization* and *chunk* (formulaic speech). The following excerpt from a class session on error analysis demonstrates this point. The lecturers and students were using a worksheet showing different types of 'errors' at four different time periods. The Applied linguistics lecturer was attempting to explain the difference between *formulaic* and *creative* speech (Ellis 1994) in relation to *interlanguage* – a crucial concept in second language acquisition research. The Zulu lecturer then attempted the explanation in Zulu. (The texts in parentheses are either full forms of the examples given in Zulu, or English translations of those forms).

[Key: AL: Applied Linguistics lecturer; ZL: Zulu lecturer; S1: Student 1]

1. AL: *What I am trying to get you to understand is that ...Times 3 and 4 characterize a different type of speech but there is overlap....you still get the chunks mixed in with something more creative. If Times 1 and 2 are formulaic, then Times 3 and 4 are creative....creative speech.....both times, in English and in isiZulu, and they are creative for a reason.....*
2. S1:(interrupting)...uh..I would like to ...to go back a little bit....I'm not too sure
about ...(indistinct)...I'm not too sure (about) chunk...?
3. AL: *A chunk means 'unit', a 'whole'.....the parts in the whole are not recognized.....*

4. ZL: See...you see...when you say *mus'ganga* (*musa ukuganga*) or *ngishaya wena* (*ngizokushaya*) *eSizulwini uma umfundi efunda ulimi, wakuzwa lokho, wezwa wena ukhuluma, ukhuluma nomunye, wabamba leyo nto, wayibamba unomphela, noma iright noma iwrong, kodwa iphelele yona kodwa ngokuzwa kwakhe wezwa sengathi yigama elilodwa, wakuhlanganisa wakwenza igama elilodwa, ukuthi kungamagama ahlukene, akakwazi lokho.....Uzothola ukuthi lo' u-akekho'....umfundi usebenzisa lo' akekho' noma yilaphi..wezwa wena ufika uthi 'uphi umama wakho?' wathi omunye 'akekho'Uma usumbuzwa ' iphiinja?', uzothi 'akekho'.... uya-overgeneraliza as well kodwa wamfunda as i-chunk. Uyezwa-ke? Akakwazi uku...akayazi imithetho yolimi.*

[See...you see...when you say *mus'ganga* ('Don't be naughty') or *ngishaya wena* ('I'm going to smack you') ...in isiZulu, when a learner learns a language, s/he heard this (phrase), s/he heard you speak, you speaking to someone, s/he caught that 'thing' (chunk), s/he truly caught it (picked it up), whether right or wrong, but it is complete.....but, according to his/her hearing (perception), s/he perceives it as one word. S/he puts it together and makes one word; that the words are separate, s/he doesn't know that.....You will find that the *akekho* (s/he is not there).....the student will use *akekho* anywhere...s/he heard you arrive and say '*Where is your mother?*' and the other person said '*akekho*' (She is not here)....When you then ask '*Where is the dog?*', s/he will say '*Akekho*' ...S/he overgeneralizes as well because s/he learned it as a *chunk*. Do you understand? S/he doesn't understand to (indistinct)...s/he does not know the rules of the language.]

In the extract above, the concepts of a *chunk* and *overgeneralization* are explained, but no specific terms are provided for them in Zulu. One of the reasons for this was that there was very little existing terminology in Zulu for those concepts at that time. One of the reasons for designing the course this way was to develop the discourse of the discipline in Zulu as the course progressed. Terminology development in the applied linguistics discipline was thus grounded in our experience of teaching the course, although this development only began in earnest once the Zulu lecturer had begun to teach the course on her own in subsequent years. In this latter situation, Zulu was

used predominantly as LoLT, which facilitated the natural, more organic development of the terminology used on the course. This approach to the creation of discipline-specific terminology is similar to that described by Ramani et al (2007) discussed earlier in this article.

Allowing the students the freedom to respond in the language of their choice both in class and in assignments and tests highlighted the challenges facing educators attempting to use an indigenous African language as the language of learning and teaching (LOLT). At times ambiguity arose where students chose to write assignments and exams in Zulu as opposed to English. Where the English terms had not been given equivalent terms in Zulu during class instruction, answers to questions involving these concepts tended to be non-specific. It was therefore difficult to assess whether students had, indeed, understood the concepts correctly. For example, students would use paraphrase or qualifiers (Halliday & Mattiessen 2004; Wildsmith-Cromarty 2008) and general, 'everyday' terms which were under-differentiated in terms of the more specific meanings carried by these concepts.

In order to probe this phenomenon more deeply, two practical assignments were set which tested knowledge of key concepts in the discipline, and which students had to respond to in both Zulu and English. In this way a comparison could be made of their descriptions of the concepts in both languages. The first assignment asked students to explain in which ways individual learners can differ in their approach to language learning in terms of both cognitive and affective variables. The second assignment asked for a one-page summary describing and explaining the various theories of second language acquisition.

The results of this exercise were mixed. Some students experienced difficulty expressing the concepts with adequate precision in Zulu as the following extract from a student's essay on cognitive strategies demonstrates.

Example 2

Student 1: isiZulu

Indlela yokucabanga ihambisana nezindlela zokufunda lapho umfundi akwazi ukubamba izinto azifundisiwe ngaphansi kwale ndlela yokucabanga. Abafundi bangahlukahluka ngezindlela zokufunda.

(A method of thinking goes together with (is related to) a way of learning where the learner is able to catch (pick up) things that s/he is taught in terms of this method of thinking. Learners can differ according to the ways of learning.)

Student 1: English

The cognitive factors has (sic) to do with the learning strategies and the way they conceive (perceive/ conceptualize?) the information. Under cognitive factors the learners can differ according to their learning styles.

The English version of this student's response contains the appropriate terminology for describing and discussing the concepts in question, i.e. cognitive factors and learning styles. However, the Zulu version does not reveal whether, in reality, the student has really understood these concepts. The concept of cognitive strategies is paraphrased as 'method of thinking' which, although related to the concept, is non-specific. In addition, the concepts of learning styles and learning strategies, which refer to different processes, are rendered indistinguishable by the same description—'ways of learning'. Having access to the appropriate terminology in Zulu in this particular case might have rendered the expression of this distinction clearer. In addition, the word *indlela* may be translated in a number of ways in English, depending on the context. It translates as 'style', 'way', 'approach', 'path', 'method', 'strategy', to name a few. Thus, certain concepts and related terms in English were under-differentiated when translated into Zulu, and this caused the two versions of the essay to vary in the accuracy of the information they expressed. This, in turn, had to do with the existence (or lack) of the relevant terms to express discipline-specific concepts.

Some results, however, were unexpected and challenged our growing conviction that students could not demonstrate adequate understanding of the relevant concepts without access to the appropriate terminology in Zulu. In some cases, the use of paraphrase actually revealed a deeper understanding of the concepts in question, because of the need for greater contextualization which covered the key semantic features of the concepts in the absence of the appropriate terminology. The following example contains extracts from two essays on theories of second language acquisition—one in English and the

other in Zulu, both from the same student, as in Example 1.

Example 3

Student 2: isiZulu

iNativism Theory iveza ukuthi lento yinto evele ikhona ngaphakathi kumfundi. Ukukhuluma noma ukubhala kubonakala njengomphumela wolwazi vele obelukhona. Lapha sithola isakhi esibizwa LAD esisiza ikakhulukazi eminyakeni kusuka ku 0 kuya 11. Lokho umfundi uzalwa nakho.

Student 2: English

(Nativism theory shows that this thing is already there within the learner. Talking or speaking is visible as an outcome (as a result) of knowledge which was already present. Here we find the structure which is called the LAD which helps especially in the years starting from 0 to 11. That, a student is born with it.)

Student 2: English

Nativism theory suggests that learners learn through internalizing without having to speak or write. A learner's speech or writing is seen as the product of internalization. A learner uses very overgeneralized contexts. The LAD helps the learner to grasp new knowledge and (it) must be made clear that it is an innate ability. It operates critically in the period between 0 - 11 years.

Although both descriptions demonstrate an understanding of the LAD (Language Acquisition Device) (Chomsky 1965) as a facilitating structure in the early years up to eleven, the English version does not make clear what the student means by 'internalizing without having to read or write'. Conversely, in the Zulu version, language (talking or speaking) is said to come about as a result of already existing, innate knowledge, whereas the English version seems to indicate that the learner actively internalizes the information. There is thus a discrepancy in the information provided in the two versions. It is also not clear what the student means by 'overgeneralized contexts' in the English version. It would appear that, in this case, the provision of

terminology, rather than facilitating understanding for the student, has only served to obscure the essential meaning of the concepts. The Zulu version in this example has been able to avoid masking lack of understanding through the use of technical terminology because there was none. Instead, it managed to reveal the student's true understanding of the concept because it was paraphrased in simpler terms.

What the above examples show is that it is certainly possible for students to make use of their mother tongue to express their understanding of what they have been taught without necessarily having the appropriate terminology at hand. However, coining appropriate terms is more economical for both teaching and learning in the longer term, and this is what the SANTED project has set out to accomplish.

The terminology development aspect of the course described above provided the impetus for Phase 3 of the Sustainability Model for use in the SANTED project. However, in order to avoid confusion over key discipline-specific concepts, a principled decision was taken to translate selected course materials into Zulu beforehand for use in tutorials. This is a more proactive approach than that described above as it involves the initial development of terms before their presentation in tutorials or materials, rather than allowing a purely organic development in class, from the bottom up, as the need arises. Furthermore, this development takes place in the context of workshops with various stakeholders, including students, which thus represents a more participatory approach. This is appropriate for the purposes of the SANTED project, which are to drive the intellectualisation and development of an African language as a LoLT, so it may be used as a tool to facilitate and enhance learning.

Conclusion

This article has described the gradual development of a Sustainability Model for language acquisition and development over a number of years. It has described each of the research studies on various aspects of the acquisition and teaching of Zulu which have made a specific contribution to the development of the model. This organic development has only become clear with hindsight and with the conceptualization and implementation of the model in the current SANTED project which draws indirectly on the findings of the previous research projects.

An interesting aspect of the third research study was the fact that both specialists were also each other's students. The applied linguist was enrolled for a major in Zulu at the time, with the Zulu specialist as one of her teachers, and was thus indirectly both testing and increasing her knowledge of the language through teaching on the course within a psycholinguistic framework. Through her exposure to the applied linguist as a learner, the Zulu specialist, in turn, had become interested in the theories applicable to language learning and teaching and subsequently registered for a Masters degree in Applied Language Studies with the applied linguist as her supervisor. This created a mutually enriching and supportive environment where everyone was both a learner and teacher (Wildsmith-Cromarty 2003a). Students on the course thus benefited from dynamic interactions between the two specialists that interrogated language practices, methodologies and theories. As a consequence of this, the Zulu specialist now leads the language acquisition component of the sustainability model for the SANTED project, in collaboration with the researcher. All the knowledge and expertise gained from her collaboration with the researcher in the above-mentioned research projects have culminated in the implementation of the model based on her experience of teaching Zulu as an additional language and teaching others how to teach Zulu as an additional language. In the light of this, the development of what has become a Sustainability Model for language acquisition and development has been truly organic and grounded in research. What is needed next is a report on the findings of the implementation of the model in the contexts selected for the SANTED research project. For example, further research needs to be undertaken of the classroom contexts where Zulu is being introduced as medium of instruction in content subjects such as Psychology, Health Sciences, Nursing and Education.

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Putting the End Point at the Beginning: Teachers' Understanding of Using a Dual Medium Approach for Teaching Literacy in Foundation Phase Classrooms

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Abstract

This article examines how teachers in selected South African foundation phase (FP) dual medium literacy classrooms understand the teaching of literacy. 'Putting the end point at the beginning' summarizes some teachers' conceptions of how to approach the teaching of literacy. They argue that since the end point is that the child should become literate in English, they should then teach literacy in English earlier than teaching it in the child's mother tongue. They believe that the earlier literacy in English is taught, the better because children will master it very well whilst they are young. The article argues that there is pedagogical and conceptual confusion in which teachers and parents expect that by initiating the end point at the beginning of schooling, learners will become biliterate in isiZulu and English. This understanding conflicts with the research of first teaching literacy in a language that learners are familiar with before teaching it in an additional language. The problem is the assumption that a dual medium approach to literacy instruction in the foundation phase can be a substitute for teaching literacy in the mother tongue. The core concern of the article is to identify what teachers understand the role and function of mother tongue literacy teaching in the foundation phase to be and to identify teachers' conceptions and understanding of the reasons for their preference for the dual medium approach in teaching literacy in the foundation phase. The study took an

action research approach conducted by post-graduate certificate in Education (PGCE) students in the foundation phase literacy class of 2008. Data was collected by student teachers from teachers practicing in the field by conducting interviews and writing field notes. The interviews were analysed and the findings synthesized showing that teachers were more in favour of an early introduction of literacy in English in the foundation phase without considering the advantages of a mother tongue based bilingual instruction. Teachers were technically in favour of the dual medium approach as long as it would allow them to teach English literacy early to the learners. The article recommends that teacher training for foundation phase teachers should begin with a focus on teaching literacy in the mother tongue in the early years of a learner's career, since a mother tongue based bilingual education is the best option. A dual medium instruction may be started at any time but should not replace the teaching of literacy in the mother tongue.

Keywords: dual medium, literacy, biliteracy, mother tongue-based bilingual education

A Definition of the Dual Medium Approach and Mother-Tongue Based Bilingual Education

Mother tongue based bilingual education (MTBBE) is *bilingual education based on the mother tongue with the mother tongue* as referring to a child's principal language (Alexander 2009). Furthermore, Alexander argues that in Africa the cultural-political interests of proponents of mother tongue based bilingual education intersect with the position that the status and the market value of the target language are a significant incentive to motivate the learning of the relevant additional language and that more attention should, thus, be given to the intra- and extra-mural conditions that characterize good additional language learning.

A dual medium curriculum combines teaching in a learner's home language with teaching in an additional language. It contains the pedagogical advantages of home language teaching and learning with maximal opportunities in gaining proficiency in English (Plüddemann 2002:47). The

dual medium approach is premised on mother tongue foundations. As a teaching approach, it does not need to be introduced from the first grade of schooling but can be delayed, and used after learners have gained a firm foundation in their mother tongue. It can be introduced at any time when teachers feel that learners have confidently gained adequate knowledge of their mother tongue as well as when they feel that the home language is not threatened by another language. Although some teachers are in favour of a 50/50 dual medium from grade 1, an additional language should be introduced gradually. A scaffolded dual medium approach is a better option because it supports the maintenance of the mother tongue and premises the dual medium approach on mother tongue foundations.

Background, Problem Statement and Rationale

The theme of this article is summarized in the quote, ‘ ... pushing the boundaries and blends of ‘literacy’ and ‘early childhood’ in startling, generative directions’ by Allan Luke (1990).

According to the South African Department of Education (DoE) National Curriculum Statement (NCS), mother tongue is compulsory in the foundation phase (DoE 2002; 2008a). Government interventions regarding the improvement of literacy and numeracy, since observing that South African learners in most primary schools are lacking in these skills, include the Foundations for Learning Campaign and National Reading Strategy, both introduced in 2008.

Firstly, the Foundations for Learning Campaign (DoE 2008) is a four-year campaign to create a national focus to improve the reading, writing and numeracy abilities of all South African children. It seeks to provide energy as well as direction and inspiration across all levels of the education system, as well as in homes and the public domain, to ensure that all learners are able to demonstrate age appropriate levels of literacy and numeracy. The campaign is a national response to national, regional and international studies that have shown over a number of years that South African children are not able to read, write and count at expected levels, and are unable to execute tasks that demonstrate key skills associated with literacy and numeracy. The campaign will provide teachers and schools with clear directives on the Department of Education’s expectations of schools and

teachers to achieve the expected levels of performance. The campaign will also ensure that support is provided towards the achievement of the campaign's objectives.

The Foundations for Learning programme aims to improve the teaching of numeracy and literacy by ensuring that all teachers in grades 1-3 actually teach reading and numeracy skills every day. Daily teacher activities during literacy and numeracy time are suggested in the Foundations for Learning Campaign (DoE 2008a). For example, daily literacy time includes the teaching of oral work, reading and writing focus time, shared reading or shared writing time, word and sentence level work (comprising phonics/spelling, sight words, vocabulary and language), a combination of group, guided and independent reading/writing, handwriting, listening and speaking, and first additional language and reading for enjoyment (DoE 2008a:9).

A *second* notable literacy intervention by the government to improve literacy in schools is the National Reading Strategy (NRS), also introduced in 2008. This strategy aims to improve the reading level of all learners in the country, including those who experience barriers to learning. The government observed that language 'mismatches' make the problem worse because firstly, the language of home and school do not match in many cases. Secondly, the language of the resources at school, e.g. books, posters, generally does not match the home language of the learner. It is on this point that using a dual medium approach caters for teaching of literacy in both the home language and the first additional language. The foundation of teaching literacy in the mother tongue is still prized highly in order to establish a strong foundation for teaching the additional language.

The DoE (1997) works from the premise of maintaining the home language(s) while providing access to and the effective acquisition of additional language(s) i.e. additive bilingualism. This route is a viable approach towards multilingual education. Under-resourcing of schools, the lack of formal training of many primary school teachers and parent antipathy towards educational use of home language (Plüddemann 2002:49) were cited as circumstances mitigating against the use of mother tongue.

The Department of Education (2008a; 2008b) indicate that teacher competency and lack of exposure to reading materials are some of the problems in South Africa in the teaching of literacy. Many teachers in South

Africa have an under-developed understanding of teaching literacy, reading and writing. Too often, teachers know only one method of teaching reading, which may not suit the learning style of all learners. As a result some teachers do not know how to stimulate reading inside and outside the classroom. Additionally, the Monitoring Learning Achievement (MLA) Survey (1999) found that the majority of schools had no access to libraries with appropriate reading materials (DoE 2008b:8).

Compounding the teachers' lack of competence in teaching reading and the lack of materials is the language mismatch between the school language and the home language of learners. The Department of Education's (2008b:9) National Reading Strategy posits that despite the Language-in-Education Policy of 1997, it is still the case that most learners in South Africa do not learn in their mother tongue. Most schools have inadequate language policies which do not address the learning needs of the learners. They do not ensure the right of learners—especially foundation phase learners—to learn in their mother tongue. This is a serious problem. The DoE further observes that foundation phase teachers are generally not taught to teach reading in the home language of African learners and the focus on literacy is shifted to English. Reasons for this anomaly are comprehensively investigated by (de Klerk 2002).

A third observation identified by student teachers in the foundation phase literacy class, which led to this action research study, was the teachers' attitudes towards using an African language such as isiZulu to teach literacy. Student teachers were frustrated during teaching practice at schools because they found that teachers were very reluctant to teach literacy in the mother tongue owing to the great demand for English. Language attitudes determine whether a language can be used effectively in education. Negative attitudes towards using indigenous African languages in education exist. Many studies repeatedly show that the low status of African languages, resulting from Bantu Education, have caused African parents to negatively view the use of African languages in education today as ploy to falsely unleash an inferior education by the educated elite. In spite of the pedagogic gains of using the mother tongue in education, parents in South Africa are uncomfortable with this recommendation. Heugh (2002) and Dyers (2000) discuss parents' attitudes within their studies. Adegbija (1994) writes that during the colonial days in Africa, the use of indigenous languages as the medium of instruction

was limited to the first few years of primary education. In the French and Portuguese territories, the use of African languages was prescribed. Such policies created, in the minds of the students and in the general public, the impression that African languages were inferior and less suitable for use at higher levels of education.

Teachers taught literacy in English and tended to ignore the government's policy for the reasons cited above. Teachers also did not have a clear conceptual understanding of the dual medium approach and pedagogic importance in teaching literacy and they focused on teaching English literacy only. However, I was encouraged by the students' understanding of ways of teaching literacy. I emphasized that they are a new generation of teachers who need to show the way with their understanding of how literacy should be taught by valuing mother tongue literacy. Students also revealed that teachers gave preference to the dual medium approach to teaching Literacy in the foundation phase over mother tongue based literacy teaching.

I explained the value of using the mother tongue in grade R-3, followed by the use of two languages of learning and teaching (LoLT)s later which would improve academic performance across the curriculum. Dual medium education thus constitutes a strong programme for bilingualism and biliteracy. During the module, action research was conducted to reveal the insights and understandings gained from using the dual medium approach. The rationale of teaching using dual medium is recognizing the importance of using the mother tongue in education and especially in the foundation phase FP. The NCS clearly states that mother tongue should be the medium of instruction in the FP in all three learning areas. The language in education policy (LiEP) also promotes mother tongue and policy framework.

The PGCE Programme is a one year pre-service capping programme in the language of the Higher Education Qualifications Framework of preparing teachers. The programme is very compact but this is one route the Department of Education (DoE) has as an initial teacher training in addition to the Bachelor of Education (BEd). There are three core modules in the PGCE FP programme (professional development of teachers, teaching approaches and methods) and three learning areas (numeracy, literacy and life skills). The core modules have a strong emphasis on school management and the design and construction of audiovisual resources, assessment and

barriers to learning. One of the three modules has a unit dealing broadly with language issues in South African classrooms. The three learning areas provide content where specific issues relating to teaching literacy, numeracy and life skills are taught in the FP. So far two FP learning areas are taught in the dual medium approach, namely life skills and literacy.

2008 was the first year in which our Faculty of Education piloted the foundation phase dual medium specialization to PGCE students at UKZN. Two academics teach the literacy module: I teach the module and I am multilingual in isiZulu, SiSwati and English and my colleague is English speaking and is monolingual. We had separate isiZulu lessons and combined lessons taught in English. We had twenty three isiZulu speaking students and eleven English home language students. The English home language students were not taught in a dual medium approach. At the end of the year we had an in-house evaluation of the dual medium approach foundation phase programme and noted some challenges and possible ways of addressing them. Effectively, the dual medium isiZulu literacy module was only taught to isiZulu speaking students. 11 students only attended the English class.

We discussed with students the aims of introducing a dual medium approach in the PGCE Foundation Phase Programme and listened to how the students felt about it. The Language in Education Policy (LiEP) was discussed briefly as students were totally new to this field. Students' awareness was drawn to the additive multilingual language in the Education policy of the Education Department. IsiZulu speaking students were initially reluctant to be in the isiZulu literacy class and wanted to study in the English Literacy class. However, when the Head of School explained the rationale and purpose behind the use of the dual medium, the students agreed. We discussed the dual medium education approach as one of the ways in which we can—and must realize our LiEP.

Theoretical Framework

In defining literacy, Cook-Gumperz (1986) says,

Literacy refers to the ability to create and understand printed messages as well as to the changes that this ability brings about. Yet, at the same time, it connotes an assessment of the usefulness of this

ability. We see that literacy cannot be judged apart from some understanding of the social circumstances and specific historical traditions which affect the way this ability takes root in society.

Furthermore, Bloch (2005:7) states that in terms of early literacy learning, the various methods that tend to be broadly called behaviourist, skills-based or phonics methods fall under this autonomous model. This is the hegemonic model in Africa today—it involves us in talk about ‘spreading literacy’ like a force of good, or ‘eradicating illiteracy’ as if it was a disease or even ‘breaking the back of illiteracy’ as if it were an evil. Bloch argues that:

... the emergent literacy or whole language perspective sees young children constructing their own literacy in personally useful and meaningful ways as part of developmental, personal, social and cultural learning processes. In the second half of the 20th Century, international research into early language and literacy learning undertaken in a range of disciplines led to revised and powerful understandings about how young children who grow up in literate settings come to be literate (2005:7).

Bloch calls for educators and parents to utilize, teach and develop learners’ emergent literacy skills. Emergent literacy researchers emphasize that literacy starts way back before children reach school. They advocate that if literacy is to be made meaningful it must develop emergent literacy skills of learners. The emergent literacy model is a social model because it values home and school literacy practices also known as family literacy. Mother tongue based bilingual education and the dual medium literacy approach use the mother tongue as a springboard which should then be extended to literacy in an additional language. Bloch (2005) explains that more recently, the ideological model, within which perspectives of ‘emergent’ literacy that deal specifically with literacy in early childhood, has come to be situated and has influenced discussion and practice in African development programmes and education for adults and children in both formal and non-formal situations.

Ge (1990) and Street (1984; 1996), prominent figures in the New Literacy Studies’ approach, conceptualize literacy not simply as a set of neutral, technical skills learnt in formal education, but as social practice,

‘implicated in power relations and embedded in cultural meanings and practices’ (Street 1996). Gee and Street give examples to illustrate that (a) there are many forms of literacy practices, that is, cultural ways of utilizing written language; and (b) that literacy practices are always embedded in ideological processes. Street and Gee debunk the ‘literacy myth’ and posit that there are the ‘autonomous’ and ‘ideological’ models of literacy. Street (1996) makes the case for an ‘ideological’ model of literacy, which emphasizes literacy development in a local context, by stressing the effect of the socialization process in the construction of the meaning of literacy for participants. He illustrates how literacy practices are encapsulated within internal and external structures of power and embedded in competing models and assumptions about reading and writing processes, which affect the manner in which new programmes are adopted or rejected.

According to the autonomous model, literacy is identified with being able to read and write formal expository, highly edited, content-oriented, de-contextualized and non-collaborative/individualized texts. The mastery of this form of literacy is assumed to be necessary for economic development, the development of bureaucratic institutions and government. The more widely entrenched ‘autonomous’ model views literacy as being unconnected to any specific context. The ‘ideological’ model sees literacy as social and cultural in nature and forming part of people’s daily life practices. It sees people as having multiple literacies rather than any one single literacy, and these are always ‘... varying according to time and space, but also contested in relations of power’ (Street 2003). Skills are learned as you use them to do something personally meaningful and/or economically useful. The focus is on what people do with literacy from particular political and ideological positions rather than on what literacy can do for people, as it is found in the autonomous model.

Literature Review

According to McGuinness (2005:410),

Reading researchers have failed to take into account the impact of the home environment, the kinds of pre-literacy skills taught at home or in pre-school, and the type of reading instruction the child

received. She says critical environmental factors continue to be ignored even when there is abundant and consistent evidence of their importance. Home instruction in letter-sound correspondences is a major contributor in early reading success, yet this hasn't been accounted for or controlled, even though we have known this for a decade.

McGuinness decries that the emphasis is underpinned by a belief that the deficiency is in the child and not in the environment. McGuinness' critique of the danger of teaching phonological awareness exclusively and the recommendation to replace the top down approach to teaching literacy with a bottom up approach to literacy are further evidence of the inadequacy behaviourist approach to literacy. The recommended ways of teaching literacy emphasize the need for a shift of focus from teaching mechanical reading to a focus on teaching reading for meaning-making. Luke and Freebody, (1990) postulate that for someone to become fully literate a person needs coding competence, semantic competence, pragmatic competence and critical competences. None is sufficient by itself. The ideological model of literacy brings about meaningful uses of literacy as a social process as advocated by its proponents, including Gee (1990), and Street (1984 and 1996).

Cummins (1979; 1991; 1996 & 2000) proposed the 'Developmental Interdependence hypothesis' whereby language learners develop a 'common underlying proficiency' for two or more languages, and transference takes place from the academic skills learned in one language to another. Similarly, literacy skills acquired in the mother tongue transfer across languages (1996:151 - 161). Proponents of mother tongue based bilingual education argue that mother tongue literacy provides a solid foundation for learning to read in the home language as well as reading in an additional language. They argue that a child who has the ability to read in his/her language plus other necessary conditions, such as exposure to print in and out of school, will successfully manage to read in an additional language. Other research conducted by South African researchers (Matjila & Pretorius 2004:4) argue that learners should be given the opportunity to develop academic language proficiency in their home languages in order to provide a sound conceptual and linguistic basis for future learning across all content subjects.

Matjila and Pretorius further explain that reading ability is constituted by decoding and comprehension. Decoding refers to the simple identification of words or the more technical aspects of the reading activity and the latter involves the overall understanding process whereby meaning is constructed within sentence units, between adjacent sentences, and across larger units of text to the meaning of the text as a whole. Matjila and Pretorius observe that literacy is, in many instances, inadequately taught by not promoting comprehension of what is read. They argue that:

During the foundation phase (grades 1-3), children learn the letters of the alphabet and letter sound relationships. They learn to recognize the high frequency of words and read simple texts containing language and thought processes within their experiential frame of reference. By the end of grade 1, learners are estimated to be able to read over 600 words, while they are estimated to be able to understand 4000 to 6000 in spoken language (Matjila & Pretorius 2004:5).

The theoretical framework and literature review discussed so far point out the social uses of literacy within the learner's environment. Local and international literature indicates that social conceptions and interventions of literacy are a key factor in teaching literacy. This article highlights the view that literacy should be made to work for the people in order that they can get things done for themselves, unlike when learners simply demonstrate a skill but cannot use it to solve their own social and economic problems. Furthermore, the theoretical framework points out that any language can be used to teach literacy, but it is in the learners' best interest to use their mother tongue and add an additional language by adopting a dual medium or bilingual approach in teaching literacy.

Research Methodology Adopted in the Study

The introduction of a dual medium approach and its use in the Post-graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) Foundation Phase programme in 2008 was accompanied by action research conducted in my class in order to find out how the dual medium approach was understood and to find out how teachers

in the field understood the importance of the home language and additional language in teaching literacy to young learners. It was also used to identify how teachers understand the National Curricula Statement (NCS) and Departmental policies including the National Reading Strategy and the Foundations for Learning Campaign on the teaching of literacy and numeracy. The respondents in the study were not the PGCE students as such, but were the teachers in schools who were mentoring the students during teaching practice. The teachers were all isiZulu speaking teachers teaching isiZulu speaking learners but taught in schools that called themselves English medium schools. The schools' language policies were conflicted because teaching happened via code-switching between English and isiZulu. IsiZulu was used simultaneously with English as a language for clarifying issues. Participation in the action research project allowed mentors and mentees to engage with the issues of teaching literacy, and information was brought back to the university which in turn facilitated discussions between language teachers. PGCE students shared their newly acquired knowledge and skills with teachers and at the same time also learnt from the qualified teachers. It was an opportunity for reflection and lifelong learning.

Action research is contextualized within a critical paradigm of research and can be both quantitative and qualitative. In the research design and methodology I included specific questions that prompted respondents to discuss pedagogic approaches and socio-cultural issues in education that affect learning of literacy. Without necessarily pushing teachers to comment on aspects of their understanding of social and cultural dimensions of teaching literacy, I hoped to discover if the teachers' pedagogic knowledge base of teaching literacy included socio-cultural understanding related to teaching literacy which the theoretical framework for the study puts forward. The theoretical framework contests the 'autonomous model' of literacy and the idea of 'putting the result of fluency in English at the beginning' by recommending that it is replaced by an ideological model (Gee 1990; Street 1984; 1996).

The methods of data collection used in the study included conducting interviews conducted by isiZulu literacy student teachers with their mentors during their teaching practice. Twenty three isiZulu speaking students were assigned to interview their mentors in the schools they were placed at and were also asked to document responses and relevant information as field

notes about teaching literacy and using isiZulu in the foundation phase. A semi-structured interview questionnaire was provided to be used during interviews. Fourteen students returned with information. Selected questions are analysed below.

The interview schedule comprised the following questions:

- What is/are the home language(s) of learners?
- What is/are the language (s) that teachers use in their classrooms to teach literacy in the foundation phase and reasons?
- What is the teachers' understanding of using two languages in the Foundation Phase?
- What are the challenges of teaching literacy faced by Foundation Phase teachers in schools using isiZulu as a language of learning and teaching LoLT?

Findings

1. Language(s) used by the teachers in their classrooms

13 out of 14 reported that learners in their classes were IsiZulu mother tongue speakers and teachers use the following languages to teach literacy:

- (7) = isiZulu and English equally
- (2) = isiZulu 70% and English 30%
- (4) = isiZulu only
- (1) = No answer
- N=14

2.1 Reasons why teachers use isiZulu and English on a 50:50 ratio in the foundation phase

Respondents indicated that teachers were using isiZulu and English equally because:

- *Both languages are important.*
- *No language should be better than the other.*
- *It would be difficult to communicate with other people who live in KwaZulu-Natal if Zulu only was used because there are those who do not know isiZulu.*

Thabile Mbatha

- *If a child learnt both languages it might help him/her in upper classes.*
- *It is for the good of the child to know at least two languages.*

Reasons were not related to the pedagogy of teaching and developing literacy except the one respondent who said ‘if a child learnt both languages it might help him/her in upper classes’. Teachers did not refer to policy but seemed to use their discretion in deciding on the language for teaching literacy but did not follow the DoE policy guidelines in the National Curriculum Statements and Foundations for Learning Campaign (DoE 2002; 2008).

2.2 Reasons why teachers use isiZulu & English on a 70:30 ratio

- *Because the child’s mother tongue should not be allowed to die.*
- *A learner needs to know more about his/her own language and should not discard his/her own language.*

Even with these teachers no clear rationale, apart from ensuring the survival of isiZulu, was cited. This shows a limited understanding of using isiZulu. These were based on a pedagogic advantage. These reasons seem to border between preservation of isiZulu and gaining knowledge in one’s own language. As with the preceding question, pedagogic knowledge and the DoE guidelines were not quoted.

2.3 Reasons why teachers use isiZulu only

- *Because it is important that when a child starts school he/she first learn his/her language.*
- *Because it is easier to learn another language by comparing them with the mother tongue.*
- *It is the way learning takes place.*
- *It is good for children to be taught in their mother tongue so that they may value their language.*

The responses to the question why teachers used the specified ratios of isiZulu and English when teaching do not propose any pedagogic reason. Although responses from only four respondents may seem insignificant in a

case study, four teachers with an understanding of this nature are valuable. The four teachers' responses in question 2.3 need to be nurtured and extended to other teachers through in-service programmes such as the Advanced Certificate in Education (ACE) and National Professional Diploma in Education (NPDE) programmes.

The importance of mother tongue literacy and mother tongue based bilingual education should be prioritized so as to promote biliteracy in the mother tongue and in English as this is the desire of many teachers, parents and the South African Department of Education. The knowledge gap in relation to why teachers need to teach literacy in the mother tongue was very apparent in the responses. This knowledge gap needs to be addressed through teacher training. This knowledge is specifically needed by the teachers in the province and schools where the study was conducted. A thorough knowledge of teaching literacy will guide teachers in selecting appropriate approaches and a model of teaching literacy and using it correctly.

3.1 Benefits of using isiZulu for teaching reading and writing in the foundation phase

8: Kungayilimaza ingane ukuthi ifunde ngesiZulu kuphela ngoba kufanele ixhumane nabanye abantu.

8: It would disadvantage the child if she learns to read only because he/she needs to communicate with people who do not speak another language.

Findings show that the long-term goals supersede the goals of teaching literacy in the FP. The title of the paper suggests that teachers were concerned with the end result. Their method of getting to the end point was by concentrating on teaching the additional language literacy. The dual medium approach was accepted but it seemed that the focus was in getting to the end point by learners gaining literacy in English even if they lost it in their mother tongue. De Klerk (2002) found similar sentiments concerning English among parents and teachers in the Eastern Cape. The findings reveal that the foundation phase is the time for teaching learners to become literate. However, it seemed that learning to read and write was only for the purpose of learning the literacy skill and not seen as social and cultural in nature and forming part of people's daily life practices. Research evidence suggests that

learning a second/additional language at a younger age does not imply more or less successful learning than when it happens at an older age. In fact, learning literacy in an additional language prematurely without a sound base of the mother tongue is very detrimental. The 2006 Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) study found that grade 6 learners in South Africa were reading below the expected level in both English and their mother tongue.

3.2 Benefits of using isiZulu and English for teaching reading and writing in the foundation phase

5: Noma ekhuluma kahle isiNgisi kuhle asazi naso isiZulu ngoba uma esebenza uzozidinga zombili lezi limi. Akekho umuntu ozolokhu etolika.

5: Even if someone speaks English well he/she needs to know isiZulu too because in the workplace both languages will be needed. No one is going to translate for him/her.

12: Umntwana uba yingcweti ngoba yizona zilimi ezisetshenziswa kakhulu lapha KwaZulu-Natali ezindaweni zokusebenza ngisho nasemphakathini uqobo.

#12: The child will become a language expert because these are the languages predominantly used in the workplace and communities in KwaZulu-Natal.

The respondents provided valid benefits for teaching reading and writing in isiZulu and English. They argued that University Education is offered in English. They added that if reading and writing was taught in both languages children would become experts in both languages. They also hoped that teaching reading and writing in isiZulu and English would end the need for translators and would foster better communication in the workplace. In my view, translators will always be necessary because in reality South Africa is a multilingual county and it is not possible for everyone to speak all the languages of South Africa. The work of translators should not be done away with. The benefit of producing language experts was one issue that showed the teachers' focus on the end point. Not all learners will be language experts *per se*, but learners need to be fluent in their home language as well as in an

additional language. The dual medium approach may adequately facilitate literacy in both languages but to become language experts learners need to acquire additional knowledge at a tertiary institution in order to become linguists and expert language practitioners.

3.3 Benefits of using isiZulu and English for teaching reading and writing in the foundation phase

Respondents indicated, among other things, that;

#14: Umfundi ukhula azi okuningi ngezilimi nanokuthi akwazi ukuqhathanisa indlela ulimi olwakheka ngayo kuzo zombili izilimi.

14: A learner who knows many languages can use them to compare the structure of the two languages

It is my understanding that the foundation phase is not primarily concerned with comparison of language structures but should be mainly concerned with teaching learners how to read, write and count. The preservation of the isiZulu language is the key thing in the FP. IsiZulu does not cause confusion as other people might think. The teachers' understanding of learning a language was learning structural correctness and the preservation of isiZulu as a language. In pedagogic terms, to minimize learners' educational problems, the individual gains from the use of two languages need further exploration with teachers. The benefits of using isiZulu and English extend beyond structural forms and foster the learning process.

4. Challenges faced by teachers when teaching reading and writing in isiZulu in the foundation phase

The following responses were identified:

4 Emphakathini kunabazali abangathandi ukuthi izingane zabo zifundiswe isiZulu abacabanga ukuthi isiZulu asibalukekile.

14 There are parents who do not want their children to be taught isiZulu who say it is unimportant.

Teachers in the sample had accepted what the parents wanted and colluded with them without explaining that the abandonment of mother tongue literacy

is detrimental to their children's education. Parents and teachers tend to focus on the expected end point at the beginning of schooling (foundation phase) rather than understanding how children should get there. In addition to the teachers' and parents' understanding, lack of study material, preference for the dual medium approach in the foundation phase over mother tongue instruction teaching of numeracy in the PGCE foundation phase was constrained by a shortage of staff fluent in isiZulu and English. Since numeracy is taught by a monolingual English speaking academic—therefore, an intervention in that area is needed.

Ways of Addressing the Challenges Faced in Teaching Reading and Writing in the Foundation Phase

1. Training of Bilingual Teachers

It was observed in the National Reading Strategy (NRS) that teachers are not adequately trained to teach literacy in the mother tongue and in additional languages. The respondents in the study strongly argued that the training of qualified bilingual teachers was a way of resolving the challenges stated in the preceding section. The reason was that teachers who are able to teach learners in their mother tongue or first language would alleviate the problems associated with reading and writing in the foundation phase. With findings of the study, I add that teachers who are adequately equipped to teach in the mother tongue and in an additional language will greatly improve teaching of literacy and numeracy skills. This reiterates the view that additive bilingualism is an amenable approach to resolving literacy problems, all other things being equal. Bilingual teachers are an invaluable asset because they can teach in two languages. Dual medium education and additive bilingualism add to raising the status of isiZulu by making it a language that can facilitate the acquisition of literacy skills.

2. Provision of isiZulu Learning Materials

The challenge of the lack of learning materials may be addressed through a concerted effort between the Department of Education and publishers. Local publishers have materials for teaching literacy in African languages but need

to market them vigorously. The Department of Education (DoE) must instruct schools to order these materials for them to use to teach literacy and further invite local publishers to publish teaching materials in isiZulu and support schools in acquiring those materials in isiZulu and other South African languages. Selected terminology and concepts for teaching literacy and life skills in the ECD have been translated during 2008 and 2009 through the South Africa- Norway Tertiary Education Development Program (SANTED), a funded project.

3. Correcting the Misunderstanding that the Dual Medium Approach can Replace Mother Tongue Literacy

It was noted in the findings that pedagogical and conceptual confusion exists among teachers and parents in that they expect that by imitating the end point at the beginning of schooling, learners will become biliterate in isiZulu and English. This assumption is questionable since it assumes that a dual medium approach for literacy instruction may be substituted for mother tongue instruction. Teaching English very early alongside the mother tongue at the foundation phase does not guarantee that learners will eventually become biliterate in English and isiZulu. There is no evidence that the mother tongue retards the learning of English. Instead, as maintained in the common underlying proficiency (CUP) model of the interdependence hypothesis, there is an underlying proficiency in every learner that learning an additional language can be accelerated if learners are very proficient and literate in their mother tongue. Learners develop a 'common underlying proficiency' for two or more languages, and transference takes place from the academic skills learned in one language to another. Similarly, literacy skills acquired in the mother tongue can transfer across languages (Baker 1996:151 - 161). Research indicates that the best model of teaching literacy is by teaching mother tongue literacy as the basis. The dual medium should be based on mother tongue foundations. Workshops for teachers on mother tongue based literacy instruction and campaigns in the province, in partnership with the KwaZulu-Natal Education Department, are recommended to correct the above misunderstanding.

Conclusion

Within the South African context, it has become clear that the lack of mother tongue literacy has compromised learners in ways that have led to low reading skills among learners in levels of learning including tertiary education. The lack of a solid foundation level in mother tongue literacy is detrimental for learners' future reading ability. Using our understanding of Cummins' Development Interdependence and other insights of authors such as Gee (1990), Street (1984; 1996), Cummins (1979; 1991; 1996 & 2000), McGuinness (2005), Alexander (2000 & 2009), Adegbija (1994), and Bloch (2005), there is wide consensus on the value of teaching literacy using the social contexts of learners and especially in the home language of the learners. Literacy in an additional language should also be equally and properly taught using the correct teaching methods. Data in the current study indicates that nine out of fourteen teachers taught literacy in a dual medium because of the pedagogic advantages of teaching literacy in two languages accrued to it (See Section 2.3 of this article). Cummins (1979) fully supports and explains the advantages of literacy taught in the home language and an additional language through the Developmental Interdependence Hypothesis (DIH). Although some teachers were aware of the advantages of literacy taught in the home language, they were in a dilemma due to the hegemony and high demand for English. However, this article argues that the demand should be accompanied with appropriate teaching of an additional language built on a firm foundation of literacy in the mother tongue. The social approach to literacy is amenable to the findings of the study and to the DIH theory.

The findings of the study concur with Alexander's 2009 insights concerning the failures of mother tongue medium teaching across all phases of education, except in a few cases, suggesting that 'mother tongue based bilingual education is the future of all education in a globalizing world'. In spite of the lack of adequate knowledge of the benefits of mother tongue literacy, teachers in the current study preferred teaching literacy in a dual medium over teaching literacy in the mother tongue. Sentiments expressed by the teachers are supported by Alexander (2009), who observes that there is growing consensus among applied language scholars that in future the English language is bound to be an inescapable component on any individual's linguistic repertoire. Dual medium education is essentially a model of attaining biliteracy desired by teachers and other applied language

scholars concerning any individual's language repertoire. The DoE is presently considering the introduction of English in grade 1 whilst also considering the strengths of mother tongue based bilingual education.

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Using African Languages for Teacher Education

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Abstract

This article reports on the use of an African language in an Action Research module which was offered as part of a continuing teacher development certificate programme. The article firstly addresses the role of African languages in teacher education and how African languages can be used as languages of tuition for providing better epistemological access to learning content. Secondly, it touches on teachers' perceptions of the role of the mother tongue in their own professional development and teaching practice. Furthermore, the article argues that investment in African languages at teacher training level is crucial if mother tongue based bilingual education (MTBBE) is to be effectively implemented. It concludes that there is a need for shifts in language attitudes, changes in institutional language policies, investments in staffing as well as teaching and learning resources across the curriculum for the realisation of MTTBE in schools.

Keywords: action research, Advanced Certificate in Education (ACE), African languages, biliteracy, English, isiXhosa, Mother Tongue Based Bilingual Education (MTTBE), teacher education

1. African Languages, Policy and Teacher Education in South Africa

The language of learning and teaching (LoLT) remains one of the most con-

troversial issues in South African education. Three-and-a-half centuries of colonialism and apartheid have resulted in a language regime in which the valorisation of Afrikaans and English came at the expense of the indigenous African languages, which have been systematically excluded from the political economy (Bamgbose 2000). This societal exclusion is reflected in their marginalisation in education at both school and teacher development levels. Depriving children from using the mother tongue as their primary learning resource results in cultural alienation, a lack of self-confidence, and under-achievement (Braam 2004: 37).

Historically, the match between the languages used in teacher education, and those used by teachers in their own classrooms and schools was taken for granted in the case of Afrikaans and English, whose native speakers have for decades been schooled and (teacher-) trained in their respective home languages. Under Bantu Education (1955-1976), African-language speaking teacher trainees were forced to undergo a form of trilingual training that reflected the imposition of the two official languages, while allowing for only a minor role for their mother tongue (Hartshorne 1995). In post-apartheid South Africa, teacher education has come to reflect the societal dominance of English, and the gradual demise of Afrikaans. Despite official multilingualism at the level of the Constitution, the national language-in-education policy for public schools which promotes additive bi/multilingualism (DoE 1997), and other pieces of enabling legislation, African languages continue in practice to be marginalised in both pre-service and in-service teacher education programmes. The principle of aligning the language of tuition for teacher training with the LoLT to be used in schools appears to apply only to dominant languages. To our knowledge the only formal use of an African language in teacher education anywhere in South Africa is at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, which runs a bilingual PGCE programme at Foundation Phase level (Grades R - 3) in which isiZulu is used for tuition and assessment alongside English (Mbatha 2008).

Using African languages for teacher training is one of the most difficult tasks facing post-apartheid South Africa. This is because the hegemony of English in the public sphere (Alexander 2006) profoundly shapes language attitudes, and functions to circumscribe people's language choices. In a globalising world in which the profiling, resourcing and range of functions allocated to English in society and education is unprecedented,

it is evident that in the absence of any strong ideological affiliation to particular languages, instrumentality will guide language choices. That is, language ‘choice’ is to a large extent circumscribed by the linguistic market and the collective habitus (Benson 2008). Recall that for Bourdieu (1991), the process by which society legitimates and gives currency to the languages of the powerful (and marginalises the languages of the oppressed) is a form of symbolic violence in which dominated people are complicit. This complicity resides in the habitus, a set of dispositions or collective mindset that is difficult to change, since it lies largely beyond ‘the usual dichotomy of freedom and constraint’ (1991:55). In South Africa, Gogolin (1997) has identified the monolingual habitus that valorises English as particularly disabling for the majority who speak African languages first.

Aligning the languages of teacher training with the languages of schooling is nevertheless one of the most self-evident tasks for mother tongue based bilingual education (MTBBE) in South Africa. MTBBE assumes that the schooling system is to be based not on a second or a third language, but on learners’ mother tongues (Alexander 2006). At present most African-language speaking children experience a maximum of three years’ of mother tongue education (MTE), before the (on-paper) transition to English in Grade 4. It is well documented that the (oral) use of the home language continues *de facto*, as the transition to English as LoLT in the fourth year of schooling is premature in most African-language contexts. Teachers and learners often collude in a range of compensatory behaviours, including code-switching, rote memorisation, chorusing and safetalk to mask the absence of learning (Arthur 2001; Ferguson 2003; Brock-Utne 2004; Alidou *et al.* 2006). It is also widely recognised even within government circles that the use of the mother tongue for learning for at least the first six Grades represents an essential, if insufficient, step in ensuring literacy and numeracy development (see DoE 2005).

There is solid policy support for the use of African languages in education. National policy in teacher education and development (DoE 2007: 29), for instance, contains the following encouraging if somewhat vague stipulations:

64. Programmes that will improve teachers’ competence in the language of learning and teaching, and in the teaching of literacy and reading

skills in all phases, will be supported.

65. The link between language and learning must be promoted, including the use of indigenous languages. Programmes to promote language use in education will be supported, and all teachers should have the opportunity of learning an indigenous African language.

More concrete guidelines are laid out in the Ministerial report on higher education (MoE 2003). It recommends that each higher education institution should, in partnership with other relevant HEIs, select one or more indigenous African languages to be developed for use in higher education (MoE 2003: 21). In this regard, the University of the Western Cape is one of those identified in relation to the cultivation of isiXhosa. The report also makes the far-reaching recommendation that

higher education institutions, government and the private sector should collaborate in identifying on a regional basis prioritised courses that could be progressively translated into an African language (MoE 2003: 22).

This opens the door for UWC, in partnership with the Western Cape Education Department (WCED), to target teacher education programmes.

The WCED's Language Transformation Plan (2007), which aims at extending the use of mother tongue instruction in primary schools, is an effort at improving the status of marginalised languages in education. As part of the pilot project 15 teachers were enrolled for the Advanced Certificate in Education (ACE): Language Education programme. The bilingual programme is designed to equip participants with appropriate methods to assist them to teach through the medium of English and isiXhosa in the Intermediate Phase (Grades 4-6). It thus aims to foster students' skills in the two languages in order, ultimately, for them to develop biliteracy in their learners. Some adjustments to the existing ACE had to be made to accommodate the LTP's main focus on LoLT.

In the light of the above, this article addresses the critical issue of the role of African languages in teacher education. It touches on how African languages can be used as languages of tuition for better epistemological

access to learning content. The authors taught on several of the ACE modules, using both isiXhosa and English. The main focus of this article is on the Action Research module, co-facilitated by a non-Xhosa-speaking lecturer and a Xhosa-speaking lecturer. Issues that have emerged in subsequent interviews with course participants include the value of mother tongue teaching, the development of a metalanguage in isiXhosa, gaining epistemological access to complex texts, and the freedoms and constraints of language choices in an academic environment dominated by English.

2. Teacher Development and the ACE

Global pressures and changing national priorities tend to affect the structure and functioning of certain sectors such as education, health, and the judiciary. In cases of policy shifts for transformation, the state usually, makes demands on higher education institutions and schools to respond by providing the identified services and skills. In many countries teacher education tends to reflect the areas targeted by the state, such as training in mathematics, science, literacy, and multicultural education (Popkewitz & Pereyra 1993).

In South African education, many changes have taken place over the past 15 years of democracy. In particular, the introduction of the outcomes-based curriculum demanded that changes be made in teacher development with regard to pedagogy, teacher identities and roles to facilitate effective implementation in schools (Grosser & De Waal 2008; Swart & Oswald 2008). Ongoing efforts are being made to induct teachers into the New Curriculum Statement (NCS), but the training does not focus on teachers' epistemological and pedagogical development in terms of conceptual knowledge, creative thinking and innovativeness. In response to the national literacy and numeracy crisis in many South African schools as reflected in the systemic evaluation and PIRLS 2006 results (Howie *et al.* 2007), the Western Cape Education Department developed a Literacy and Numeracy Strategy 2006 - 2016 (WCED 2006), which prioritizes teacher development as a key area in improving teaching and learning in this province.

The Language Transformation Plan (LTP), which is central to this article, is also one of the key features of the WCED's Literacy and Numeracy Strategy (2006). One of the targets of the LTP is to promote the use of the

mother tongue as LoLT to at least the end of Grade 6, preferably through mother tongue based bilingual education (MTBBE). By MTBBE is meant

that the mother tongue is used for learning and an additional language is gradually added and strengthened to the point where it could be the LoLT after a period of say 6 years (WCED 2007:4).

The LTP's emphasis on MTBBE implies that teachers have to be trained to be able to develop learners' literacy skills in at least two of the dominant languages of the Western Cape, namely, English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa. Such a process entails managing the development of learners' mother tongue, the phasing in of the additional language, and the conceptual transfer between the learner's two languages to the point where the additional language could be successfully used as LoLT.

As mentioned earlier, the Advanced Certificate in Education (ACE) was introduced to 15 teachers from different education districts of the Western Cape in response to the LTP in 2007. All the teachers were mother tongue speakers of isiXhosa, the main African (Bantu) language in the Western Cape. The ACE is one of the programmes aiming at continuous professional teacher development as stipulated in the Higher Education Qualifications Framework (2007) and the Norms & Standards (2000). The ACE in bilingual education was offered jointly by the University of the Western Cape (Faculty of Education) and the Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa (PRAESA), based at the University of Cape Town. The qualification was offered over two years of part time study with 10 modules of 12 credits each, and is pitched at level 6 of the National Qualifications Framework (NQF),

According to Korthagen and Kessels (1999) teacher development programmes should emphasize reflective teaching. They should also enable teachers to integrate relevant theories into practice. Following this principle, the ACE curriculum comprised the following modules: (i) Language education practical (Proficiency course); (ii) Language in education policy in schools; (iii) Language learning in classrooms; (iv) Innovative language teaching methodologies; (v) Teaching reading in schools; (vi) Teaching writing in schools; (vii) Language across the curriculum; (viii) Assessing

language competence; (ix) Designing language materials; and (x) Action Research.

The programme also applied the genre-based approach of systemic-functional linguistics while seeking to enable students to develop their learners' literacy and language skills in their home language (isiXhosa) and in the additional language (English). The approach focuses on choices made at different levels of the language system, i.e. how context and role relationships shape language choices. As explained by the 2007 programme convenor¹, aligning the core modules on reading and writing, assessment and language across the curriculum with a genre-based approach to language learning represented a key challenge. It involved adopting a principled approach to literacy and language development that would help learners to control key school text types (not only narrative) in both home and first additional languages. It also sought to support teachers in thinking through the transition from one LoLT to another. Genre-based approaches usefully give teachers a grasp of the textual and linguistic features of widely-used genres, and use a pedagogical framework that moves through stages of modelling and scaffolded support to independent control. Some publishers have promised to support the project by making learning area materials available in Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa to Grade 6.

Thus it was envisaged that through the genre-based approach teachers would be enabled to develop biliteracy skills in their learners, and at the same time manage the transition to English as LoLT by Grade 7 – a new undertaking in teacher education involving African languages in the post-apartheid dispensation.

3. The Action Research Module

A central goal of the Action Research module was to enable teachers to 'find their own voices' (cf. Ball 2003) as teacher-researchers by engaging in an action-reflection cycle about an aspect of their own work. Central to this endeavour was the use of isiXhosa as a language of tuition, classroom discussion, and oral as well as written assessment. The presence of the Xhosa-speaking lecturer, who co-facilitated sessions with the non-Xhosa-

¹ Caroline Kerfoot, in Plüddemann (2007:15).

speaking lecturer, ensured that teachers felt free to exercise their language choice.

It was the monolingual or anglocentric habitus that the Action Research module sought to challenge. Course notes and assessment instructions were provided in both languages, as in the following extract from the assignment handout:

Research problem in context [10 marks]

Identify a problem related to language or literacy in your classroom or school, and think of a way of addressing it. Start by formulating a problem statement. Briefly describe the context in which (where, how, why, to what extent etc.) the problem arose.

Ingxaki esonjululwa lolu phando ngobunjalo bayo [10 amanqaku]
Fumanisa ingxaki enxulumene nolwimi okanye ukufunda nokubhala kwigumbi lakho lokufundisela okanye kwisikolo sakho, ze ucinge ngendlela ongahlangabezana ngayo nayo. Qalisa ngokuthi uqulunqe ingxelo ngale ngxaki. Gqabagqabaza uchaza ngentsusa (phi, njani, kutheni, inobuzaza obungakanani njalo, njalo.) apho ucingela ukuba le ngxaki ivela khona.

All the readings, however, were in English. Assessment took place via coursework in the form of a paired oral presentation in class (25%), and an individual written assignment (75%). The oral presentation was designed to form the basis for the written task.

As to the process, initial contact between students and lecturers took place over two days in April 2008, during which time key concepts and processes were workshopped and relevant video material shown and discussed. The two days ended with students doing paired oral presentations (with obligatory OHP transparencies) on any topic related to language or literacy in their own classroom or at their school. Over the course of the next few months, students were visited in their schools by one or both of the course presenters, to ensure the action research assignment was on track. These visits proved useful in clarifying the nature and scope of the assignment, in providing feedback, and generally in reassuring students. Students were given the option of submitting a draft, which half the class

managed to do. The final version was submitted towards the end of the 2nd semester. Both English and isiXhosa were used as languages of tuition. Students were given the choice of language for assessment. Half the paired oral presentations were delivered in isiXhosa, the other half in English. A similar pattern emerged for the individual written assignments, with 7 students writing in English, 7 in isiXhosa, and 1 in a bilingual combination of the two languages.

It was noticeable that those who chose to write in isiXhosa averaged a creditable 61%, while those who wrote in English achieved a mean of 67%. The bilingual assignment received 62%. While direct comparison of marks between modules is complicated by the fact that some were taught in English only, others in English mainly (with some isiXhosa), and yet others in isiXhosa mainly, there is enough evidence to suggest that the choice of assessment language in this instance benefited the weaker students. It was this group that chose to write in isiXhosa – a choice that enabled them to avoid having to deal with the double load of the content and the lesser-known language. After a detailed discussion of marking criteria, the non-Xhosa-speaking lecturer marked the English assignments and the Xhosa-speaking lecturer marked those written (wholly or in part) in isiXhosa. External moderation was done by a critically supportive native English-speaker, who was frank enough to acknowledge her limitations in isiXhosa and who recommended that someone fluent in isiXhosa should be asked to moderate the module in future.

4. Teacher Voices on African Languages

Several months after the completion of the action research module, we separately interviewed three teachers who had written their assignments in isiXhosa, either wholly or in part. Selection criteria included language choice exercised in the written assignment, as well as simple availability. The fact that the sample cannot be said to be scientific constitutes a limitation of the research. While this does not invalidate the findings, it does mean that they cannot readily be generalised beyond the cases in question.

Ms P and Ms M are Grade 5 educators at primary schools in two of Cape Town's oldest townships. Both school communities are characterised by linguistic homogeneity in that almost all learners and teachers have

isiXhosa as a home language. The schools are participants in the WCED's LTP pilot programme, which seeks to extend the use of the home language as LoLT beyond Grade 3, i.e. to move schools from an early-transitional to a late-transitional bilingual model. Ms Y, on the other hand, is a Grade 3 teacher in a multilingual school in which the isiXhosa-speaking majority were until recently deprived of the educational use of their MT in a straight-for-English immersion model, partly because half the teaching staff were Afrikaans- and/or English- (and non-Xhosa-) speaking. In 2007 the school, inspired by language transformation, introduced a parallel isiXhosa MT stream in one of the Grade 1 classes, which by 2009 had moved up to Grade 3; and a greater proportion of teachers now are Xhosa-speaking. Ms Y has been instrumental in ongoing efforts at revising the school's language policy and securing a MT-based education, a process that has entailed considerable advocacy in the school community. A key factor has been a series of meetings addressed by teachers, community leaders and even the provincial education minister, in which parents were enabled to shift away from an English-only orientation.

The interview questions posed to the three teachers centred on having written the assignment in isiXhosa: the reasons for doing so, the challenges involved, the usefulness or otherwise of the readings, and the lessons learnt from the experience. The Xhosa-speaking lecturer, who had played a supportive role in teaching the module and a key role in assessing it, did the interviews in isiXhosa.

Mother Tongue Teaching: Value and Terminology Challenges

In the first extract Ms P, who produced a very good assignment, comments on the motivating and capacitating effect of the use of isiXhosa in the ACE programme, and on its favourable impact on her own teaching.

[Ms P] 'Ndingathi le course ith e yasinceda kakhulu ekufundiseni abantwana bethu ngolwimi lwesiXhosa. Abantwana bethu bekukhe kuqala kwanzima kakhulu xa besiqala ukufundisa ngolwimi lweenkobe. Ubuye ufumanise ukuba amanye amagama kunzima kwalapha kuthi ukuwabiza. Bekuye kufuneke sithathe iincwadi ezibhalwe ngesiNgesi sizibhale sizise esiXhoseni.'

(I would say the course has helped us a lot in teaching our children in isiXhosa. At one stage it was very difficult when we began teaching in the mother tongue. You would notice that some words were difficult even for us [teachers] to pronounce [meaning they do not have isiXhosa equivalent of the words – author3]. It was necessary to take books written in English and translate them directly into isiXhosa.)

In the absence of textbooks in isiXhosa, Ms P reports that the course helped her realise MTE in her own class by encouraging her to begin translating scientific concepts while ensuring equivalence of meaning. That is to say, the programme effectively gave her the confidence to become a translator and terminology developer for educational materials, a role not envisaged by the already onerous Norms and Standards for Educators².

Providing a Metalanguage

The ACE programme also appears to have provided teachers with a metalanguage, as the following extract shows:

[Ms P] *‘Ewe ndizakutsho ndithi isivulile kuba ngamanye amaxesha ubuye uyithathe into uyititshe apha eklasini ube ungayazi ukuba yintoni na. Umzekelo ezanto ze, zegenre besizenza kodwa ube ungayazi ukuba wenza ntoni na, isincede kakhulu, satsho sakwazi ukuziqhaphela nozahlula izinto.’*

(Yes I would say it opened our eyes because sometimes we would take something and teach it without knowing what you are teaching. For example those things of genres, we were doing them without knowing. This helped us a lot, made us notice and differentiate between things.)

² The ten roles prescribed by the Norms and Standards for Educators are: mediator of learning; interpreter and designer of learning programmes and materials; leader; administrator and manager; scholar; researcher and lifelong learner; community member; citizen and pastor; assessor; subject specialist.

The reference to genres is no accident, as the programme consciously used a text-based approach that drew attention to the structural and linguistic features of different text types, and highlighted the need to scaffold learning by means of simple writing frames³. The programme thus provided a discourse that gave participants the ‘aha experience’ of recognising their own work, as if for the first time.

Coping with Complex (English) Texts

Asked to comment on whether the fact that the readings were in English caused her difficulties, Ms M expresses her self with disarming frankness:

[Ms M] Ewe iye yanika ingxaki enkulu le nto kwaye nolwimi oluthe lwasetyenziswa beluntsokothile kakhulu. Ukuba besingathanga safumana la chance yokuba itolikwe, itolikelwe esiXhoseni. Nemibuzo le (Action research essay instructions) ubuye ufumanise ukuba ubungazi kukwazi ukuphendula le nto ibuzwayo ngenxa yokuntsokotha kolwimi but ngenxa yokuba icacisiwe ke ngoku uyakwazi ukuyiphendula. Mna khange indi confusanga konke konke koko kube khona indicacela ngakumbi.

(Yes this thing [readings in English] posed a big problem and the language used was very complicated. If we were not given the chance to translate, if they had not been translated into isiXhosa... Even the questions [Action research assignment instructions] ... one was not going to be able to answer what is being asked because of the complexity of the language. But because it has been explained now one is able to answer it. The use of isiXhosa did not confuse me at all, instead it made things clearer.)

It is clear that Ms M experiences the texts as difficult and ‘very complicated’ for two distinct, yet intersecting reasons. Firstly, the texts are in English, a language in which she feels decidedly less comfortable than in her mother

³ These writing frames were taken from Lewis and Wray (1998), and Lewis and Wray (2002), and translated into isiXhosa by the Xhosa-speaking facilitator.

tongue, isiXhosa. Secondly, they are complex texts written in an academic register with which she is unfamiliar. As presenters we sought to address this language/discourse nexus by translating the assignment guide into isiXhosa, and by visiting each teacher at her school, explaining what was required (in isiXhosa and English) and checking on progress towards the assignment. Ms M leaves her interviewer in no doubt that the use of English in a context she experiences as cognitively demanding is confusing, and that it was only the fact that the explanation was in isiXhosa that cleared things up for her: ‘The use of isiXhosa did not confuse me at all, instead it made things clearer.’ We return to this issue in the discussion, below.

Emancipatory Effects of Mother Tongue Use

In the following extract Ms M points to the unmet expectation that the ACE programme would enact its commitment to mother tongue based bilingual education by using mainly isiXhosa as a language of tuition.

[Ms M] ‘Ndingathi mna okokuqala icourse le yethu although ibiyicourse yelanguage transformation ibigxile kakhulu kwiEnglish ze sithi ke ngoku sakuba free ukuba singasebenzisa ulwimi lwethu, then ootitshala ubuye ubone ukuba bayathakazelela. Ndathi ke mna le nto iyafana nale yenzeka apha eziklasini zethu kuba ubuye uthi the minute abantwana befundiswa ngolwimi lwabo baba free bekubonakala ke nakootitshala kuba bekuthi kwakuthiwa umntu makathethe ulwimi aluthandayo, bebethatha inxaxheba.’

(I would say to begin with: this course of ours, although it was a course on language transformation plan it was mainly in English so whenever we got a chance to be free to use our language, you would then see that teachers are enthusiastic. This is the same thing happening in our classroom: you would see the minute learners are taught in their mother tongue they become free. This was evident to the teachers as well because once it was said that a person could use a language of choice they immediately participated.)

What is noteworthy is the motivation and sense of emancipation experienced

by course participants when ‘we got the chance to be free in our language’, and the improved participation that resulted. It finds strong resonance in Ms P’s comment that ‘[n]dithe ndakwazi ukuvakalisa izimvo zam khululekileyo ulwimi lunge nguwongo umqobo endleleni yam.’ (I was able to express my views freely, language not being a stumbling block along the way.) Ms M’s reference to the parallel situation in her own primary school classroom merely confirms that the freedom to choose the language of classroom interaction, and hence of learning, is deeply appreciated by children and adult learners alike in a context in which this right has, up to now, been actively suppressed in practice.

Writing Bilingually: Constrained Language Choices

Perhaps the most revealing comment on the choice of language for the Action Research assignment comes from Ms Y, who wrote hers bilingually, alternating between English and isiXhosa sections:

*[Ms Y] ‘Okokuqala titshala ndizakuthi ndibhale ngesiXhosa kuba abazali nootitshala ebe ndisebenzisana nabo ukwenza le research baye bapreferisha isiXhosa kuba iphepha mibuzo ebendilenzile bendilimbale ngazo zombini ezi lwimi isiXhosa nesiNgesi kodwa baye bonke baphendula ngesiXhosa. Kulapho ke ndiye ndagqiba ekubeni mandithathe zonke ezanto bazibhalileyo njengoko zinjalo ndizikhuphele njengoko zinjalo kuba ukuba ndizibhala ngesiNgesi iyakuphuma iyenye into ingeyiyo le bebeyithetha. Into ebangele ukuba ndifake isiNgesi besele ndilungiselela no[*name of non-Xhosa-speaking lecturer*], andifunanga kumenzela nzima kakhulu kuba kwireadings ebendizifunda bezingesiNgesi. Ndithe mandicaphule nakuzo ndingamenzeli nzima kakhulu kule yesiXhosa ukhona ke wena ukumfundela.’*

(Firstly, I decided to write in isiXhosa because parents and teachers I worked with when doing this research preferred isiXhosa. Although [my] questionnaire was both in English and isiXhosa they all answered in isiXhosa. That is when I decided to write everything they wrote as is because if I had written it in English I would have a different product, it would not have been what they were saying. The reason why I included English was to cater for [*name of non-Xhosa-speaking lecturer*]; I did not

want to make things too difficult for him because these readings were in English. I decided to quote from them as they were; I also knew that you [author3] were there for the isiXhosa section.)

Ms Y testifies that her choice of language was determined by several factors, not all of which are made equally explicit. The first is the desire for authenticity and research integrity, in this instance by seeking to align the language in which the fieldwork was conducted with that used for writing up the research. That the parents chose to answer Ms Y's bilingual questionnaire in isiXhosa is significant in itself. In an educational context in which English is so dominant, it indicates that the monolingual habitus has been overcome; the choice of the home language represents a small moment of empowerment. While it is tempting to dismiss Ms Y's claim that 'if I had written it in English I would have a different product, it would not have been what they were saying' as misguided as it seems to negate the possibility of translation, the fact that language itself was central to the issue means that something significant may well have been lost in translation.

Secondly, Ms Y reports that her choice to use English for some sections was done partly out of consideration for the course presenter, whose lack of competence in isiXhosa is hinted at but politely left implicit. It is also an interested position, as Ms Y wanted the benefit of the more experienced lecturer's comments on her draft; her decision to quote from the readings and to discuss them in their original language (English) is thus a deliberate strategy to secure feedback. In this way Ms Y is assured of the critical attention of both lecturers, and skilfully uses their respective strengths to her advantage. Ms Y's assignment thus bears eloquent testimony to a sense of pragmatism as well as to her bilingual repertoire within the same domain.

As the above responses show, the use of isiXhosa for teaching, classroom interaction, course notes and assessment, both orally and in writing, was well received by ACE participants. It is worth pointing out, however, that teachers felt it was important to have options. People appreciated the chance of exercising a choice in the matter of the language of assessment. Those who chose isiXhosa expressed relief at being emancipated from the strictures of English to participate freely, and were empowered to perform better. This does not, of course, mean that the severe problem of teachers' poor conceptual knowledge (Taylor & Vinjevold 1999) is solved;

the change of language of tuition in itself is insufficient to guarantee a quality education. It does imply that the broadening of language of tuition options to include the mother tongue means that one barrier to epistemological access is thereby removed.

5. Conclusions

Teachers and learners alike find their voices and gain in confidence when they are able to process information and negotiate meaning in the language they know best. Being given the choice to do so represent a small victory in the struggle for mother tongue based bilingual education (MTBBE) against the background of hundreds of years of colonial practice and the marginalisation of African languages. The use of isiXhosa as a language of tuition and assessment on the ACE course signals its potential as a language of enskilling in accredited teacher development, a high-status domain traditionally reserved for English and Afrikaans. The subjective element of empowerment in the accounts reported on, above, is unmistakable. There are clear overtones that the use of African languages in teacher education brings with it not only better cognition, but also a sense of relief at having the chance to ‘feel at home’ in a familiar language. The use of two languages in one written assignment challenges the monolingual habitus in general, and the standard language ideology in particular (cf. Stroud 2002). It also testifies to the pragmatic ‘readiness for action’ part of language attitudes (Baker 1992), and has definite potential in a multilingual environment in which most teachers speak an African language first whereas most texts are still in English.

In the context of the WCED’s Language Transformation Plan, the successful albeit ad-hoc use of isiXhosa in the course points to the desirability of aligning the language(s) of tuition with the language(s) teachers are expected to use in the classroom. As a WCED review (2009) of the ACE puts it,

The ACE course should model its message Some lecturers made an effort to co-teach and accepted assignments in isiXhosa. A refusal to do this can make a very powerful statement to the students about the valuing of the learner’s language.

Valorising the mother tongue in a systematic MTBBE programme is an essential, if arduous, undertaking. It will require shifts in language attitudes, changes in institutional language policies, investments in staffing (including external moderation) as well as teaching and learning resources across the curriculum – language cultivation, in short, on the levels of corpus, status and acquisition planning. While the investment in African languages at teacher training level will have to be substantial for the foreseeable future if it is to give expression to MTBBE, it has to be weighed against the ‘counterfactual’, the cost of not doing so and continuing with business as usual (Grin 2005).

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Mother Tongue Teaching at the University of KwaZulu-Natal: Opportunities and Threats

Nontokozi Mashiya

Abstract

The paper presents my experiences of teaching Life Skills using isiZulu as the Language of Learning and Teaching (LoLT) to Post-Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) students, who were specializing in the Foundation Phase (FP) in 2008 and 2009 at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. The aim of the article is to reflect on the opportunities and threats encountered during the implementation process with these two cohorts. During contact sessions, new experiences were recorded and were then analysed and two categories were formed. Under each category themes were developed and experiences were distributed accordingly. The findings demonstrate the opportunities such as increase in vocabulary, good performance and high students' involvement in class activities. The study indicated time constraints, shortage of expertise and negative attitudes as the threats of using isiZulu as LoLT in higher education. The study also suggests recommendations that would strengthen the initiative.

Keywords: mother tongue, Language of Learning and Teaching (LoLT), University (Higher Education), students, opportunities, threats, Foundation phase

Introduction and Background

The transformation agenda in South African universities has had many effects. One of these is the formulation of a language policy which addresses

the needs of the communities served. The University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) drew up its language policy in compliance with the needs of the province in which it is situated. The UKZN Language Policy of 2006 capitalizes on the use of isiZulu as a language of learning and teaching (LoLT). Its main goal is to be the key player in the successful implementation of this policy (UKZN 2006: 1). Balfour (2006: 1) the then chairperson of the university's language policy argues that language lies at the heart of education transformation. According to Balfour (2006:1), '*the UKZN policy is a key aspect of what transformation must mean to all participants in education in KwaZulu-Natal*'. It is against this background that the Faculty of Education decided to offer Literacy and Life Skills (two of the three Foundation Phase specialization modules) in a dual medium of instruction (English and isiZulu). Of all the universities in South Africa, UKZN is one of the few who are implementing the policy as the Language Policy Framework for South African Higher Education (LPFSAHE) states:

While most institutions are committed in their language policy documents to the development of the relevant indigenous languages, only two or three can be said to be doing something practical in order to promote their use as Languages of Tuition (Council on Higher Education 2001).

This is so because the university wishes to be the key player in the successful implementation of the policy (UKZN 2006) and in transformation as such. There are two main instruments that the university uses to promote multilingualism and the use of African languages. The first one is the South Africa-Norway Tertiary Education Development Programme (SANTED). This was initiated in 2007 as a way of responding to the policy. This project offered the Masikhulume programme where communicative isiZulu is taught to English speaking students and staff. The aim of the programme was to promote isiZulu proficiency and to produce teachers who can interact professionally in both languages (isiZulu and English).

The second instrument is the PGCE/FP qualification where some of the modules are offered in isiZulu. The purpose of using isiZulu as the LoLT at UKZN is twofold. Besides the need to transform and promote multilingualism and the use of African languages as the LPFSAHE (2001)

states, the university seeks to comply with the Department of Education's (DoE) Language in Education Policy (LiEP) of 1997, which stipulates that a child at the Foundation Phase has to be taught in mother tongue. The LiEP recommends an additive approach to teaching (DoE 1997). To produce teachers who are in a good position to implement this policy, the Faculty had to take a clear stance of teaching in mother tongue (MT), to enable these graduates to plan, develop resources and teach in a language of the child. Besides using isiZulu as LoLT the UKZN policy stipulates the need to develop isiZulu to the level where it can be used for research as well (Ndimande-Hlongwa, Balfour, Mkhize & Engelbrecht 2010). The UKZN policy chose isiZulu because it is the dominant language of the province (KwaZulu-Natal) and a national lingua franca, a language that is widely spoken across the country (South Africa). Moodley (2009) confirms that UKZN has the majority of 57% of African Language speakers and she also states that the majority are isiZulu speakers.

The offering of some modules in isiZulu started in 2008 when a new PGCE/FP qualification was introduced. The first cohort had forty six students, only thirty six students registered Life Skills as one of their electives and of the thirty six students twenty one chose to study in isiZulu. The second cohort had thirty two students and of the thirty two students isiZulu class had only twelve. These students were entitled to three electives which are Foundation Phase specialisation, two are offered in a dual medium of instruction, and these are Life Skills and Literacy. The content taught to two groups of students is the same for both groups. The classroom methods include discussions, lectures, presentations by students, and they were also given activities to develop resources (projects) tests and at the end of the year examinations were administered to them. Another key point to those who undertook their training in isiZulu was to do their teaching practice in schools where isiZulu is the LoLT. Papers set for examination and tests consisted of two sections, English as Section A and isiZulu as Section B. Students were given equal opportunities in all their activities.

What is a Mother Tongue?

Alexander (2009: 2) describes a mother tongue as the language that the child knows best when they first come into contact with the school. Teaching a

learner through that language therefore has advantages. The Faculty of Education at the University views the need to teach in mother tongue as an important consideration. It takes into account that the practice has the benefit of expanding cognitive skills for students as they learn through the language they best understand (Alexander 2009). If they learn in such a climate they are in a better position to apply the skills gained. According to DoE (1997) there is a wide range of ideas that exist towards multilingual education, ranging from opinions supporting the cognitive benefits and cost-effectiveness of teaching through one medium (home language) and learning additional languages as subjects (DoE 1997: 2). The aim of the LiEP is to maintain and develop the home language while providing access to and effective attainment of additional languages as the policy insists (DoE 1997: 3).

The General Impacts of Mother Tongue Teaching

Alexander (2009: 2) asserts that chances of success are increased many times for the majority of the learners if the LoLT is the mother tongue. For learners to attain this level, suitable teachers are those who are well-grounded in the language and in teaching through it, as Alexander states (2009: 2). Therefore, this programme is aimed at producing a kind of a teacher who will be highly equipped to implement the LiEP.

Moreover, Kincholoe (2008: 2) in his study on critical pedagogy urges that a social and educational vision of justice and equality should be the foundation of all education. Grandish (2009) argues specifically that the government and teachers are depriving the youth of their basic linguistic rights by not providing mother tongue teaching through the language of a learner or giving them an opportunity to choose. This practice acknowledges the rights of students and learners in schools. Through this practice, the principle of inclusion is being acknowledged as well as democracy in education. This is supported by Kincheloe (2008: 2), who states that education should not hurt students but it should promote emancipatory change and the cultivation of the intellect.

Studies on the African continent by researchers such as Ejieh (2004: 74), Iyamu and Ogiegbaen (2007:100), and Aliyu (2008) bear testimony to the benefits of mother tongue teaching. Ejieh (2004:74) and Kamwangamalu (2000:122) state that children will gain culturally, socially, linguistically and

cognitively through the use of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction throughout the six years of primary school, and that they will have improved English based on a well-developed first language. Ejieh (2004) stresses the importance of a well trained English language teacher so that learners gain a good command of English. Alexander (2009) further states the advantages of using mother tongue as the LoLT. He maintains that if it is the same as the home language, there is a natural continuity between the home and the school, therefore performance will flourish. Iyamu and Ogiegbaen (2007: 100) confirm that the mother tongue provides a more rewarding learning atmosphere as school learning and experience become an extension of home experience, and this is a condition that guarantees cognitive balance and good performance.

Kamwangamalu (2000: 121), Neke (2005: 75), and Iyamu and Ogiegbaen (2007: 100) claim that teaching in mother tongue makes lessons more interesting. They also claim that teaching in the mother tongue improves the quality of education and preserves the language. This is because a mother tongue is the language which a person has acquired in early years (Alexander 2009) and which eventually becomes his other instrument of thought and communication, (Kamwangamalu 2000: 121). In Tanzania, Kiswahili has been used as a medium of instruction in primary education and has catered for a large student population with great success, compared to the use of English in the high schools (Neke 2005:76). This supports the point that learners learn best in their own language.

While the practice has many benefits there is also a cautionary side to it, and several challenges are experienced in the process. Kunene (2009: 1) reveals challenges faced in the implementation of the LiEP in schools. Parents' perceptions, school enrolment, teachers' attitudes and views, teachers' limitations, didactic competence, and learning and teaching support materials (LTSM) were some challenges faced in KwaZulu-Natal. Parents view English as a status symbol. Therefore they do not want their children to be subjected to isiZulu as LoLT since this will interfere with the preferred language. To keep the enrolment high in schools (since there is a monetary incentive accompanying huge enrolments), English has to be used at the expense of the home language (HL) to attract parents. The issue of attitudes is a challenge at school and at the higher education level (Hlongwa 2009). Govender (2009: 11) reports that at the University of Limpopo a bilingual

degree was launched and staff from monolingual disciplines threatened its sustainability. People look down upon their own indigenous languages; they do not believe that their home languages can ever become as developed as English or Afrikaans, as Alexander (2009: 2) asserts. Apart from attitudes, in some institutions mother tongue instruction brings financial constraints (Woldermariam 2007) as some resources need to be developed.

According to MacKenzie (2009: 396), in a study conducted in India, the results show that while access to school has increased and enrolment rates are improving, the dropout rates are still alarmingly high and achievement levels are low. This proves that the practice of learning through the foreign language impacts negatively on the learners' academic performance as Ntombela and Mhlongo (2004: 8) assert. One of the reasons stated is that education is conducted in a language learners do not understand, and thereby exposed to an unfamiliar cultural context. The study also reports that an education which begins in the mother tongue and builds competence in the second language before using it as medium of instruction, consequently cuts down linguistic and cultural barriers faced by students when starting school, is a key factor in raising the educational attainment of speakers of the marginal languages (MacKenzie 2009: 370).

In Ghana, Opuku-Amakwa (2009: 130) asserts that the use of English in classrooms creates anxiety among students and thus hinders effective classroom participation. Though not researched as extensively as schools learning through a foreign language is a challenge to university students and not only to primary and post primary sectors. Singh-Ghuman (2002:48) states that in America, Asian students use to score lower marks than their white counterparts on tests. Some students do not perform to the best of their ability because of their inability to express themselves in writing; a poor listening skill is also a factor. Lam (2002:251) gives evidence of the learner who learnt two languages, Russian and English at the same time. The learner states that his energies were not focused and he did not learn either language well as Lam (2002) states.

Theoretical Framework

Constructionism is the theoretical framework that was used to underpin this study. According to Crotty (1998: 42) constructionism is a theory on how learning occurs. He describes constructionism as:

the view that all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context.

The practice of using indigenous languages as languages of learning and teaching (LoLT) is new in higher education institutions; therefore it needs to be interpreted and new learnings and meanings should be attached to it so as to improve the quality. Crotty (1998:43) claims that meanings are constructed by human beings as they engage with the world they are interpreting. The experience of teaching through isiZulu could have wider implications for higher education in multilingual contexts, if interpreted properly. Constructivist approaches, according to Woolfolk (2001: 330), involve authentic or real life tasks, social negotiation and shared responsibility as part of the learning. My experiences of teaching through isiZulu will be interpreted and new knowledge and meaning will be deduced.

Methodology

The research on which this paper is based falls within the interpretive paradigm. It is a qualitative case study involving students who were doing the PGCE/FP in 2008 and 2009 and I as a lecturer. This paradigm was deemed appropriate because the aim of the article is to interpret the experiences of teaching in isiZulu and make meaning out of it. The entire paper drew on lived experiences (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2000: 268) of lecturing in isiZulu.

To gather data, my personal experiences of being involved in teaching Life Skills in isiZulu were listed in a note book during contact sessions and any other time when engaging with Life Skills work (students work, marking or preparation). These experiences were compressed into categories which led to the emergence of two definite themes: opportunities and threats. Under opportunities, themes like freedom of expression, participation, increased vocabulary and performance emerged, whereas under threats, themes such as time constraints, lack of expertise, amount of work, shortage of staff appeared and attitudes, terminology and resources were discovered. These experiences were recorded during and after the Life Skills

classroom discussion, depending on what was interesting during that particular session. Some experiences were recorded spontaneously as they occurred outside the lecture room, and were not the product of the contact sessions. This was done from 2008, which was the first year of implementation up to mid year of 2009. The study captures experiences with two cohorts of students.

The aim of the article is to reflect on my experiences of teaching Life Skills to PGCE / FP students in isiZulu. The study seeks to answer two questions:

- What are the opportunities of teaching in mother tongue in higher education (UKZN)?
- What are the threats of teaching in mother tongue in higher education (UKZN)?

Findings

1. Opportunities

1.1 Students' Participation

Students got a chance of expressing themselves freely, without fear of misusing the language. Discussions were lively, resembling a social club. Participation of students was extremely good. We were able to get different views because everyone had something to say. Although this is a good thing, it was time-consuming because it took us too long to arrive at a conclusion or to come to an agreement. Students were able to produce new thoughts in their discussions as they sometimes memorise facts and reproduce them when taught in a foreign language. The richness of the language was displayed in their discussions, where they even used idiomatic expressions.

1.2 Performance

Students performed very well in all their activities. They all passed the examination with good marks than might have been the case if they were assessed in English. Their arguments in the discussion section were of good

quality. Their performance was better than those isiZulu students who preferred to remain in an English class.

1.3 Translation of Terms

The implementation of the policy by teaching through isiZulu has contributed on the translation of terms by the SANTED project. This was a self-enriching activity as we learned new concepts, concepts that are not used in our daily conversation, words that are newly developed, words that were used by indigenous people, or borrowed from other languages or those that just emerged because of the advancement of technology. We got attracted to the term '*incazelojikelele*' an unusual term which means overview. Students used this term more often, it actually excited them.

1.4 Colloquium

The practice of using isiZulu as the LoLT gave rise to the colloquium which was themed "*Mother Tongue teaching in the early years*" this was for the first time the discipline of Early Childhood Education / Foundation Phase to host such an activity. This was aimed at challenging the debates around mother tongue teaching at higher education and school level. The theme was chosen since it is currently a topical issue in South Africa and also this contributed in encouraging school teachers to implement the Language in Education Policy of 1997. This colloquium was a huge success as it was attended by different stakeholders from all parts of the province.

2. Threats

2.1 Time Constraints

Students were given equal amounts of time to complete their activities. I discovered that during tests and examinations, the English group finished work much earlier than the isiZulu group. The IsiZulu group needed extra time. With regard to preparation I noticed that I spent less time in grasping the content of the lecture but preparing transparencies, slides and question papers for tests and examination in isiZulu was time consuming as it was not

easy to identify spelling mistakes because all the words were underlined in red. This resulted to me going through the work over and over again. I had to use the dictionary most of the time to check if the words I used are correct.

2.2 Lack of Expertise

During the examination season, it was difficult to find an external examiner with expertise in the Foundation Phase, as well as in Life Skills and Language (isiZulu). The examiners identified had at least two of the requirements. Most of them had Foundation Phase and Life Skills expertise but did not speak isiZulu. Some had isiZulu, knowledge of Life Skills but no Foundation Phase expertise, and others had isiZulu and Foundation Phase expertise but no knowledge of Life Skills. The situation demanded that we utilize examiners with two of the requirements.

2.3 Amount of Work

Although it is appreciated that students expressed themselves freely, it had an impact on the amount of work they produced compared to the work that was produced by the English class. They even included information that was not necessary. The English group produced a reasonable amount of work whereas the isiZulu group produced large amounts of work. This was caused by the fact that a short word in English becomes long in isiZulu e.g. 'sky' is translated as 'isibhakabhaka' in isiZulu. One word in English can be explained in more than one word in isiZulu, e.g. 'blue' is translated as 'kuluhlaza okusasibhakabhaka', and a short sentence in English turns into a paragraph in isiZulu. This had a negative impact on the marker; a lot of time had to be spent reading large amounts of work.

2.4 Shortage of Staff

The programme is running with the shortage of human resources. Only two members of staff are permanent and are isiZulu speaking and the rest are contracted. Students want to take all three electives in isiZulu, including the

Numeracy module and this is impossible due to this shortage. This has financial constraints to the university.

2.5 Attitude

During the orientation day we inform students that we offer Literacy and Life Skills in two languages, and therefore we encourage isiZulu speaking students to study both modules in isiZulu. Students hold different attitudes towards using isiZulu as LoLT. Some students were not willing to learn through the medium of isiZulu. The Language in Education Policy of 1997 had to be brought to their attention. Some students mentioned that isiZulu is a difficult language to learn through. It is the language of communication only. Most students who had negative attitudes were those who went to multiracial schools (ex-model C schools), and who were good in English. They stated that they were poor in writing isiZulu, that they were able to speak it fluently but not write it correctly.

2.6 Terminology

Terms in isiZulu are underdeveloped. There are many words which do not have isiZulu equivalents. We had to code-switch to English in order to make meaning of what we are learning. We also encountered disagreement between concepts. When we translate a word from English to isiZulu we sometimes end up with another meaning, and when we switch back to English, we encounter a different meaning. For example, for the word facilitator we used the term '*umqondisi*'; when we take the term '*umqondisi*' back to English, we arrive at another meaning—'director'. We also discovered when we use an English-isiZulu dictionary that there are words that we do not know. They seem new and very difficult to grasp and to contextualize them.

There are words which are not used in public in isiZulu. They are labeled as taboo, for example, parts of the body. In English, it is easy to call these parts by their names whereas in isiZulu it is regarded as being disrespectful. A female private part (*vagina*) is called '*cake*' or '*cow*' or '*rabbit* or '*mouse*', depending on a local dialect. A *penis* is called '*stick*'. These

terms might apply to a particular area and in another area they use another term to refer to it. These words sometimes do not convey the actual message to someone you are talking to. This results in confusion among some people as terms are not standardized.

2.7 Resources

A huge, seemingly insurmountable, challenge is the shortage of resources. It is costly to translate the entire set of materials into isiZulu. Students are given materials in English and notes in isiZulu. The curriculum document that is currently being used in the Foundation Phase, the Foundations for Learning is in English. This document has the prepared (scripted) lesson plans for Literacy and Numeracy which student teachers (and even teachers in schools) are to translate before they teach. A Life Orientation document which is used in the teaching of Life Skills is in English only. Student teachers are to translate the assessment standards first before they prepare the lesson. Students sometimes complain of the difficulty of translating the materials into IsiZulu. They even get tempted to write lesson plans, tests and examinations in English.

Discussion

Both opportunities and threats have some implications for students, lecturers and the institution itself. Teaching and learning in mother tongue empowered both the lecturer and the students. As it appears in the data that new words were learnt and this denotes the increase of vocabulary. Students' performance improved as it was noted that isiZulu students who were in the alternative group scored a bit lower marks. And this is the opportunity students were long deprived of, to voice their views during class discussion. In the findings, it is highlighted that class discussions were animated, resembling a social group. This is confirmed in the literature, where Kamwangamalu (2000:122), Janshala (2003), Neke (2005: 75), and Iyamu and Ogiegbaen (2007: 100) claim that teaching in the mother tongue makes lessons interesting. The performance of students fared well, and supports the view of Ejieh (2004:74) and Kamwangamalu (2000:122), who claim that

children will gain culturally, socially, linguistically and cognitively through the use of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction.

However, there were some challenges noted in the implementation process. A challenge such as time constraints, where isiZulu group finished their activities after English group had long finished was pointed out. Lack of expertise is also a cause for concern where an external moderator does not meet all the requirements. Attitudes are also seen as a stumbling block which hinders the development of the programme. Shortage of resources and terminology are serious challenges in using isiZulu as LoLT like all African languages. Some studies also proved that some people hold negative attitudes towards isiZulu being the LoLT (Hlongwa 2009 & Govender 2009), which I also encountered with some PGCE students.

Recommendations and Conclusion

The aim of this article was to reflect on the experiences of teaching in the medium of instruction of isiZulu. This paper highlights some important considerations and potential pitfalls that should be taken into account in order to make the practice of teaching in the mother tongue a feasible one at both levels, the higher education level and the school level. This practice brought an awareness that isiZulu can be used as the LoLT like English and Afrikaans successfully. These learnings are used to strengthen and refine the programme so that in future some challenges are overcome and opportunities increased. From this study it is also learnt that the university managed to change its culture by implementing a language policy which stresses the use of isiZulu.

It is appreciated that students learn in their mother tongue at a Higher Education Institution, which is a very rare practice. However this practice has some implications. First and foremost, it has a huge financial impact in the Faculty of Education. More lecturers with expertise in isiZulu are needed. Students enjoy this initiative; they are therefore questioning why they are not accommodated in the Numeracy module which is learnt in English only. This means that this module has to be offered in isiZulu as well. Attitudes are still a stumbling block in the use of African languages as the LoLT where a group of isiZulu speaking students identifies with English speaking people, regarding their own language as the language of

communication only. More seminars and colloquia need to take place to educate people of the importance of mother tongue teaching.

It is mentioned that students had a freedom of expression that resulted to lively class discussions. At the same time students need to be taught to write academically, and to provide answers that are concise and relevant. This will result to them producing manageable amounts of work which is not time-consuming to the marker. Students could gain more vocabulary if terms are formed so that each English word has its equivalent in isiZulu. Translation of study materials and of high frequency terms is necessary. This includes the translation of curriculum documents, particularly, the Foundations for Learning document and the Life Skills assessment standards. Resources for academic learning and for classroom practice should be made available so that students do not get frustrated during the teaching practicum. The unavailability of resources in the mother tongue (isiZulu) has an impact on the implementation of the UKZN language policy and the DoE LiEP.

Since it is noted that the isiZulu group ran short of time during assessments, it would be better to extend time to accommodate them. Alternatively, they should be restricted to a certain number of words for each question, so that they are on par with the English group. The issues related to the lack of expertise in the moderation of examination question papers are not easy to eliminate. The consideration of two requirements, instead of three, is the only possible solution at the moment.

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Exploring Multilingualism in a Problem-based Learning Setting: Implications for Classroom and Clinical Practice in the Nursing Discipline

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Abstract

This article reports on work-in-progress as part of a larger research study into issues around multilingualism in clinical and classroom learning settings in a nursing context. Students in the caring professions in South Africa are increasingly faced with language barriers in the clinical setting. In South Africa, English and Afrikaans were previously used for language services in the public arena as well as in the private sector in a country where the majority of citizens speak an indigenous African language as their home language. Today, fifteen years after the advent of democracy, indigenous languages and knowledge are still marginalized in daily living spheres which can seriously affect efficacy in the workplace. This situation pertains in spite of the decree by the South African Constitution (1996) that multilingualism should be perceived as a national resource. In this article we explore the issues of multilingualism and cultural diversity in a nursing context, in both clinical and classroom settings, with a focus on the strategies educators and supervisors may use in the classroom to overcome communication barriers identified in the clinical setting. This exploration is presented and analysed within a problem-based education workshop context. We ask whether the language issues of a diverse community can be solved by practising multilingualism in the classroom. Preliminary findings point to the

possibility of effective use of the indigenous languages in these learning settings.

Keywords: learning environment, experiential learning, multilingualism, problem-based education, nursing, language acquisition, terminology development, medium of instruction

Introduction

This article reports on the insights gained from a workshop on multilingualism for the School of Nursing at a South African University. Recent research has found that students in the B. Nursing degree at a University in KwaZulu-Natal experience serious linguistic challenges when they are working in multicultural communities at clinical sites during their experiential learning and practical sessions (Mtshali (2005) cited in Engelbrecht *et al.* 2008: 171-192). These challenges include attitudes and assumptions around language issues in terms of various themes that emerged from the use of Tesch's (1990: 55-72) method of analysis on data from a focused group interview. These themes included the language of colour, translation and interpretation, and walls of language. Two examples of the first theme, language of colour, were instances where African nurses from Francophone countries were assumed to speak Zulu because they were black, and Zulu patients refused to communicate with white and coloured nurses because they presumed that they could neither understand nor speak their language, all of which had a negative effect on care-giving and receiving. An example of the second theme, translation and interpretation, was the common practice of using Zulu student nurses to act as interpreters between Zulu patients and doctors or other nurses, which distracted them from their own duties. Examples of the third theme, walls of language, are instances where language was used to either exclude or include people from communication. As a result of these research findings, a workshop was arranged in order to probe these issues further and to discuss innovative teaching methods which could address the linguistic and learning needs of the students. This is the focus of this article.

The following sections will describe the background and context of the workshop; a consideration of the various theories underpinning the design and analysis of the workshop experience including the framework within which the data from the workshop were analysed and the workshop itself in terms of its content, the selection of participants and the methodology used. The analysis and interpretation of the themes emerging from the workshop will then be presented. The paper will conclude with a discussion on the implications of these findings for a multilingual approach to learning and teaching.

Background and Context

The workshop was conducted as part of a larger project on multilingualism to promote access, retention and successful professional training funded by the South Africa-Norway Tertiary Education Development initiative (SANTED) (Hlongwa *et al.* 2008). This project was a response to the call from the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (South Africa 1996) for the promotion of multilingualism in the new democratic dispensation. In a country with the type of legacy that South Africa has inherited—one of serious linguistic inequality and disadvantage—the need for linguistic transformation, as espoused by the Constitution, is paramount. If we, as educators and language specialists, are to develop an environment in which all our languages may be developed as academic/scientific languages, then the major challenges facing us would include the promotion of African languages as media of education (Webb 2004, 2006; Wildsmith-Cromarty & Young 2006); the study of African languages as first languages (Webb 2009; Batibo 2009); the teaching of African languages as second or third languages (Wildsmith-Cromarty 2009); the learning and teaching of English as an additional language (Murray 2002) and the promotion of multilingualism. The SANTED project has addressed these challenges by exploring ways of implementing multilingualism.

The project's lifespan was three years and involved the development of partnerships between Zulu language specialists and specialists in the selected professional disciplines. The main project objectives were to implement and evaluate a model for sustainable acquisition and usage of Zulu for both professional and academic purposes by teaching staff and

students in higher education and training contexts. The running of workshops on various key areas such as language acquisition, terminology development and multilingualism was part of the project, which included the workshop which is the focus of this paper.

Theoretical Framework

African Languages as Media of Instruction

Because of the prevalence of English as a world language and the demand for it in educational contexts (de Kadt 1993; Bamgbose 2000), multilingual approaches to learning and teaching, especially in the South African context, have only recently begun to appear in the literature. Internationally and locally, English is perceived to be the language of power (Phillipson 1992, Pennycook 2002), with many countries following an *assimilationist* rather than an *additive bilingual* model (Luckett 1995).

This situation is gradually being contested by scholars who realize the value of education through the mother tongue (Bamgbose 2000; Heugh 2003; Batibo 2009). For example, South African researchers have investigated the effects of the introduction of an African language for learning and teaching purposes at secondary level, including the introduction of a multilingual resource book for understanding key concepts in mathematics and science presented in four languages: Xhosa, Zulu, Afrikaans and English (Young *et al.* 2005). In general, though, the language of instruction at primary and secondary schools remains, *de facto*, English, in most schools, with varying degrees of code-switching into the African language for purposes of clarification, explanation or solidarity (Adendorff 1996; Adler 1998; Setati *et al.* 2002; Setati 2005). However, an increasing number of studies on the use of African languages for instructional purposes at tertiary level are beginning to emerge, the most relevant of which are discussed briefly below.

An early study, pre-dating research into the African languages as instructional languages, was Moji's (1998) investigation into the difficulties experienced by African learners and teachers in learning and understanding physics concepts relating to the discipline of Mechanics. Findings from this study showed, broadly, that many terms within a semantic field that were

differentiated in English, such as *momentum*, *force*, *energy*, *friction* and *power*, were largely under-differentiated in the African languages. Most of the informants in his study provided only a single term for the *matla/amandla* related terms ('power/ energy' in Sotho and Zulu respectively) '... presumably because they were seen to mean a single related concept in their mother tongue' (217). Moji further cautions us that unless the development of concepts and terms moves in tandem, African students at tertiary level will either fail, or 'memorise physics concepts and formulae from one level of study to another without understanding' (225). Moji's (1998:224f) main thesis is that much needs to be done to improve the conceptualisation of physics for African teachers and learners:

Not only did the subjects fail to distinguish the differences among several related concepts in the research tasks, but it appeared the research subjects did not even realise that such distinctions existed because they were not named differently in mother tongue. An example of such a group is power, energy, force and momentum.

Moji's position is, however, challenged by Ramani *et al.* (2007), who believe that terminology development can be driven by pedagogy, rather than the other way round. In their study describing the initial conceptualisation and introduction of a dual-medium degree in Northern Sotho and English at the University of Limpopo, they challenge the notion that 'corpus planning should precede acquisition planning' (Ramani *et al.* 2007:207) and make a case for the development of discipline-specific terminology through pedagogic processes which provide students with cognitively challenging tasks for concept development. This study is directly relevant to the current research reported on in this article as it supports the development of resources in the African language through their use as media of instruction. This type of development of terminology was a key activity in the disciplines that took part in the main SANTED project (Hlongwa *et al.* 2008), including the School of Nursing.

A related paper by Modiba (2009) extends Ramani *et al.*'s (2007) study with a specific focus on academic oracy, which, he feels, has been neglected in favour of academic literacy. Modiba finds that the African oracy event is not sufficiently recognised due to the devaluing of African languages

as media of instruction, and the perception that higher order functions of language are only possible in English. He goes on to argue that cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) (Cummins 2003) is deployed in academic contexts where oracy is required. Working within the framework of Cummins' (1996:57) four quadrants which are created on two separate axes—a communication axis moving from context-embedded to context-reduced communication, and a cognitive axis moving from cognitively undemanding to cognitively demanding language tasks—Modiba locates academic oracy in the quadrant representing context-embedded communication but cognitively demanding tasks. Students used their own linguistic resources in order to discuss a newspaper article which challenged them to draw on previous knowledge (context-embedded) which they had to analyse with reference to a theoretical framework (cognitively-demanding). This is very similar to the situation, presented in this paper, in which the student nurses find themselves when they are asked to report on their clinical experiences in class. Having recourse to their own linguistic resources in order to draw on previous knowledge of their experiences would help them meet the cognitive challenge required by the task more effectively. In turn, using the African language in the classroom oracy event would help drive its further development as an academic tool for learning.

Pare's (2006) study focused on various multilingual initiatives undertaken at a South African tertiary institution to determine the feasibility of using African languages as media of instruction at both secondary schools and in the Foundation Year physics course. The initiatives included the translation of physical science examination papers into Northern Sotho, and the translation of the 'Force Concept Inventory' into six languages to Foundation Year physics students. Pare found that, although tertiary level students favour code-switching practices in the classroom for explanation purposes, they do not favour the use of African languages over English for instructional purposes. A further finding which relates to Moji's (1998) study was that instruction through the mother tongue at school leads to the formation of more accurate concepts in physics. Pare recommends the provision of bilingual educational texts for language-related problems. This supports the findings from the present study.

At Rhodes University, the development of Xhosa for Law and Pharmacy is currently underway (Maseko 2009) using a task-based

methodology, while at the same time integrating indigenous knowledge systems into language learning and teaching. In this way, the needs of both L1 and non-L1 Xhosa speakers will be addressed in relation to their specialist disciplines.

Finally, Wildsmith-Cromarty's (2010) study of the implementation of a bilingual approach to learning and teaching at tertiary level, using both Zulu and English in an organic and natural way, aimed to examine the effects of such an approach on student understanding and learning of key disciplinary concepts, and on their performance, both oral and written. The study revealed that students, when free to interact in either language in class, chose the African language to challenge prevailing definitions and understandings of key concepts, thereby extending them to include semantic features derived from an essentially African experience, i.e. the extension of the definition of *mother tongue* to include the language of the Ancestors. In terms of written performance on tasks, findings showed that the use of paraphrase for defining key terms in Zulu in the absence of the relevant terminology in that language, sometimes revealed a deeper understanding of the concepts in question because of the need for greater contextualisation. This may well be a step towards providing greater facilitation for the conceptual understanding alluded to by Moji (1998). The implications of the findings from this study are very relevant to the present one, especially in providing support for the argument that students engage better with disciplinary content when they have access to their own language and can use it for higher order functions such as argumentation, hypothesis-formation and testing, inference, comparison and contrast.

The findings from Wildsmith-Cromarty's (2010) study have resonance with those from an earlier study by Inglis (1993), who recommends the prior articulation of scientific ideas in the mother tongue in order to develop them further into comprehensible English. This idea is directly relevant to the present study which proposes the use of the mother tongue for articulating ideas when reporting on clinical experiences during the reflective activity of the problem based learning cycle.

The above projects all focus on the increasing need for a systematic approach to the use of African languages for instructional purposes. In turn, this will affect teacher education programmes which would benefit from bilingual and multilingual language learning and teaching models.

Problem-based Educational Model

Various overviews of the chronological development of learning/teaching models exist in the literature (Conway 1997; Bastable 2008). They generally move from a description of a behavioural orientation where learning is essentially seen as a stimulus-response type of activity which characterized more 'traditional' teaching methodologies, through a consideration of more cognitive learning models where knowledge input is accommodated within the student's schemata, to the more social learning theories (Vygotsky 1978) which acknowledges the role the social environment plays in the learning process. This is important for practice-focused training in the nursing profession. For example, the use of learning materials such as multi-media software and the clinical laboratory where simulated clinical situations and scenarios are developed, is influenced by social learning theory. The more traditional behaviourist and cognitive models were essentially teacher-focused, whereas social learning theory focused more on the student. However, with what has been termed the 'explosion' of information in the 21st century, greater attention began to be paid to the role of the student in managing this information. This trend led to what has become known as problem-based learning (PBL). This is the model used by the School of Nursing at UKZN.

With reference to theories underpinning this particular educational model, the UKZN School of Nursing subscribes to a progressive, student-centred teaching and learning paradigm. Within this model, the importance of the development of problem solving and critical thinking by experiential, self-directed learning is emphasised (Rossi, 2002). The assumption that students are constructing knowledge by interacting with the environment (Zemelman *et al.* 2005: 10-11) and with each other not only underpins teaching and learning strategies, but is evidenced in the various community-based, problem-based and reflective learning strategies used at various levels in the Basic Nursing degree. Lublin (2003: 3) describes the characteristics of lifelong learners as learners who present with inquiring minds, have the skill of rising above the surrounds to see the bigger picture, are information literate, have a sense of personal agency, take responsibility for themselves and their learning and have a repertoire of learning skills and attitudes that facilitates lifelong learning. These are the types of learners that the School of Nursing wants to develop.

The importance of the clinical environment where students are placed to do their clinical experience cannot be emphasised enough as this is where nursing students are trained and developed to serve the community both locally and in the broader South African context. The clinical placement setting thus becomes the source of information for the student in her/his daily experiential learning. In turn, the content of the group discussions in the classroom is then derived from these experiences (Mtshali (2005) in Uys and Gwele 2005: 171-192). Students in this programme are actively learning from and about the local Zulu and English-speaking communities and they need the language to facilitate this (Engelbrecht *et al.* 2008). This type of process follows Kolb's model of experiential learning developed in 1984 (Miettinen 2000:57) (Figure 1). While the student is observing the clinical environment, she/he is expected to reflect on various aspects of this environment which are then discussed and debated in the classroom. In this manner, the formation of abstract concepts and generalizations are facilitated and the discourse of the discipline is gradually constructed. When the students return to the clinical or community areas, they will be empowered by new knowledge and attitudes, enabling them to experiment with new skills under the supervision of clinical staff and supervisors. At this point, the cycle of experience and reflection begins again (Robinson 2002; Miettinen 2000; Zi Orga 2002).

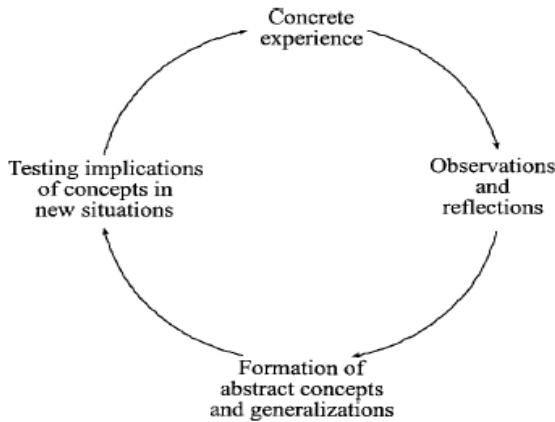


Figure 1. The Lewinian experiential learning model according to Kolb (1984: 21).
(As viewed in Miettinen 2000: 57).

Given that the gradual use of Zulu as a medium of instruction in the nursing partnership discipline is a major goal of the project, the question arises as to how it can be integrated into the classroom context in order to facilitate effective learning and teaching, and how any benefits gained from this experience can transfer to clinical settings. One of the ways this can be achieved is through the particular methodology currently used by the School of Nursing for classroom teaching. The operational model used is problem-based education, a dominant feature of which is that learning in the classroom takes place by conversations which refers to engagement with ideas, theories, opinions and beliefs of others (Dooley 2009: 498). These conversations are fed by the concrete experiences students have been exposed to in the clinical setting. The facilitator's role is to stimulate the students' thinking by teaching them how to ask relevant questions about a given situation or experience and to reflect on practices they have observed, and their responses to these (Mtshali 2005 in Uys and Gwele 2005: 171-192). This conversation is essential for learning to take place (Dooley 2009). However, this interaction can only be truly effective where a common language is used and the balance of power in the classroom is established and maintained. For example, in a teaching setting where English was the medium of instruction within a multilingual group, Dooley (2009) observed that monolingual English speakers did not necessarily engage with second language speakers. She comments as follows:

Rather, they sometimes arbitrate what counts as 'good' English, and reject speakers of so-called 'accented' English as conversational partners (Dooley 2009: 498).

In the current project, it has been observed that in classes consisting of student nurses from various language backgrounds, the English-speaking students tend to take the lead in the conversation, thus not necessarily allowing the non-English speakers to make a contribution. In both the above cases, the non-English language speakers felt marginalised and limited in terms of the contributions they could make. Possible reasons for this could be due to feelings of inhibition and opting not to offer their ideas in the discussion although they might be better prepared for it than their English-speaking peers. With this in mind, facilitating a group bilingually might be a

way of equalising the power relations in the classroom and affording the student nurses an opportunity to share their caring experiences in the most effective way.

In the nursing context, the caring experience itself contains cognitive, emotional, technical and physical aspects which would be best expressed through the mother tongue or primary language (Batibo 2009). When the medium of instruction is only English, first language (L1) speakers tend to have an advantage in reporting on the care-giving experience in the clinical setting, whereas non-English speakers are often silent and withdrawn, feeling constantly disempowered in the classroom setting. However, these are the nurses who probably enjoy the most authentic relationships with their Zulu-speaking patients in the clinical setting as they share both language and cultural richness in their communication. Having access to Zulu to report on and share these clinical experiences in the classroom setting, within the framework of a reflective exercise, lends authenticity to the activity as the experiences are shared through the language in which they occurred. This avoids the problem of translation and the constant mediation of the experience through another language, i.e. English. It also opens up the opportunity for meaningful, interesting, enthusiastic and interactive conversations between the students of both language groups. This, in turn, creates the need for the non-Zulu speakers and nursing educators to learn Zulu. Without knowledge of the language, the care-giving experiences narrated by the Zulu nurses will be lost to them and there will be no meaningful engagement in the conversation cross-culturally.

This brings us to the question of multilingualism in the classroom and the facilitation of a process that will allow a safe environment for language to be used and learnt in the conversations. This is especially important given that nursing educators might not have been prepared for multilingual teaching in their training. Problem-based learning and teaching requires a certain level of CALP in the language for reflection, interpretation of sensory data, deduction and critical engagement. This type of language proficiency can only be built up gradually through repeated exposure to, and use of the language for various tasks. The task that lends itself most readily to this goal is the reflection and reporting activity on student nurses' experiences in the clinical setting. It opens up an opportunity for nursing educators to focus on cross-cultural ways of describing illness (traditional ways of ex-

pressing illness *versus* western, biomedical descriptions) and thus to provide translations of the more common conditions that nurses will encounter and to teach the appropriate terminology for medical conditions in *both* languages (assuming the terms exist). In this way, useful phrases for ‘framing’ the care-giving experience in both languages can gradually be developed and embedded in the discourse. Thus, nurturing the development of thought and knowledge in multiple languages engages both educators and students as constructors of this knowledge and as joint designers of more relevant curricula. This exercise increases their capacity for problem-solving especially through the medium of a familiar language and further brings to light challenges related to the understanding and interpretation of medical discourse.

To return to the classroom context, it is assumed that the learner will only make sense of an experience if it is followed by reflection, which enhances the learner’s sensitivity to observation. This is called *noticing* in the field of language acquisition (Robinson & Ellis 2008). This type of learning is *de facto* more process- than content-based, and requires a high level of proficiency in the language of instruction, which, in the present context, is English. The home languages of the students, however, are diverse, with very few having the instructional language as a home or even primary language (Batibo 2009). This makes it challenging for students to engage in the type of learning processes required by the experiential learning model employed by the School of Nursing. This type of learning would be best facilitated through the use of a language that is familiar to the students, i.e. the home language. For this reason, the focus of the current project is to introduce other languages alongside English for the purposes of learning and teaching in order to better prepare students for the multilingual environments in which they learn and practise. Bilingual facilitation in the classroom can further be used as an opportunity to teach appropriate terminology for medical conditions in both languages.

The workshop to be described in this paper simulated problem-based learning through a case approach by constructing scenarios of possible clinical experiences in order to assist nursing educators to facilitate the reflecting process on the linguistic and cultural issues at play in such settings. Furthermore, it was an initial attempt at raising educators’ awareness of multilingual issues within a progressive educational model which encompasses both clinical and classroom contexts.

The Workshop

The aim of the workshop was to raise awareness of the challenges of multilingualism in the clinical setting and to examine the implications of this for the use of language in the problem-based education classroom.

Selection of Participants

There were twenty participants in the workshop, including the facilitators. The participants were drawn from the following groups:

- Nursing educators from the School of Nursing, especially those involved in teaching the B. Nursing students who are the target group in the SANTED project
- Postgraduate students enrolled for a Masters degree specialising in nursing education. These students have a basic certificate in nursing education
- Educators from the Schools of Medicine and Education with specific interests in multilingualism and problem-based education
- Nursing educators from other tertiary institutions

Methodology

The methodology used in the workshop was informed by the same problem-based, experiential learning model used by the School of Nursing, the principles of which are engagement with ideas, theories, opinions and beliefs through conversations which are fed by the concrete experiences of the educators in the classroom which are informed, in turn, by the students' experiences in the clinical setting (see Figure 1). The facilitators' role was to stimulate reflection on the experiences of the participants in the classroom. The methodology of the workshop thus consisted of a group process in which participants engaged in various activities as part of a group. There were four basic activities. The first activity was designed to raise awareness of the nature of the learners and teachers in the nursing education classroom and whether the language of instruction and methods used (a) facilitated their learning, and (b) prepared them for the clinical experience. It required

participants to reflect on language use in the classroom in terms of the following: participant profiles in relation to the nature of the learners in class, their average age and background languages; the educators and their background languages; challenges regarding the effective use of languages for instructional purposes and solutions to these challenges. This activity was designed to create an understanding of the linguistic and cultural context of the nursing education classroom. Participants were asked to consider the complexities inherent in differences in age, language background and cultural background between lecturers and/or supervisors, and students, and between students themselves. Data showing the kinds of problems that were identified by the participants is presented in the discussion below.

The second activity, using a case approach, presented various workplace scenarios for participants to reflect on and analyse. The scenarios illustrated situations found in the clinical practice areas. Although they simulated real situations, they were compiled by the facilitators and were not taken from the clinical areas directly. The scenarios focused on challenges in language and communication that students could be faced with in nursing practice. Participants worked in groups and each group was given one scenario to analyse in terms of the nature of the participants in the scenario (their age, gender, language and cultural background and education level); the languages used in the scenario, by whom and for which purposes; whether real communication was achieved among the various participants in the scenario; identification of the problems in communication and possible solutions. This process is a method used in the problem-based education model with the students in this specific programme. The data derived from the group discussions were then organised into frameworks of understanding which will be discussed below.

Activity three consisted of an input session on language, discourse and communication in which a communication model was presented; cultural, translation and terminological issues were raised in relation to the use of language and discourse, and the distinction between basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) was raised in relation to the language of instruction. Activity 3 was thus a summary session which provided a theoretical framework for the interpretation of the data derived from the previous discussions.

The fourth and final activity required participants to reflect on what they could learn from the clinical experience regarding language and communication which could have an impact on the language used in the classroom. This included their perceptions of the effectiveness of the language of instruction for learning, the use of more than one language for different purposes, and creative ideas for fostering multilingual and multicultural practices in both classroom and worksite. The implications that multilingualism might have on future nursing education practices both in the classroom and in the clinical setting were reflected on and explored. Most of the workshop sessions were video-taped, transcribed and analysed. The phase of the cycle *action based on data* was omitted as this would need to be carried out in the classroom itself, with further reflection on its effect on learning. This part of the cycle is the next step in the process but is beyond the scope of the present article.

Results and Discussion

A dialogue corpus was created through video and audio recordings of the interactions among the various workshop participants for each activity. The collected data was then subjected to a thematic analysis using the programme NVivo (Richards 2005). The findings from the data analysis will be presented according to the following three themes: cross-cultural issues including multilingualism and cultural perceptions; language of instruction, including language proficiency, language capacity and instrumental motivation, and discourse of power encompassing language of caring, translation/interpreting and language of inclusion/exclusion.

Cross-cultural Issues

Cross-cultural challenges arising in the clinical setting were sometimes embedded in the constructed scenarios for activity 2. The following is an example.

It's a busy Friday night in the emergency unit. An old man was found in Point Road, bleeding from his head. He is restless and disoriented. Student nurse Obambo is on night duty. She feels worried because where she comes
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from in Rwanda she has seen the effects of assaults on elderly people. Dr Naidoo is on night duty and asks Sister Gwala to help translate as the patient is speaking Zulu. Gwala gives Obambo a sharp look and shakes her head disapprovingly.

For the group activity, the participants were asked to identify the kinds of professional, social and cultural problems they could foresee arising out of the scenario. In their reflections, participants identified educational levels, age, colour and language as the crucial issues underlying the communication in the scenario. Their comments included the following:

We saw that the patient is illiterate. He could not communicate in English with the nurse There is a language barrier because an old man was seeing this black girl talking in English ... it was weird for him to see a black nurse only communicating in English

The above comment then led to a fairly heated discussion about foreign Africans working in South African contexts and not being able to speak the local language/s:

You're black-skinned and you should be able to speak Zulu if you are in KwaZulu-Natal, and it never occurred to them (old man and sister) that actually this person is not from South Africa therefore they don't speak Zulu I've come across other Zulu speakers who say that 'she's here ... she needs to learn it (Zulu) because she's black' ... and that is a given ... its like there is no other option for you

The workshop participants have identified the relevant issues arising out of the scenario which is intended to highlight cross-cultural miscommunication. The patient is an elderly Zulu-speaking male who is being attended to by a nurse from a francophone country who does not know Zulu, and a non-Zulu speaking doctor. Although the patient may not necessarily be illiterate, for the participants, the fact that he does not respond to English reflects his educational level. Only the sister speaks Zulu and she resents the fact that she has been asked to intervene in a situation which should have been the

responsibility of the nurse and the doctor. The nurse, being African, could be assumed to have knowledge of the language of her patients. The fact that the sister disapproves of the nurse highlights the issue of cross-cultural perceptions or *language of colour* as identified by Engelbrecht *et al.* (2008). The participants referred to this as a negative *attitude* on the part of the sister, who, they felt ‘... is supposed to assist the student nurse in translating’.

It would appear that multilingual competence for all the professional parties involved would be one solution to the problems inherent in the scenario, especially when working with patients who speak a majority language of the country.

Moving now from the clinical to the classroom setting, participants revealed awareness of the diversity inherent in the linguistic and cultural composition of the classroom in response to activity 1. One group reported as follows:

In our discussion of the student profile, we felt that the classroom was a sort of ‘African Calabash’¹... which included predominantly Zulu students, and we also have Anglo/Francophone international students ... and a small minority of Afrikaans-speaking students

This analysis also extended to the educators whose profile resembled that of the students, i.e. predominantly Zulu with a small minority of speakers of other languages from Europe, South Africa and other parts of Africa. In such a multilingual context, the question of the effective use of language for instructional purposes needs closer examination.

¹ In a typical nursing classroom students are selected in such a way as to reflect the multicultural society the university serves which includes Zulu, Afrikaans and English speaking students, and students from other language groups such as Xhosa, Sotho, Portuguese and French. Furthermore, in an urban setting, we would also be dealing with varieties of these languages. In turn, the educators are also from multilingual backgrounds but use English as primary language of communication. They reflect the official languages of the province they work in, i.e. English, Afrikaans and Zulu.

Language of Instruction

Language Proficiency

Participants agreed that, although English was the main language of instruction, if the educator was Zulu-speaking then explanations of key concepts would normally be in Zulu. However, there was a strong feeling that all students and educators should be able to use Zulu for both explanation and general communication. In addition, groups felt that the students also needed to learn Zulu in order to communicate with the general public. However, doubts were expressed regarding the way Zulu is included in the teaching and learning programme for non-Zulu speakers:

I'm not sure about offering a six-month thing that says you will learn isiZulu—what we should be saying is from 1st year we introduce the language and learn the basic concepts

Participants also felt that language proficiency is 'diluted' as Zulu students do not know their mother tongue (Zulu) well enough to use it for higher cognitive functions, but at the same time they do not necessarily understand English well, which has implications for use in the classroom. The students are thus compromised linguistically when trying to access discipline content. One of the participants remarked as follows:

Students don't necessarily understand English but how sure are we that if they are taught in their home language they will understand?

Participants also felt that it would be helpful to have oral exams in Zulu as a supplement if students experience difficulty in expressing themselves. Participants also voiced a concern that academic writing is a problem for all nurses irrespective of the language used.

Language Capacity

Participants problematised the use of the African languages for instructional purposes. For example, they felt that there was a lack of specialized terminology in the African languages for the purposes of instruction, and also

a lack of material available in those languages. One solution proposed was to continue the use of English as the language of learning and teaching (LoLT), with some explanation provided in Zulu, assuming bilingual competence in both English and Zulu on the part of the lecturer. This is in accordance with the language policy of the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Especially if my home language is Zulu or Xhosa, my language is not wrong, but I'm thinking differently in my language, my language is a strong language and I love my language. We need to take that responsibility ourselves. I see our Indian people are also developing their home languages, children are doing Hindi in schools these days and that was not there not so long ago. We like our languages and it's ok if we help each other to learn the concepts but I don't know how we can get that into academic language.

On the other hand, one group reported a perception that students wished to be educated in English:

... because it gives them more opportunities ... for employment, perhaps accessibility(sic) to the international market in terms of jobs and so on

Thus we have the need for English as an official and international language on one hand, and the need for the use of an African language in local contexts on the other. Ways in which these seemingly contradictory needs can be reconciled are suggested below.

Discourse of Power

Language of Caring

In the hospital settings in South Africa it seems that there are still many challenges regarding the use of the eleven official languages in South Africa and the implementation of this in practice (Ndabezitha 2005). For example, in many medical environments it seems that the language of communication is mainly English, especially in urban contexts. This practice could lead to a

variety of challenges, some of which were highlighted in activity 2 which presented the following scenario for analysis and reflection:

Student Nurse Bhengu was called in by the director of nursing, Mrs McMillan. There was a complaint that she had been speaking Zulu with Mr Moll (a patient) the day before. The nurse explained that she had replied to Mr Moll in Zulu after he started to speak to her in Zulu as they both come from Tugela Ferry. Mrs McMillan warned her that the language policy of the hospital expects all staff to speak to patients in English.

Participants confirmed that this scenario was indeed realistic:

It's a reality, it used to be like that It is still like that!

One of the participants continued:

The sister is more experienced with her clinical practice and the nurse is less experienced so the intervention can be compromised if there is something the sister is not getting

Another participant added:

They came from the same area so that might have made him feel a little more comfortable

Here we see a tension set up between professional practices and caring practices. From a medical point of view, communication between health care specialists and their patients needs to be clear and unambiguous. However, a patient also has the right to feel at ease in the medical setting even if it means using a language that is more familiar and appropriate for that particular context. Another participant attempted to find a solution to this:

The sister needs to explain to ALL nurses why there is a particular policy ... so if people working in the hospital know to differentiate between personal and medical and the reason why there are policies

....

If you are speaking in isiZulu ... I need to know what is going on ... I need to know what you are talking about, so that is why the policy is there it is a way of controlling people

Thus, in terms of the clinical setting, the language of power and control is manifested through the organizational policies of the hospitals. This can conflict with patient-centred caring models and, in the classroom setting, with learner-centred, experiential PBL models.

Translation and Interpreting

An example of one of the themes from Engelbrecht *et al.* (2008), translation and interpreting, was highlighted again by the participants in the workshop. When Zulu nursing students are used as translators, ethical questions are raised about the effective and accurate communication of medical caring practices. Culturally embedded dilemmas develop that might lead to cultural conflict, for example, where a nurse is asked to translate for a Zulu patient who has to go home for a ritual for the ancestors and a western-trained doctor who cannot understand why the patient ignores medical instructions. The nurse sees both sides of the issue and may well modify the message in order to appease both the patient and the doctor, in the process compromising the accuracy of the original message (Engelbrecht *et al.* 2008). In addition to this, it is not necessarily appropriate to ask a first-year nursing student to translate instructions on medical conditions. One of the ethical questions that this situation raises is illustrated by the following:

- *I was concerned the other day because some of the first year nurses had to interpret for a doctor and what does a first year know about medical science? It's a risk! Who takes the responsibility if the nurse cannot interpret correctly—the doctor or the student?*
- *It's the fault of the sister in charge!*

This type of problem could be avoided if all medical personnel have at least some competence in the African language.

Language of Inclusion/ Exclusion

The participants commented on the fact that non-English speaking students tend to keep quiet in a class with native speakers because they may feel inhibited in expressing themselves in English and do not have the confidence to take part in the discussion. They might also fear that native English speakers would tend to correct them:

This addresses the fundamental problem for all students no matter which language you speak—when you are a student, you don't wish to be seen as a stupid one so you don't ask questions even if you don't understand the concept.... you keep quiet, so we need to encourage our students to talk and explain (the subject matter) in isiZulu

This comment echoes that of what Dooley (2009) described in an earlier section of this paper. It highlights the need for competence in the languages of communication in medical settings (both clinical and classroom) by both educators and students so that the latter are free to express themselves in a manner that is conducive to learning and practising professionally.

Reflections on Multilingualism

In the final activity, the implications of multilingualism for future practices in nursing education whether in the class room or in the clinical setting were reflected on and explored. The participants suggested interesting possibilities for methods to facilitate multilingualism in the curriculum. Suggestions included the following:

1. The use of technology and media to facilitate multilingual learning in the form of a clinical lab where pre-recorded material is available in a number of languages, i.e. English, Zulu, Afrikaans or French.
2. The use of peer support for multilingual teaching:

(For example), allow students to go outside to discuss in the language of choice and come back to present (their findings) in the common language that is used in class.

Maybe we could use students who spoke different languages to address perhaps some queries or use the students within the class if another student did (sic.) not understand the English language ... then perhaps you could use other Zulu-speaking students in the class to explain that in the Zulu language and you would need to workshop the teachers to effectively use peer education in multilingual teaching.

3. Cooperation among lecturers from different schools to share terminology and standardize it to avoid confusion:

... lecturers (could) share vocabulary between disciplines and even within the same school ... sometimes the language might be used in a different way with a different meaning (by different lecturers) and that might confuse students ... (so there is) a need maybe to sort of standardize similar meanings ... maybe something like a booklet of terms or on-line facility that people can add words to

We spoke about having a wordbook or phrase book in all the different languages that will help the student understand all the basic concepts maybe for the students in first year (who are) learning basic concepts but then what about our fourth year students who now have to do community service? So a nice phrasebook for them in English, isiZulu, isiXhosa and a bit of French so ... when they do community service, they can actually do basic assessments in whatever language is needed

4. Other language speakers need to learn Zulu to communicate in the classroom and with the public:

there were concerns that many of our clients in nursing and medical education are mainly Zulu-speaking people and yet the language that is used in the classrooms is not Zulu, (so) we thought that there should be classes for English speakers to do Zulu and learn Zulu so they can be able to communicate with their clients when they complete their courses.

5. A *threshold* level of language proficiency in Zulu and English should be expected of facilitators, and if a facilitator is not proficient in Zulu, such as a visiting professor, interpretation facilities should be available.
6. Positive attitudes toward multilingualism and the preserving of the indigenous languages should be encouraged. It was important for the participants that people should have respect for people in other language groups and that people should try to learn and use the indigenous languages.
7. It was also important to encourage students to speak their own languages especially when reporting on clinical experiences and to acknowledge when they do not understand a specific meaning or concept as it is all part of learning.

Conclusion

The above analysis of the themes that emerged from the discussions arising from the various activities and the ensuing summary of solutions to some of these issues demonstrate that the educators appeared to be well aware of the linguistic, cultural, age and gender -related complexities inherent in both the clinical setting and the nursing classroom. In sum, they felt that the use of Zulu as an instructional language would present ‘a *challenge for the lecturers who cannot speak any of the African languages*’ but that we should be moving towards encouraging professional people to learn them so that they may become alternative instructional languages in the classroom.

Finally, the methodology used in the workshop (which is part of PBL) was successful in stimulating reflection, engaging the participants in abstracting ideas and getting them to articulate their understanding of the complexity of language and cultural issues at play in the workplace and in the classroom.

Recommendations

The authors experienced an interesting process of reflection upon layers of

reflection every time we engaged with the workshop, from the planning stage to its facilitation with the nursing educators, to the presentation of a paper at a conference and, finally, to the writing of this paper. These reflections enriched and developed our own understandings of the phenomena, thus our recommendations do not derive solely from the workshop itself but also from our reflective engagement with the process as well as from our involvement with the SANTED project. The authors would thus like to suggest the following strategies that might be implemented by the School of Nursing:

1. Terminology and material development

The availability of terminology in subject materials is very important and should be one of the activities the School of Nursing should continue to develop for the use of students in the school. An interactive website has already been developed as a result of the SANTED project and students and staff should participate in activities to keep this resource dynamic and useful.

2. Acquisition of Zulu

Zulu should become a compulsory course for all students in the B.Nursing degree instead of an elective, which is currently the case. Another strategy would be to implement task-based courses into the experiential learning environment of the students. The School of Nursing could use their well-developed clinical skills lab to facilitate not only clinical competencies, but also the promotion of the use of Zulu at the bedside. This can be done through task-based (Murphy, 2003) Zulu tutorials once or twice a week. The students will learn Zulu using the procedures at the bedside as simulated in the lab. A Zulu language facilitator should be working side by side with the clinical facilitator. This can be done from the first to the fourth year.

3. Narrative-reflective discussion process

After taking Zulu language courses and after sufficient exposure to the clinical skills lab students should have sufficient Zulu proficiency to cope with a reflective and experiential learning process in a multilingual class situation. We would like to suggest that students should narrate their experiences from the clinical setting in Zulu, thereby allowing all students to be exposed to the language while at the same time addressing the power inequity.

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The Teaching and Learning of isiZulu as a Second Language for Professional Purposes at the University of KwaZulu-Natal: A Response to Professional Needs

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Abstract

The article aims to depict how needs analysis has informed the curriculum design of the discipline specific language courses in Nursing and Psychology at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN). It will also demonstrate how isiZulu has been taught as a second language for professional purposes. The article is an outcome of the initiative of the multilingualism project formally known as the South Africa Norwegian Tertiary Education Development Programme (SANTED). SANTED is a joint venture of the Norwegian Agency for Development Co-operation (NORAD), the Department of Education and several South African Higher Education Institutions. The authors argue that there is a link between language as a resource orientation and the need for UKZN graduates in professional programmes to have communicative competence in isiZulu language. According to the language as a resource orientation which is derived from language ecology, languages are a resource that should be managed, developed, and conserved like any other economic resource as stipulated in the 1996 South African Constitution.

Keywords: Curriculum design, discipline specific courses, isiZulu, language

as a resource, language policy, teaching and learning, needs analysis, SANTEd.

Introduction

This article is based on the activities of the project, entitled 'Multilingualism to Promote Access, Retention and Successful Professional Training' which is part of the South African-Norway Tertiary Education Development Programme (SANTEd). SANTEd is a joint venture of the Norwegian Agency for Development Co-operation (NORAD), the Department of Education and several South African Higher Education Institutions. Durban University of Technology (hereafter DUT) is the collaborative partner in the project. At the University of KwaZulu-Natal (hereafter UKZN) the project is located within the School of isiZulu Studies in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Sciences. The project focuses on enabling future graduates in professional disciplines to interact with clients in both English and isiZulu. This follows the work by Pillay and Kramers (2003) which found that while many South African graduates are proficient in their fields of expertise, they are unable to communicate professionally with clientele who speak African languages. The project involves four disciplines: Nursing, Education, Psychology at UKZN and Dental Assisting in DUT. We are not including Dental Assisting in this article because it was based at Durban University of Technology, and our focus is only on UKZN. The objectives of the project are:

1. To develop discipline specific language courses for staff and students.
2. To develop additional staff capacity in communicative teaching methodology for isiZulu and
3. To initiate the development of the requisite disciplinary terminology and related teaching materials in isiZulu.

Some of the objectives follow up on research conducted by Wildsmith (2003) which identified the need for research into the learning and teaching of African languages with an aim to provide greater clarity on the acquisition process. The longer term objective of the project is to produce graduates who

have the capacity to interact professionally and appropriately in both English and isiZulu (Santed 2008). This article focuses on one area of the project i.e. the multi-language acquisition for students and staff in professional programmes such as Health Sciences, Education and Psychology. The article aims to depict how needs analysis has informed the curriculum design of the discipline specific courses in Nursing and Psychology. It will also demonstrate how isiZulu has been taught as a second language for professional purposes. The authors argue that there is a link between the language as a resource orientation (Ruiz 1984) and the need for UKZN graduates in professional programmes to have communicative competence in isiZulu language.

Theoretical Approach

The theoretical foundation of this article is based on the ecology of language paradigm.

Language ecology may be defined as the study of interactions between any given language and its environment. The true environment of a language is the society that uses it as one of its codes. Language exists only in the minds of its users, and it only functions in relating these users to one another and to nature, i.e. their social and natural environment. Part of its ecology is therefore psychological: its interaction with other languages in the minds of bi- and multilingual speakers. Another part of its ecology is sociological: its interaction with the society in which it functions as medium of communication. The ecology of a language is determined primarily by the people who learn it, use it, and transmit it to others (Haugen 1972:325)

Language ecology according to Creese, Martin and Hornberger (2008:1) has increasingly appeared in the literature in a range of guises including discussion related to cognitive development and human interaction, the maintenance and survival of languages, the promotion of linguistic diversity, language policy and planning, language acquisition, language evolution, language ideology, the ecology of (multilingual) classroom interaction and the ecologies of literacy, oracies and discourses. Language policy often adopts

one or more orientations to language ecology, such as: language as a liability/problem, language as a right and language as resource, (Ruiz 1984:17). According to Ruiz (1984:16) orientations are basic to language planning in that they delimit the ways we talk about language and language issues, they determine the basic issues we ask, the conclusions we draw from the data, and even the data themselves. Orientations are related to language attitudes in that they constitute the framework in which attitudes are formed: they help to delimit the range of acceptable attitudes toward language, and to make certain attitudes legitimate. In a multilingual country like South Africa, acquisition of a language or knowledge of more than one language is seen as an asset, a resource to the nation. This article follows language as a resource orientation since it provides direction for the policy-making process. Braam (2004:13) argues that language policy as formulated in the South African Constitution (1996), the Language Plan Task Group (LANGTAG) 1996 report and the Language in Education Policy (LiEP) assume a particular paradigm; namely, that South Africa is characterized by having a diversity of languages, which are a resource that should be developed like any other economic resource. The South African Constitution of 1996 advocates the recognition of language as a resource:

Recognizing 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 (*Constitution* 1996, Act 108).

The concept of language as a resource has been popularized in the planning model of language planning in which language choices are made on strictly economic grounds in much the same way as any other resources in the nation's economy are planned and consumed (Jernudd & Das Gupta 1971:195). It is always important that students make language choices, but sometimes their choices may not be catered for by the institution. In the case of a professional degree, it could be that the professional board does not see the need for a student to learn that language. The language as a resource perspective stresses the advantage of being multilingual. Multilingualism not only gives one access to different cultures and literatures but also allows one to compete for jobs in a much wider market. Cluver (1996:23) maintains that

multi-ethnic countries can be unified into a political state in which common political goals not only unify people but allow them linguistic freedom. This is illustrated by states such as Switzerland in which cultural and linguistic differences are cherished. Cluver (1996:23) uses the example of Australia; the Japanese language as a foreign language in Australia is not seen as a problem but as a resource that enables Australians to do business with Japan more successfully than other countries who try to do business in English. Coming to UKZN, in the professional disciplines, the teaching of isiZulu is a resource because it will enable the students to be more competent in their professions and increase their employment opportunities, especially in the province of KwaZulu-Natal where 80% of the population speaks isiZulu and even in the wider context of South Africa where 25% of the population are isiZulu speakers. It will also enable the graduates to communicate professionally with their clients who speak isiZulu.

The other important theoretical orientation underpinning this article is based on the social constructivist theory. Constructivism in the social sciences has more diverse origins. Vygotsky (1978) provides a psycholinguistic explanation for how learning can be fostered effectively through interactive pedagogical practices. His constructivist theory makes room for an active, involved teacher. He also emphasized the importance of social context for cognitive development. Harry (2003) states that with the constructivist theory, both teachers and learners engage in the active construction of knowledge. In constructivism, teachers look for what learners can generate, demonstrate, and exhibit. According to the social constructivist approach, instructors adapt to the role of facilitators and not teachers (Bauersfeld 1995). This dramatic change of role implies that a facilitator needs to display a totally different set of skills than a teacher (Brownstein 2001). A social constructivist perspective on language learning is that it is a cognitive process. In support of this idea Aristide (2008:6) maintains that the speed of the cognitive process often depends on the learning method selected. Social constructivism emphasizes that learning takes place in a socio-cultural environment and views learners as active contractors of their own learning environment (Mitchell & Myles 1988; cf. also Huang 2009:174).

This article also makes use of intercultural communication theory following theorists such as Ting-Toomey (1999) and Gudykunst (2003). Intercultural communication is becoming a daily reality for a growing portion

of the South African population. According to Gudykunst (2003: 163) intercultural communication is conceptualised as communication between people from different national cultures ... intergenerational communication, communication between members of different social classes, and interracial/interethnic communication. This type of communication therefore unravels the communication process between two or more different cultural groups embedded within a common environment. Ting-Toomey (1999:16) defines intercultural communication as the symbolic exchange process whereby individuals from two (or more) different cultural communities negotiate shared meanings in an interactive situation. Takami (2009) argues that effective communication requires not only language proficiency but also understanding the target culture and it was therefore imperative for us to include aspects of culture that were pertinent to the patient/psychologist or patient/nurse communication.

These theoretical assumptions informed our pedagogy in a number of ways. The participants in the two courses were grouped into pairs because the facilitators encouraged pair work during dialogues. The class sizes made this possible because the number of students ranged from 5 to 20. Pedagogy for some of the courses involved team teaching by isiZulu lecturers. The rationale for this was to facilitate learning employing a direct method of language teaching. Two lecturers had to perform or act when they were teaching, thus avoiding isiZulu to English translation. Using the target language for teaching is effective especially at the beginning of learning a language, but this could not be done for the entire course, as learners had not yet built up sufficient vocabulary in the target language and the lecturers needed to use the students' home language to explain certain concepts.

Team teaching was also useful in the sense that isiZulu is a tonal language, thus requires one to master pronunciation. Students benefited a lot from dialogues between the facilitators and used that as a stepping stone to create their own dialogues. This is very important in isiZulu because when you mispronounce a word it could mean something else, e.g. *beka* (to put) and *-bheka* (to look).

The teaching of specific cultural traits was emphasized in these courses. This was due to the potential for cultural misinformation or miscommunication between either the Psychologist or the Nurse and the client. If a Psychologist does not understand the culture of the people he/she

might not be able to understand different behaviours. To make an example, a patient may come to see a psychologist only to find that the patient is possessed by ancestral spirits. The only person who could assist, in this case is the *sangoma* (a diviner) or a traditional healer. As part of the courses we make the students and staff aware that traditional healers and diviners are part of the community of the Zulu people and are consulted for healing as well.

Three discipline specific language courses for teaching isiZulu as a second language have been developed for Nursing, Psychology and Education at UKZN. The authors will focus on discipline language courses for Nursing and Psychology only, because they were involved in curriculum development and in teaching the courses. Students and staff see the learning of isiZulu as an opportunity for new identity development as seen in the work by Wildsmith (2003) where the teacher and learner assumed multiple identities in order to learn the language and develop further courses in teaching isiZulu as second language. According to Mapi *et al.* (2008:2) an important social identity for service professionals is borne out of the need for a support base, a need to reach out in the work place, which supersedes racial and cultural differences. For example in Nursing: the highly-trained Nurse needs to understand the needs of his/her patients; in Psychology: the Psychologist who needs to interact with potential clients. The authors here will give a little background to the language policy of UKZN as the SANTED project is a pilot initiative to assist with the implementation of the language policy.

The Language Policy of UKZN

After the merger of two institutions, the former University of Natal and the former University of Durban-Westville, the University Senate recommended that a sub-committee be formed to review the language policies of the two former institutions in order to develop a new language policy for the new institution, UKZN. This initiative was in line with the South African Language in Education Policy (1997) and the Language Policy for Higher Education (2002). The university's bilingual language policy was finally approved by council in September 2006. The policy stipulates that isiZulu will be developed to provide students access to the language for research, learning and teaching purposes especially in the nursing, education, psychology, law and commerce professions (Ndimande-Hlongwa 2008:26).

The development of isiZulu is not envisaged as replacing English but rather as enabling students and colleagues to access the language of the majority of people in the province of KwaZulu-Natal and also 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 (Ndimande 2004:71). UKZN language policy is in line with a language-as-resource orientation. Balfour (2007:6) says that the policy attempts to describe how English and isiZulu might come to be further developed and utilized by the University to the benefit of all constituencies of the institution. IsiZulu is a *lingua franca* in South Africa, the preservation, enhancement and promotion of which is critical to intercultural communication. The policy advocates non-discrimination on the basis of isiZulu and this is in keeping with the South African *Language Policy for Higher Education (2002)* and the *Ministerial Committee report (2005)* which investigated the development of indigenous African languages as mediums of instruction in Higher education. The activities of the SANTED Multilingualism project are linked to the implementation plan of the university language policy. To cite one example from the implementation plan on the languages of instruction, it specifies that students and staff will develop communicative competence in isiZulu and English sufficient for academic interaction. It further elaborates that students will achieve cognitive/academic proficiency in English and isiZulu as the language of instruction, sufficient for academic success in their chosen fields of study, appropriate credit-bearing and non-credit bearing language proficiency courses will be made available by the University.

Needs Analysis

A model that was used to inform curriculum design was the needs analysis referred to as the Communication Needs Processor. Advocates of needs analysis are Munby (1978), Straka & Richards (1984), Brindley (1994), Brown (1995), and Kilfoil & van der Walt (1997). Needs analysis addresses many questions about the participant or learner in the communication activity. Jackson (2009) also used needs analysis as a key element in designing English for Academic Purposes (EAP) curriculum. Brown (1995; cf. Wa’Njogu 2006:115) has this to say about needs analysis:

Needs analysis refers to the activities involved in gathering information that will serve as basis for developing a curriculum that will meet the learning needs of a particular group of students.

Needs analysis means an attempt to identify and take into account a multiplicity of effective and cognitive variables which affect learning like learners' attitude, motivation, awareness, personality, wants, expectations, and learning styles (Wa'Njogu 2006). According to Straka and Richards (1984) in Wa'Njogu (2006:117) needs analysis can serve three purposes:

1. It provides a means of obtaining wider input into the content, design, and implementation of a language programme.
2. It can be used in developing goals, objectives and content.
3. It can provide data for reviewing and evaluating an existing programme.

Researchers widely accept as a principle of programme design that needs analysis is a vital prerequisite to the specifications of language learning objectives (Brindley 1994). Kilfoil and van der Walt (1997) maintain that sensitivity to learners' needs is one of the most important considerations in the construction of a communicative course. Before any new language programme is implemented, planners need to ask themselves these questions (Berwick 1994):

1. What educational purposes should the teaching seek to attain? (Objectives)
2. What educational experiences can be provided that are likely to attain these purposes? (Materials)
3. How can these educational experiences be effectively organized? (Sequencing)
4. How can we determine whether these purposes are being attained? (Assessment and evaluation)

In order to address all these questions, different approaches may be used such as design based on an organized body of knowledge; design based on specific competencies; design based on social activities and problems; design based on

cognitive or learning processes; design based on feelings and attitudes; and design based on needs and interests of the learner. In designing the curriculum for professional programmes we considered two approaches, namely: design based on specific competencies and design based on needs and interests of the learner. Design based on specific competencies emphasizes performance objectives and learning of skills for particular purposes. Specification of objectives is a major component of this kind of design, especially in language for specific (special) purposes (LSP) programmes (Wa’Njogu 2006; Berwick 1994). The design based on needs and interests of the learner supports other approaches. It constitutes a strong justification for the decisions planners make about instruction. The most important thing about this approach is that it includes systematic assessment of learners’ language needs, carried out along with learners at appropriate points in the planning and instructional processes (Wa’Njogu 2006). The findings of the needs analysis are presented below.

Most of the participants indicated that apart from isiZulu language they would like to learn culture as well in order to understand attitudes, values and beliefs of their clients or patients. In their response they also indicated that they would like to be able to communicate at a basic level with their clients and patients. They also stated that they would like to increase their employment opportunities so the content must incorporate appropriate work related conversations.

Prior to designing the courses for Nursing and Psychology, we gathered relevant information about the learners using questionnaires which were circulated amongst the participants. The information was gathered through the following parameters: The first parameter was the age, sex, nationality, first language as well as the target language. The target language in this instance was isiZulu. The second parameter was the setting, which concerns time and place as well as the different environments in which the target language will be used as an example, it could be a demanding or culturally different environment. Participants indicated that they would like to know more about cultural norms and practices in relation to their community engagement which would help them to establish rapport. In these disciplines the target language was going to be used in the workplace e.g. in the classroom for teachers, in the clinic for psychologists and in hospitals and communities for Nurses. The third parameter that we considered was interaction, i.e. who the participant would be communicating with. The social

relationships were colleague to colleague, nurse and patient, and psychologist and client. The other important parameter has to do with medium, mode and channel of communication for which learners need to be trained. Reference is being made here to whether the target language will be written, spoken etc. The courses were all face-to-face and four language skills namely; writing, speaking listening and reading were taught.

The next parameter was the dialect. Given the fact that isiZulu has different dialects depending on where it is spoken, we felt that standard written isiZulu language should be taught for writing purposes. At the same time we were aware of the differences between spoken and written language. The other important parameters are communicative event and key. The event concerns what the participant has to do with the language and key concerns how one does the activities. At the end of this the designer arrives at the communicative needs profile. Having taken into consideration the needs of the learners in all three courses that they want to communicate in isiZulu in their different professions, we then decided to draw objectives of the courses as seen below.

Curriculum Design for Professional Courses

Grenfell (2000) asserts that by recognizing 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. The curriculum is therefore designed to include the following:

- Dialogues with new vocabulary.
- Readings with new vocabulary and grammar in their various professional contexts.
- Tasks such as role play, games and information gaps to encourage speaking.
- Music to assist with correct pronunciation.
- Viewing cultural videos in order to learn isiZulu culture.

- Tasks and activities aimed at improving reading skills
- Cultural excursion to promote the use of isiZulu outside the classroom and enhance cultural understanding.

The following course objectives are in line with the professional needs of the students:

- To understand and be able to use frequently used vocabulary, expressions and discourse in professional contexts.
- To improve communicative competence in professional contexts.
- To raise awareness of cross-cultural differences in the professional world and to develop intercultural competence.

Clifford (2008) in his plenary address at the 12th Annual conference of the African Language Teachers Association (ALTA), held in conjunction with the 11th Annual conference of the National Council of Less Commonly Taught Languages (NCOLCTL) in Madison, April 2008, reported 32 127 results of a Google search for language and methods. He finally managed to come up with 75 major second language teaching methodological principles. He believed that a teaching method should be comprehensive, applied across languages and should address a full range of learning outcomes.

Teaching Methods

The two courses developed at UKZN as part of SANTED activities were designed around a number of approaches including Task-Based approach, communicative language teaching, direct method and various other methods. We agree with scholars like Ngwenya (2009:120) that since there is no single methodology that is sufficient on its own to meet all learning and teaching situations, it is advisable to borrow what works from the various available methodologies.

Task-based Language Teaching

There has been a great deal of research and theorizing in the past years on the

use of tasks in language teaching (Prabhu 1987; Visser & Venter 2004; Harmer 2004; Nunan 2005; Hong Gang 2008; Ramani & Joseph 2009). According to Nunan (2005: 13-14):

The task-based approach aims at providing opportunities for learners to experiment with and explore both spoken and written language through learning activities that are designed to engage learners in the authentic, practical and functional use of language for meaningful purposes. Learners are encouraged to activate and use whatever language they already have in the process of completing a task. The use of tasks will also give a clear and purposeful context for the teaching and learning of grammar and other language features as well as skill All in all, the role of task-based learning is to stimulate a natural desire in learners to improve their language competence by challenging them to complete meaningful tasks.

The concept of task as used in the second language learning context should be designed in such a way that it contributes to the accomplishment of specific language learning objectives and promotes successful language acquisition (Visser & Venter 2004). They maintain that the learning and teaching of a language for specific purposes has increasingly become a challenge in multilingual societies in many countries. In South Africa this need has been identified for non-speakers of African languages to acquire communicative competence in an African language. Research into course design for teaching African languages for specific purposes in South Africa needs to become a priority, in order to officially address the needs of adults to learn African languages (Visser & Venter 2004).

Communicative Language Teaching

Communicative language teaching (CLT) a broad, philosophical approach to the language curriculum that draws on the theory and research in linguistics, anthropology, psychology and sociology (Nunan 2005:10). With regard to learning and teaching a foreign language CLT method is mainly about conversation, with very little attention paid to the rules of the language being learned and critical language awareness (Ngwenya 2009:119). In the teaching

of isiZulu in the professional programmes we have used a nuanced version of CLT which maintains that while meaning-focused instruction is important, it is also necessary to teach linguistic forms as well (Brown 2000; Larsen Freeman 2000; Lightbown & Spada 2006). While in a nuanced CLT method it is acknowledged that there is an element of truth in saying that children learn some of the regular and routine aspects of language through imitation, especially at the earliest stages and that drills and role-play could, because of this, be used in an adult class, it is maintained that these should be done as judiciously as possible because they are likely to diminish learners' motivation if they are overused; emphasis should be on creation of meaning in contextualized language. Similarly, nuanced CLT may use some insights from the comprehensible input method such as the truth that exposure is the first step in learning a foreign language, but not lose sight of the fact that practice or conversational interaction has the capacity to force learners to process language at a deeper level where learners are made to confront their failure to verbalise what they want to say, thus drawing their attention to the language forms and notions they have not yet learned.

It is against this background that we designed the discipline specific courses in Nursing and Psychology. In what follows, we review the teaching and learning of isiZulu in two professional disciplines (Nursing and Psychology) that specifically promote multilingualism in the University community and we will also highlight their achievements and challenges.

Teaching and Learning of isiZulu in the School of Nursing

The nursing staff and patients in South Africa are often multilingual and multi-cultural. Although in the nursing literature, attention is given to the importance of cultural sensitivity (Daly & Jackson 2004), the awareness of the language needs of nurses in the South African context might not have received as much attention as one would think, given the transformation process South Africa is experiencing (Engelbrecht *et al.* 2008). According to Duma *et al.* (2008:83) effective nursing care clearly depends on understanding between client and nurse. In a comparative study on how doctors and nurses explain information to their patients (Collins 2005), the importance of nurses' communication skills is evident. The doctor may use the 'voice of medicine' with its analytical objective scientific style, which may be hard for a patient to

understand. It is thus vital to develop nurses' ability to communicate medical concepts to a patient and his /her family in a language they will understand. In the South African practice, it is observed that the doctors are using the nursing staff, administrative clerks, family members and even cleaning staff to interpret for them, if they cannot converse in the same language as the patient.

In 2007, five non-isiZulu speaking students who entered their first year of the Bachelor of Nursing degree were registered for the first semester module, Basic isiZulu language 1A, as a credit bearing elective in their curriculum. They had the opportunity to engage with the language by conversing informally with their peers and friends in isiZulu which started them on a journey to gain basic proficiency in isiZulu. The challenge was that this module was offered for only one semester. This points to the need for ongoing language acquisition, preferably integrated into Nursing subject components, as developed in the SANTED proposal in 2006. During the second year of their training, the non-isiZulu speaking students were grouped with isiZulu speaking students to participate in isiZulu while they were doing community development projects as part of community health nursing practice for which they might have been better equipped to interact with the community had they studied the language for more than one semester. The most important aspect of this is that students might develop the confidence to speak with their friends and colleagues as well as their patients and develop their language skills more with the encouragement of both the academic staff as well as clinical staff.

IsiZulu Course for Nursing Academics

One of the objectives of the Nursing project was to equip core staff facilitators of the second-year programme in Community Health with basic competency in spoken and written isiZulu. Of the seven non-isiZulu speaking academics in the School of Nursing, five registered for an isiZulu course in 2007. In 2008 the invitation was extended to administrative staff as well. They were issued with learning units, and in taking charge of their own learning they used online isiZulu dictionary (isiZulu.net) to finish their tasks. They were later provided with a multilingual dictionary. They organized a note book to collect vocabulary learnt as they perform their duties. During the task performance the tasks were not evaluated for correct language use but for successful

completion. The focus was on meaning and not on form. Most of the classroom activities were organized in such a way that more time was spent on pair work. Cultural practices and information were interwoven with the vocabulary so that students could understand the context of the specific words they used. The following is an example of a communicative task that was provided by the facilitators as part of the course in Nursing. The aim of the task was to understand and be able to use frequently used vocabulary, expressions and discourse in professional contexts.

Task 1

Usemsebenzini uvakashelwe intombazane eneminyaka eyishumi, iyagula. Ibingelele uyamukele bese uyibuza impilo. Ibuze ukuthi ihamba nobani, iphethwe yini nokuthi kuqale nini. Chazela intombazane ukuthi iyisebenzise kanjani imithi oyinike yona. Valelisa bese uyitshela ukuthi ihambe kahle.

(You are at work and a ten year old girl who is sick pays you a visit. Greet and welcome her and ask about health. Ask who is accompanying her, and what is wrong with her and when did it start. Explain to her how to take the medication you gave her. Say goodbye as she leave)

Dialogue 1

Unesi: Sawubona sisi

Nurse: Goodmorning my girl

Intombazane: Yebo sawubona nesi

Girl: Goodmorning nurse

Unesi: Unjani?

Nurse: How are you?

Intombazane: Ngiyagula

Girl: I am sick

Unesi: Uphethwe yini?

Nurse: What is wrong?

Intombazane: Ngiphethwe isisu.

Girl: I have a stomach ache.

Unesi: Ungubani igama lakho?

Nurse: What is your name?

Intombazane: NginguGugu

Girl: My name is Gugu

Unesi: Ubani isibongo sakho?

Nurse: What is your surname?

Intombazane: NgingowakwaDlamini/isibongo sami nguDlamini/uDlamini

Girl: My surname is Dlamini

Unesi: Ufike nobani?

Nurse: Who came with you?

Intombazane: Ngifike ngedwa

Girl: I came alone

Unesi: Baphi abazali bakho?

Nurse: Where are your parents?

Intombazane: Basemsebenzini

Girl: They are at work

Unesi: Basebenzaphi?

Nurse: Where are they working?

Intombazane: Umama usebenza enyuvesi , ubaba yena usebenza emahhovisi kamasipala waseThekwini.

Girl: My mother is working at the University and my father is working in the offices of the Durban Municipality.

Unesi: Ufike kanjani lapha?

Nurse: How did you come here?

Intombazane: Ngihambe ngezinyawo.

Girl: I walked

Unesi: Woza ngapha ukuze ngikuhlole

Nurse: Come here so that I can examine you

Intombazane: Ngiyabonga nesi

Girl: Thank you nurse

Unesi: Ngicela uze ngapha ukuze ujove

Nurse: Please come this way for injection.

Intombazane: Ngiyawesaba umjovo

Girl: I am afraid of an injection

Unesi: Wake wajova ngelinye ilanga?

Nurse: Have you been injected before?

Intombazane: Yebo ngake ngajova, kodwa awungiphathanga kahle

Girl: Yes I have used injection before but I did not feel good

Unesi: Nayi imithi yakho

Nurse: Here is your medication

Intombazane: Ngiyabonga kakhulu

Girl: Thank you very much

Unesi: Hamba kahle

Nurse: Goodbye

Intombazane: Sala kahle

Girl: Goodbye

IsiZulu for nursing was designed to equip the nursing staff with linguistic skills and cultural knowledge to enable them to communicate with students and with patients in the profession. As part of the course, staff visited Ecabazini Zulu Cultural homestead where they had a chance to use isiZulu outside the classroom with isiZulu speaking people. This was an attempt to compensate for the limited outcomes of communication and interaction in the classroom alone as a result of which learners end up understanding one another well, but have difficulty in following a first language speaker (Kilfoil & Van der Walt 2007). Staff members were assessed through task performance which required isiZulu to be spoken.

Teaching and Learning of isiZulu in Psychology

In the training of psychologists in South Africa, very little attention has been paid to the question of language (Pillay & Kramers 2003). Almost all trainee psychologists of non-African descent presenting at major training hospitals in KwaZulu-Natal lack basic fluency in isiZulu, the language of the vast African majority in the province (Pillay & Kramers 2003). Mkhize (2007) has argued that, in failing to train psychologists who can work across the language divide, institutions of higher learning could unwittingly reproduce practices of the apartheid era, whereby students are trained to work with their own population group. One of the objectives of the School of Psychology in as far as the SANTED project is concerned is to develop a discipline-specific isiZulu course for professional Psychology staff and students in order to enable them to develop communicative competency in isiZulu and to begin using it

selectively and as appropriate and feasible, for communicative and professional purposes (SANTED 2006). In 2007 an introductory discipline-specific isiZulu course was initiated in the School of Psychology on the Pietermaritzburg campus. In 2008 it was extended to the Howard College campus. In 2009 it was offered again on the two campuses. The major focus of the course was on developing interaction skills across a number of contexts relevant to psychologists, for example, the use of tasks based on conducting an intake interview', the example cited under Nursing would have been tailor-made to suit a context where a psychologist was interacting with a potential client. The main focus of the task was to establish the client's profile. Simple question forms are used to draw out information on the client. In the same way as in nursing, culture was also taught in Psychology as part of the language course. This section on culture was one of the needs identified by learners. In 2007, a total of 24 learners registered for the course, among them 17 masters students and interns and seven academic and administrative members of staff.

In 2008 students attended a Zulu cultural village for exposure to selected aspects of Zulu culture and language. They learnt to practice greetings in isiZulu with Zulu first language speakers. They also learnt about the Zulu homestead, and how Zulu people live and eat. They learnt about *izangoma* (diviners) and how the Zulu people use traditional medicine for cleansing and healing. After the visit to the cultural village, the students made a DVD in which they captured their experiences (Santed 2008). Participants also included African students from non isiZulu-speaking African states such as Angola, Botswana and Nigeria. Students had an opportunity to practice isiZulu in a real life setting thus fulfilling some of the methodological principles of task-based language teaching (Hong Gang 2008). Students also noted that '*Ukuhlonipha* (to respect) is fundamental to the functioning of Zulu society, and it is most appreciated when non-isiZulu speakers actually learn to speak the language properly' (Ndimande-Hlongwa *et al.* (2010:9). These comments indicate that students are becoming aware of the importance of isiZulu in the practice of Psychology in KwaZulu-Natal.

In the two disciplines participants learned pronunciation through the use of songs with click consonants. Music enhances the acquisition of a second language (Mazibuko & Hlongwa 2009). They learned how to speak isiZulu at a very basic level and they acquired some listening skill because proper communication involves both speaking and listening. Reading is one of

the skills that they acquired. They were reading words accompanied by pictures because viewing assist in reading. Writing skill was also acquired because learners were given puzzles to fill in, filling in various texts as well as writing a brief history about themselves. Grammar taught was emphasized through tasks which required learners to ask basic questions, give medicinal instructions, etc.

Challenges and Implications for Future Programmes

There were challenges in this initiative, the first one is that the programmes are not a mainstream curricular intervention and thus depended on voluntary interest, and secondly, that the time associated with the intervention was premised on the minimum of what volunteers could afford away from their other professional work, for example, both staff and students spent limited time at the university. Several challenges emerged during the teaching of isiZulu in the two courses: Different levels of prior exposure to isiZulu among students and limited opportunities to interact informally with isiZulu speakers, outside the classroom context were a challenge. Time-tabling was another challenge, it was difficult to get a regular time table slot and also difficult to find common time for all the participants.

At the end of all the courses, evaluations were made in the form of questionnaires. Questions were based on teaching, lecturers, assessment and other general comments. In the evaluation of the nursing course, staff members were happy that they were able to hold conversations with one another and with students. They commented that it would have been good to have more time for practice. They appreciated the cultural knowledge specific to Nursing and also enjoyed learning the *hlonipha* language. They enjoyed the informal learning environment as it made learning fun for them. They were encouraged by isiZulu-speaking staff members supporting and assisting the other staff members who were learning isiZulu. These were some of the comments from staff members:

“The course should be run over a year or more not just for one semester, especially since it is for staff members that are unable to communicate in isiZulu well, i.e. absolute beginners”.

“I need more practice”

“I like the informal style”

With regard to Psychology most of the learners indicated that they enjoyed the course and it assisted them with a clear understanding of the culture of their prospective clients. They enjoyed practicing isiZulu. All of them indicated that the cultural part was the one that they enjoyed the most. The only concern that they had was that this course must be taught at least at third year level or at Honours because at Masters their programme is extremely tight, otherwise they would have liked the course to be taught twice a week so that they get more time for practice. It appeared that this course added value to the Psychology students because they indicated that they can now communicate with their clients in isiZulu at a basic level thus increasing their employment opportunities. From these contexts we can say that isiZulu language is a resource to these students. These were some of the comments from staff and students:

“I found this to be an excellent course, although I still don’t have the confidence to speak to everybody in isiZulu, the lecturers kept on encouraging me. They are a wonderful team. For the first time I enjoyed coming to an isiZulu class”.

“I don’t feel competent to communicate adequately, I have learnt but need further lessons”.

“Good content and delivery of the course, well done”.

“I thoroughly enjoyed myself and although I am not fluent, I am so much more confident”.

Having taught isiZulu for professional purposes in the two disciplines and in light of the favourable the evaluation of the courses which were a pilot project for the SANTED multilingualism project, it is imperative that—formulate next steps for future developments in these programmes.

Conclusion and Recommendations

In this article we have discussed needs analysis as an important consideration in the construction of a communicative language course, using as example the

teaching of isiZulu as a second language for professional purposes in Nursing and Psychology at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, a pilot initiative of SANTED multilingualism project. The project has been one of the ways of intellectualizing isiZulu as an African language in a tertiary institution. It is evident that Nurses and Psychologists that took part in the programme benefited a lot and it added value in their professional preparation. They can communicate at a basic level in isiZulu in their respective fields and have developed intercultural competence. Due to the limited time allocated to the teaching of isiZulu in these disciplines (especially for students) it is recommended that the disciplines in collaboration with the professional boards for Nursing and Psychology in future curricular consider the inclusion of isiZulu language as a requirement for non-mother tongue speakers for the duration of the degree. If the degree is four years, then isiZulu would have to be taught for the duration of four years as a way of sustaining their learning of isiZulu. This recommendation is also in line with key recommendations of the Higher Education summit of April 2010 on the issue of African languages that these should be developed as academic languages and the development of African language-based postgraduate outputs across disciplinary areas.

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Towards Enhancing Indigenous Language Acquisition Skills through MMORPGs

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Abstract

The growing interest and access to massively multiplayer online role-playing games (MMORPG) has opened up significant new scope for educational methodologies, from standard language teaching options through to formalising the skills that a ‘player’ develops through their quests and other activities. This scope is extensive and has created numerous opportunities for innovation both within education and the world of work. This is evidenced by the increasing presence of educational establishments in the virtual world, with Second Life being the most popular for conventional educational purposes. In Second Life and many other realms participants are earning some income and in some cases enjoying a reasonable living from online activities, while developing their skills base.

These MMORPGs may open opportunities for promoting language acquisition provided this is located within a suitably attractive realm; ‘players’ would then engage in activities that would contribute to their abilities to use the indigenous languages in everyday life. This article explores how such a system could be developed and the likely contribution it could make to promote a multilingual environment at school and post school levels. Further, it will identify the implications for the future of teaching and learning through the harnessing of MMORPGs.

Keywords: massively multiplayer online role-playing games (MMORPGs),

electronic gaming, language acquisition, multilingual environment, virtual worlds, teaching and learning, mother tongue, Second Life, World of Warcraft, Entropia.

Introduction

Technologies are artificial, but ... artificiality is natural to human beings. Technology, properly interiorized, does not degrade human life but on the contrary enhances it (Ong 1982:82-83).

Reality is that which, when you stop believing in it, doesn't go away (Dick 1985:3).

The growing significance of the electronic gaming industry, where the value in 2005 was already in the region of \$7 billion more than the movie industry (Web Reference 1—WR1), indicated that as a sector it was likely to become the leading element of entertainment for many parts of modern society. This impact cannot be ignored, and opens a plethora of opportunities for mobilising gaming for purposes that allow the combination of entertainment and education, ideally for establishing a pedagogic paradigm that promotes the essential concept of 'learning as fun'. Given the characteristics associated with electronic games, more especially their flexibility, geographical reach and low barriers to entry, this makes them potentially ideal tools for addressing a number of teaching and learning challenges.

Synonymous terms abound for the semiotic domain that this article will explore. From video games through to virtual worlds to artificial reality, the authors have selected massively multiplayer online role-playing Games (MMORPG) to act as a catch-all for what is a wide collection of terms. A brief list of the concepts that this aims to capture would include, 'mirror world' (Gelernter 1991), 'possible worlds' (Ryan 1991), 'metaverse' (Stephenson 1993), 'digital world' (Helmreich 1998), 'artificial world' (Capin *et al.* 1999) 'virtual community' (Rheingold 2000), 'virtual

environment' (Blascovich 2002), 'persistent worlds' (Kushner 2003) or 'synthetic world' (Castronova 2005). The logic for using the MMORPG catch all is to stress the centrality of the 'player'¹ in whichever realm or world they are engaged with. Moreover, this serves to move away from terms such as *artificial or synthetic* that can cloud the nature of the debate in as far as their connotations are of *fabrication*, and may have played a role in undermining the import of the debate pertaining to these environments (Boellstorff 2008). This has contributed to many not taking MMORPGs seriously as possible solutions for teaching and learning. This needs to be seen in the light of the fact that '... it could be argued that the information age has, under our noses, become the gaming age, and thus that gaming and its associated notion of play could be master metaphors for a range of human social relations' (Boellstorff 2008:21). It now seems that '...for the first time, humanity has not one but many worlds in which to live' (Castronova 2005:70). These worlds will involve an infinite number of social structures, experiences, communicative and survival tools. However, one thing still remains at the forefront, is that despite the 'players' role as a participant, creator, aggressor or victim, '[w]e do not really understand how to live in cyberspace' (Sterling 1992:xii).

The History of MMORPGs

The history of assessing the value of MMORPGs has been in either utopic or dystopic terms (Boellstorff 2008:26), with the associative dismissal as a valuable and usable tool or simply a mechanism for escape from the real world. The main negative perspectives are that the MMORPGs 'are hopelessly contaminated by capitalism' and 'just a form of escapism from the real world' (Boellstorff 2008:26). The former is a result of the fact that many MMORPGs are owned and managed by for-profit entities, while the latter finds many supporters.

[T]he gratifications involved in being a member of [a virtual] community aren't the same, I would suggest, as being involved in a

¹ The term player is used in this article in inverted commas as an acknowledgement that not all are there for entertainment purposes only.

real community We have created the instruments of our own enslavement—psychological and otherwise (Berger 2002:110-111).

This may seem alarmist to those who have participated casually in MMORPGs, but to those familiar with the concept of Hikikomori², they will recognise and attest to Berger's warning. This type of realism is widespread where many

... see computer systems as alien intruders on the terrain of unmediated experience Reality, they assert, is the physical world we perceive with our bodily senses [and] ... the computer is ... a subordinate device that can detract from the primary world (Heim 1998:37).

There is extensive debate on the horizon as hardware will become more able to integrate the senses into the MMORPGs experience, with more participants opting for a de facto life online as being more akin to their interests and life expectations. What these negative sentiments neglect to acknowledge is that all '... human experience is always culturally mediated' (Boellstorff 2008:27). Further philosophical debate is necessary in terms of the wider role of MMORPGs but for now it is imperative that MMORPGs are effectively investigated in terms of their potential for teaching and learning, and more specifically promotion of second language acquisition. 'Whether our digital fire (as in the Promethean sense³) is turned to destructive or creative purposes is still up to us' (Poole 2000:240).

MMORPG have grown extensively in popularity since they first emerged on the internet in 1996, with the first recorded believed to have been Meridian 59 (WR1). However, the genre's manifestation was secured when Ultima Online became popular. There is common consensus that the MMORPGs evolved out of Multi-User Dungeons (MUDs), with the first

² 'Hikikomori' is a Japanese term coined by Tamaki Saito to officially classify reclusive youths who refused to participate in socially established norms, in *The Bulletin of JSA* March 2002. <<http://members.jcom.home.ne.jp/jsa-bull/82.html>>.

³ Inserted by authors.

developed by Roy Trubshaw and Richard Bartle in 1978 which ran on a PDP-10⁴ (WR3). The interest in MUDs in the early years was borne out in a 1993 study which demonstrated that in terms of online traffic, 10% was accounted for by hits on MUDs (Bartle 2004:12). Everquest, which Sony re-released in 1999, was the leading MMORPG before the introduction in 2004 of World of Warcraft (WoW), which heralded the modern age for MMORPG. For example, 'in WoW's 'first 24 hours sold over 240 000 copies and at any given time has an average of 500 000 users online' (WR1). The realms, worlds, platforms, universes (real and fantasy) are now a myriad of games, quests, adventures for almost all conceivable historical, present day and fantasy experiences, with the associated mix of free, fee, subscription based and/or software purchase with free or fee based use.

Developing Skills through MMORPGs

Notwithstanding this wide range of MMORPGs all carrying a plethora of quests, missions, opportunities, etc, there are few structures for the formalisation of the skills acquired by 'players' for application beyond the operational environments of the relevant realm/universe/world⁵. Obviously the problems of access to the Internet will continue to create challenges, but it is the contention of the authors that there is an anachronistic approach to the opportunities associated with technology and education, namely that access to the Internet and basic computer skills will be sufficient to enhance the life opportunities for learners across various contexts. MMORPG offer a viable model for 'players' to develop their critical and developmental⁶ skills base and offer a viable route to the achievement of these outcomes and open other wider opportunities. This is in line with the feeling that today, '[t]he best sign that someone is qualified to run an internet start-up may not be an MBA, but level 70 guild leader status' (Chatfield 2008: 24).

⁴ A mainframe developed by Digital Equipment Corporation it formed the basis of ARPANET (now the Internet) (WR3)

⁵ The terms realm or universe will be used as a generic term of MMORPGs

⁶ Here the terms critical and developmental are used in the same context as per the revised national curriculum statements <http://www.education.gov.za/Curriculum/Curriculum.asp>.

One of the problems associated with embracing the potential of MMORPGs for educational purposes is the ‘cultural premise that work and play are an inherent dichotomy’ (Yee 2006a:68). This tension has to be viewed within an environment where there are no formal models that have been developed to bridge the skills developed in realms with those that formal national curriculum’s require⁷. However, ‘a growing number of academics and practitioners are realising that such environments also have strong potential as the Virtual Learning Environments of the future’ (WR2). Capturing this potential is the challenge facing researchers and others who are interested in the wider potential for technology to the teaching and learning context.

The importance of MMORPGs is best stated by Forbes Magazine (WR4) when it identifies ten characters, careers or professions in the virtual world which show potential for earning income. Each requires differing levels, abilities and skills but they represent opportunities which are not limited necessarily by demographics and real life mobility. The only significant barrier to enter, especially in the case of free games, is access to suitable hardware and bandwidth⁸. These barriers should not be taken lightly as they continue to be the most significant problem for the harnessing of the innate potential of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) for developing countries. However, the access issue is high on the agenda of most governments and these are likely to be addressed as these present less of a problem than the problem of endemic poverty and lack of economic opportunity.

Language Acquisition and Immersion

The last 30 years has seen considerable research on digital games across a wide swathe of academic areas (Bragge & Storgards 2007). Bragge and Storgard’s study indicates that social science, law and economics account for the bulk of the relevant records found. This is indicative that the value to the

⁷ This situation will not persist for too much longer as more and more focus is being given to MMORPGs.

⁸ The bandwidth issue presents the biggest contemporary challenge for many countries and is often cited as a potential problem by stakeholders.

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humanities of MMORPGs has been recognised but what the research also indicated is that in terms of mainstream research no attention has been given to the role that these tools can play in language acquisition.

The table below shows a listing of the most used title words and phrases of Social Sciences in the two latest time periods for research undertaken on digital gaming (Bragge & Storgards 2007).

1997-2001 [196 number of articles]	2002-2006 [347 number of articles]
Video games [25] Effects / impact / influence [22] Computer games [19] Children [13] Aggression [9] Adolescents [7] Gender [6] Violent video / computer games [6] Relationship [5] Video [5] Video / Computer game playing [5] Youth [5] Aggressive behavior [4] Young children [4]	Effects / impact / influence [34] Video games [26] Computer games [22] Violent video / computer games [19] Video / Computer game playing [17] Aggression [12] Children [11] Online / Internet games [11] Adolescents [8] Relationship [8] Violence [7] Aggressive behavior [6] Learning [6]

The lack of language acquisition and development as a listing is indicative of the fact that no focus has yet been brought to this aspect within the MMORPGs field.

In order to establish the viability of MMORPGs for promotion of language skills it is imperative to explore how people acquire languages and to identify synergies. A detailed analysis of language acquisition is well beyond the scope of an article of this nature. However, it is important to address one critical area in terms of language and innateness, as it is here that the heredity versus environment debate is manifest. All learners will bring their unique heredity profile to a process that endeavours to enhance their acquisition of another language, and no amount of gaming will alter this

profile, consequently the only area that MMORPGs can address is associated with environment. In other words, the physiological aspects of the learner's cognitive abilities are cast in stone, making the environmental the only area that can be altered to promote language acquisition.

When addressing language acquisition it is important to distinguish between one acquired as part of a natural birthright and one acquired later in life due to other motivations. 'Language is a marker akin to dress ... [s]uccessful mastery of language implies learning it from birth' (Nash 1989:13). Nash points out that the experience of language acquisition is different for adults.

Second language acquisition can be defined as:

L2 acquisition ... the way in which people learn a language other than their mother tongue, inside or outside the classroom and 'Second Language Acquisition (SLA)' as the study of this (Ellis 1997:3).

Therefore in this case the discussion is firmly located within SLA and the application of MMORPGs to L2 acquisition. Ellis identifies two goals for SLA, one being the 'description of L2 acquisition Another is explanation; identifying the external and internal factors that account for why learners acquire an L2 in the way they do' (Ellis 1997:4). The external factors represents the social context and environment where the learning takes place, and can be influenced by a number of factors i.e. attitude of native speakers, learning support materials. On the other hand internal factors are driven by the learner's motivations and innate language skills, *inter alia*.

Ellis offers a further delineation in terms of the external identifying the 'catch all' mentioned at the beginning of this article as the input which the learner receives, '... that is, the samples of language to which a learner is exposed' (Ellis 1997:5). This question is central to developing any suitable models for application with MMORPGs. The essential question would be, '... do learners benefit more from input that has been simplified for them or from authentic language of native-speakers' communication?' (Ellis 1997:5). Despite the complex nature of language acquisition, it is imperative to develop an approach which can be applied in an attempt to enhance 'players' abilities to develop usable language skills.

MMORPGs and Second/ Foreign Language Acquisition

One of the possible approaches is to harness the language immersion methodology. The logic here would be that MMORPGs are immersive by nature. According to Genesee (1987:1) ‘at least 50 percent of instruction during a given academic year must be provided through the second language for the program to be regarded as immersion’. Research has shown that there are many more multilingual than monolingual people in the world (Dutcher & Tucker 1994), (World Bank 1995), which indicates that there is a very fertile platform for developing further language competencies. In South Africa, the situation is much the same with many of its people able to speak more than one language.

Bostwick (WR4) identifies four reasons why immersion is an effective model for L2 acquisition:

1. Language is acquired more effectively when learned in a meaningful social context.
2. Important and interesting content provides a motivating context for learning the communicative functions of a new language.
3. L1 acquisition, cognition and social awareness go hand in hand in young children. By integrating language and content, foreign (read L2⁹) language learning, too, becomes an integral part of a child’s social and cognitive development.
4. Formal and functional characteristics of language change from one context to another.

While these characteristics pertain specifically to an elementary school environment they do offer suitable pointers for developing an immersive model using MMORPGs, with the need for the experience to be meaningful and have a relevant content focus being of paramount importance. The process will be further served by assessing the goals of an immersion program. Bostwick (Bostwick WR5) lists these as follows:

⁹ Authors’ addition.

1. To achieve competency in the foreign language
2. To acquire the same L1 language arts skills as students in regular schools
3. To master content area skills and concepts
4. To gain a greater understanding and appreciation of other cultures

Combining these characteristics allows for the identification of possible criteria for an effective MMORPG model for L2 acquisition, namely that the MMORPG model must exhibit a situation where:

1. The context must be meaningful to the ‘player’/learner
2. The content must be interesting and useful and initiate a motivation for acquiring communicative competence in the target language

These two criteria are necessary but insufficient to harness the innate potential of MMORPGs for acting as a tool for promoting L2 acquisition.

In order to effectively engage this potential of MMORPGs the concept of *cyber sociability* needs to be investigated to ensure that the dynamic nature of any realm or world can be mobilized effectively. If this is neglected then the customary asynchronous association with many language learning environments will be repeated with the associated drop off in interest. The central aspects of online sociability are ‘immersion’ and ‘presence’. The former is important when exploring language acquisition, as discussed above. In terms of ‘presence’, the ideas of AFK (away from keyboard) and Lag (delay) are not significant in terms of developing a model, but these should be noted as they will have implications within the model. Here ‘presence’ is used to distinguish between an avatar being operated by an actual person sitting at the keyboard, as opposed to non-human system operating an avatar. In the case of MMORPGs the concept of ‘immersion’ ‘... referred to a sense that sensory experience of a virtual world is sufficiently heightened, so that persons felt they were no longer in the actual world’ (Boellstorff 2008:112). In effect the ‘player’ is in an ‘immersive virtual environment’.

This immersive characteristic of MMORPGs indicates that the scope for developing L2 skills is extensive. However, researchers and practitioners will have to explore the leveraging of the motivational aspects of the ‘players’ desire to participate in a realm or world with the added ‘obstacles’ associated with an L2 communicative environment that will be alien. Added to this would be the nature of the quest, task or journey within the realm/universe/world.

Language Acquisition and Motivation

Accepting the two characteristics identified above as the key drivers for harnessing MMORPGs, context and content, what are the contemporary contextual and content features of the leading MMORPGs?

Selling virtual weaponry and real estate for a living, coordinating fifty people in a dragon-slaying expedition over a period of 5 hours, marrying someone you’ll never meet and switching gender for several hours at a time (Yee 2006c:3).

This offers the uninitiated a small taste of the scope and latitudes associated with MMORPGs. These indicate that the scope in terms of contexts are almost limitless within existing platforms, and with little imagination it is clear that it is totally feasible to develop MMORPGs that can combine all the aspects of good and effective language learning pedagogies into a suitable MMORPG context or environment.

Few if any MMORPGs allow for significant altering of the realm or world within which they operate, so in a broad sense the context is ‘fixed’. However, there is latitude for altering and manipulating the context (micro) in which the ‘players’ find themselves during their immersive experience. For example, a facilitating avatar could set tasks that are rewarded according to the use of L2 or require that all communication between a team only use L2 to communicate¹⁰. It will be at this level that L2 acquisition structures will need to be developed. However, no matter how effective these structures

¹⁰ These interventions and activities will have different resource requirements and training for facilitators.

they will need to be fully complemented by a content paradigm that offers motivation and maintains interest.

Developing an understanding of the motivations for engaging with MMORPGs offers a suitable foundation for selecting and identifying which realms may offer ideal vehicles for establishing effective L2 acquisition paradigms. Yee (2005) identified that the average ‘player’ was 26 years old and spends 22 hours a week in their selected MMORPGs, whilst their motivations for spending this time differed. As can be seen from Yee (2005:1):

The fact that I was able to immerse myself in the game and relate to other people or just listen in to the ‘chatter’ was appealing. [Female, 34]

I like the whole progression, advancement thing ... gradually getting better and better as a player, being able to handle situations that previously I wouldn’t have been able to. [Male, 48]

No one complains about jobs or other meaningless things. It’s a great stress reducer. I like that I can be someone else for a couple hours. [Male, 28]

Currently, I am trying to establish a working corporation within the economic boundaries of the virtual world. Primarily, to learn more about how real world social theories play out in a virtual economy. [Male, 30]

Bartle (1996), referring to the MUDs (Multi-User Dungeon, Domain or Dimension¹¹), states that ‘... it should be noted that MUDs can be of considerable value in non-game (i.e. serious) applications’. Bartle continues to create a taxonomy for people who engage with MUDs/MMORPGs (WR6):

¹¹ MUDs was the preceding nomenclature for what today are known as MMORPGs.

... *Enhancing Indigenous Language Acquisition Skills through MMORPGs*

- Achievement within game context—where ‘players’ set goals for themselves, i.e. completing a quest, searching and securing treasure, beating a horde of monsters, etc.
- Exploration of the game—‘players’ seeking to discover the realm, initially it involves ‘mapping its topology, later to experiment with its physics’ (4).
- Socialising with others—most MMORPGS carry significant opportunities for socialisation and require continually more sophisticated abilities in communication.
- Imposition upon others—many of the realms require ‘players’ to engage in various forms of combat.

This taxonomy offers an ideal platform for a more detailed analysis of suitable pedagogic paradigms and structures that will enhance and promote L2 acquisition.

The challenge is how to capture these motivations and develop structures that will promote the acquisition of L2 and make any competencies developed transferable to real world contexts and the ‘players’ day to day life. That the other skills being developed in MMORPGs are transferable is unquestionable. In the Prospect interview with a ‘player’ called Mogwai¹², he states:

... in WoW I’ve developed confidence; a lack of fear about entering difficult situations; I’ve enhanced my presentation skills and debating. Then there are the more subtle things; judging people’s intentions from conversations, learning to tell people what they want to hear.

Mogwai continues and acknowledges that ‘... I am certainly more manipulative, more Machiavellian. I love being in charge of a group of

¹² Mogwai is a guild leader in WoW and wields the Twin Blades of Azzinoth, He was recently offered \$8000 for his account.

people, leading them to succeed in a task' (Chatfield 2008:1).

Motives for playing in any realm will be various and range from Mogwai's need for Machiavellian expression through pleasure and entertainment to the desire to find alternative sources of income. Whatever the motives, the innate potential for engagement in realms serving a number of educational and economic outcomes is reasonably clear. The challenge facing language researchers and policy makers is how to create an environment where acquiring a language other than one's mother tongue comes with immediate inworld rewards, and how these skills can have an impact on the 'players' ability to communicate in other languages.

Recognising that there are a number of possible permutations in terms of resources and, consequently, that pedagogic challenges are hardly generic or that any suitable platform for building a viable model will require context transferability characteristics, any model should be predicated on a general set of the principles of learning. Petty (2006) offers a simple and, potentially, suitable list:

- Learners must see the value to them of the learning;
- Learners must believe they can do it;
- Learners need challenging goals;
- Learners need feedback and dialogue on their progress;
- Learning needs structuring to give it meaning to learners;
- Learning needs time and opportunities for repetition;
- Learning is about study and thinking skills as well as content.

These characteristics resonate with the experience of any person endeavouring to acquire a second language. Application of these to MMORPGs will promote a suitable experience by 'players' that will enhance language acquisition skills.

Therefore, the challenge facing practitioners is to combine the motivation aspects with effective learning principles. This requires a coherent balancing between the 'fun' element which has a crucial role to play in the 'players' motivation and the effectiveness of the language abilities that are developed. It is clear that there exists scope for developing L2 acquisition structures within existing MMORPGs or developing MMORPGs with a strict focus on L2 skills development, with the obvious

implications for resource requirements and costs. There is extensive research outstanding on this issue and the authors hope that this paper will initiate others to explore how these could be developed.

Developing Indigenous African Language Acquisition using MMORPGs

Language policy in South Africa has been a very contentious political issue and continues to act as a significant divisive area. Despite extensive policy frameworks, the progress continues to be limited in terms of advancing indigenous languages (Kaschula *et al.* 2007). This is due predominantly to the status associated with English as a language of opportunity and empowerment. Evidence abounds that even Mother Tongue (MT) speakers are eschewing their home languages in favour of English due to this, so it does not require much analysis to infer that second language speakers of indigenous languages are thin on the ground, such motivations being limited to professional and vocational requirements. ‘Changing negative attitudes to the Bantu languages in South Africa is a very complex and challenging matter [T]he primary requirement is that these languages attain value, in particular economic, intellectual and social value’ (Lafon & Webb 2008:16).

The marginalised nature of most of the indigenous languages in South Africa, added to the nature of the challenge associated with the harnessing of MMORPGs for ‘players’ who are not able to speak an indigenous language, both in terms of the inworld structures and the applicability in the real world creates significant hurdles that need to be traversed.

Many would argue that enhancing language abilities in an indigenous African language offers very little in terms of improved economic opportunities and is simply a tool for accessing other cultures. This being by no means unimportant, it is perceived as of less value for the potential learner. This adds extensively to the task of creating inworld incentives that are sufficiently rewarding to motivate ‘players’ to engage in any exercises, quests or adventures that have a coherent and intensive language element. In some quarters there is growing support for making an indigenous language compulsory to Grade 12 (Lafon & Webb 2008:52). This would create a fecund environment for mobilising MMORPGs as it would contribute

extensively to motivation, including the scope for working in pairs with one MT speaker of the relevant indigenous language in question.

Towards a Model

Many will argue that the gaming element associated with realms and universes represent this as a strictly leisure based pastime. It would be disingenuous to attempt to dismiss this argument, due to the fact that most gaming activity is undertaken in an informal setting with little consideration for capturing the skills that are developed as a ‘player’ enhances their status within the game/realm/universe or more generally, inworld . However, against this view is the concept of ‘Serious Games’ which is a term associated with the use of computer and videogames for purposes other than simple entertainment. That skills can, and are, developed by ‘players’ is clear. From developing the basic ability to interface with ICT through to high level negotiations and strategy skills, a ‘player’ may run an ambit of situations that required deft abilities. Language abilities presently are not central to a ‘player’s’ development in MMORPGs but the need to embrace a new semiotic domain is imperative. Consequently, with some innovative input and development it is highly feasible that an environment can be established that will promote the development of language skills. For example, creating a domain where all rewards and strength points are proportional to the player’s ability to engage in languages other than their mother tongue.

Developing a suitable model requires that the theoretical issues associated with language acquisition are developed and applied, in a very rigorous manner. However, this article endeavours to create a basic framework that could be applied in MMORPGs where there is a degree of freedom for user content creation. Given the scope and eclectic nature of MMORPGs, developing trajectories for a suitable L2 model abound. However, the nature of the MMORPGs is of less importance than the inworld structures that are created to establish and leverage motivation on the part of ‘players’ to embrace the L2. For the purpose of this article, Second Life and Entropia Universe will be the reference MMORPGs. These have been selected due to their complementary natures, with Second Life being a rendition of the ‘real’ world, with none of the customary fantasy elements,

fighting monsters and combat, and Entropia Universe incorporating many of those customary characteristics associated with fantasy role playing. It can be argued that both have a degree of flexibility.

According to Mindark¹³, the creators of Entropia Universe (EU), it [The universe] takes the MMORPG genre to the next level by offering a unique mixture of online entertainment, social networking and e-commerce through a ground-breaking new concept: the connection of a real economy to a gigantic three dimensional virtual universe (WR7). Presently, little academic material exists that addresses EU specifically, which is testament to its status as simply a fantasy game along with a myriad of others. However, perhaps its most unique feature is that it was the first MMORPG to have a real world economy linked to the player's 'avatar'¹⁴, i.e. where it is possible to get a cash card that can be used at 'real' world cash machines to withdraw any PED (the currency) in the EU.

Second Life (SL) has received extensive attention from businesses through academia to fringe political groups, (Boellstorff 2008; Dibbell 2006; Terdiman 2008). The key characteristic of Second Life is that it is predominately a virtual reflection of the 'real' world, with the exception that 'players' can take on fantasy avatars and move around conventionally or fly. The major advantage of SL is that it allows 'players' to create objects and content, to link to presentations, upload material, etc. Thus it carries considerably more flexibility but due to its 'real world' nature lacks elements that could be harnessed for motivation purposes.

EU has hunting and combat, two pull characteristics in terms of motivation for 'players' but Mindark do allow for the creation of a whole new universe using their software. This could offer an opportunity to develop a universe that only supports the use of an African language. With more hunting options and greater rewards there is a strong likelihood that it could develop into a serious draw factor. These will result in cost implications, but as a tool for promoting an indigenous language may prove invaluable.

SL, while having less scope for motivational factors, can be more easily harnessed in terms of inworld flexibility. For example, an African

¹³ <http://www.mindark.com/company/>

¹⁴ An avatar is usually the inworld representations of the person behind the character.

language medium institution can be developed for very little financial outlay. However, the standard challenges associated with real world language development will exist. Unlike EU where, as skills are developed rewards could include more advanced weaponry or ammunition for hunting, or some new mining or manufacturing technology, in SL motivation will be limited to the Linden Dollar, the currency in SL. The latter would amount to little more than ‘paying’ people to learn a language.

Consequently, these factors point to a quest type structure where ‘players’ have to gather information, objects and other material in order to advance to the next levels. All quests would be set in an African language. There can be little doubt that if MMORPGs are to become part of the language development mosaic, the need to combine inworld quests and challenges with suitable real world support must be explored and developed.

Conclusion

Given the contemporary language situation in South Africa, it is imperative that all official languages need to be celebrated if only to promote the cultural identity of the people who use them as a home language. If language policy is to become language reality it is incumbent on those who are entrusted to promote language usage to establish an environment that enhances the innate value of languages other than English and Afrikaans. It is the contention of the authors that MMORPGs offer a suitable, albeit virtual environment for creating factors that will act as motivators for achieving this goal. Through an effective mix of in-game and other incentives, indigenous language classes in schools could enjoy a significant enrichment element to their teaching and learning paradigms by using ‘gaming’. The opportunities to allow MT speakers to work with non-MT speakers in a realm that aims to equalise the playing field while using their relative skills base, the former in the language being used and the latter possibly having better ICT skills and/or experience of gaming, could have a major impact on learning in the classroom and in cross cultural communication.

Through structures of this nature the creation of an environment that will make acquiring another language less onerous could become an attractive reality. This will promote cross cultural communicative abilities which will make a major contribution to the cohesive nature that South

Africans aspire too. The history of language policies pre-1994 was one of separateness and alienation. It is critical that more communities are given incentives to acquire languages other than their MT for reasons other than simply to get ahead but rather as a tool for developing a better understanding of their fellow South Africans.

The costs associated with developing solutions and relevant quests may seem high at the outset. This may be the case in terms of developer time, materials development, teacher training and other resource requirements. However, the benefits associated with enhanced language skills across other sectors of South African society will make a significant contribution to the cohesiveness of society and help deepen the democratic structures.

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The Role of Spoken Language Corpora in the Intellectualisation of Indigenous Languages in South Africa

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Abstract

South Africa is a multilingual country with eleven official languages. Nine of these official languages are indigenous languages and they are not considered as developed compared to English and Afrikaans. The main cited problem is the lack of appropriate terminology that will enable these languages to be used in modern domains of language use such as science and technology. Term creation for the purpose of modernising the indigenous languages of South Africa falls under a process called intellectualisation. This is a process of accelerating the growth and development of languages. In this article we argue that we need to use spoken corpora of these indigenous languages as a strategy in their intellectualisation. Building large spoken language corpora is regarded as the most important first step in the development of adequate language material and other applications. Apart from being rich sources for varied and significant empirical research in linguistic, cultural and natural language processing domains, language corpora have globally become extremely important data base resources for a variety of linguistic, socio-economic, cultural, educational, inter-lingual or inter-communicational and language technological applications and developments (such as in machine translation and human-machine interactions). The spoken corpus approach allowed us to extract and to observe the nature of borrowed terms used by

people in natural communication. We extracted a representative sample from Xhosa and Zulu transcribed spoken corpora and the results showed that there is a significant number of new terms in spoken communication. These terms can be used as the basis for an objective strategy in the planned process of accelerating the growth and development of indigenous languages.

Keywords: spoken language corpus, language development, indigenous languages, intellectualisation, African Renaissance, South Africa.

Introduction

South Africa has a multilingual language policy that accords eleven languages an official status. It is, however, noticeable that only two of these official languages (English and Afrikaans) are considered to be more developed in the country. The other nine, which are all indigenous languages, are not developed sufficiently to cope with modern society. One of the requirements for the development of a language is the planning of its corpus. This refers to the standardisation and intellectualisation of a language. Wardhaugh (2006:33) defines language standardisation as

the process by which a language has been codified in some way. That process usually involves the development of such things as grammars, spelling books, and dictionaries, and possibly a literature.

Language intellectualisation is the process of language elaboration where new terms are coined and the language is modernised to be used for specialised communication (Mwansoko 2004). It may be argued that while most of the indigenous official languages in South Africa are standardised, progress in their intellectualisation is very slow. According to Garvin (1973), intellectualisation is an important dimension of language development. He (Garvin 1973:43) argues that in the developing languages intellectualisation is a way of providing

more accurate and detailed means of expression, especially in the domains of modern life, that is, in the spheres of science and technology, of government and politics, of higher education, of

contemporary culture, etc.

The process of intellectualisation of the African languages is directly linked to the notion of African Renaissance (cf. Alexander 2003). The concept of Renaissance encompasses a resurgence of learning based on classical sources. It also puts emphasis on rebirth and reform. Reforming indigenous languages in South Africa will require (among other things) the use of modern tactics including technology (cf. Crystal 2000; Ngcobo 2009). It will also require taking cognisance of the fact that language adapts to a changing world as it is used in specialised domains of language use.

Finlayson and Madiba (2002) addressed the intellectualisation of the South Africa's indigenous languages. Although they argue that intellectualisation can be deliberately planned, they also note that it can occur naturally (Finlayson & Madiba 2002:40). They also assert that there is a lack of strategies as to how intellectualisation can be done (Finlayson & Madiba 2002:46). Similarly, since there is a wide variety of methods used in the standardisation of South Africa's indigenous languages, there is an urgent need for compiling the spoken language corpora of the nine indigenous languages in according to a standardised morphology (Allwood & Hendrikse 2003). This can then serve as basis for specialised communication.

In this article we argue that spoken language corpus is the most relevant method that can be used effectively in the intellectualisation of indigenous languages in South Africa. A centralised approach to terminology development can benefit from decentralised approach which will take into consideration language as it is used in interaction (cf. Tollefson 1981:183). As Cooper (1989) notes, languages develop through use and the form always follows the function. Terms may be extracted from the day-to-day interactive natural speech rather than by relying on the subjective term creation done by language experts in isolation. By following a corpus-based approach, we use examples from the spoken corpora of Zulu and Xhosa languages compiled under the Southern African Spoken and Signed Language Corpora Project (SASSLC) at the University of South Africa. These two Nguni¹ languages are selected in this study mainly because they have the largest number of

¹ Nguni is a group of languages spoken in South Africa including isiZulu, isiXhosa, isiNdebele and siSwati.

mother tongue speakers in the country compared with other indigenous languages (cf. Stats SA 2001). Another reason is that they have representative spoken corpus data in the SASSLC project. In the first part of this article we provide a background and motivation by explaining the rationale of this study. We then proceed to a discussion of the importance of spoken language corpora in the development of languages. We also briefly present the current status of the spoken language corpus project by describing what has been achieved so far and explaining the various problems that have been encountered in developing corpora for indigenous languages in South Africa. After describing the method followed in this study, we then demonstrate how spoken language corpora can become the basis for extracting terms that can be used in the intellectualisation process.

Background and Motivation

The reason that we decided to embark on this study is the desire for people and language scholars to intervene in the issue of language and change. Such zeal has allowed space for a conversation on language reform and development in South Africa. According to Finlayson and Madiba (2002:53), in South Africa,

not much research has been done so far to establish guiding principles and procedures for the development of new terminology for the African languages.

They argue further that ‘such principles should give guidance on the choice of the word-formation patterns and also on their actual use’ (Finlayson & Madiba 2002:53). There is also dissatisfaction about the spelling systems and a lack of suitable terminology for specialised communication in the indigenous languages (cf. Finlayson & Madiba 2002, LANGTAG 1996). In this article we concentrate on the issue of terminology in the intellectualisation of the indigenous languages. The issue of terminology in the development of indigenous languages has often been pursued from a pessimist perspective (Van Huyssteen 1999), and in the absence of formal motivation most new terms that exist in spoken interaction have not been

taken into consideration for language intellectualisation. The other issue has been the tendency of the purists to refuse to accept that indigenous languages have to adapt to a new environment of change in order for these languages to develop into languages of specialised communication (Zuckermann 2009).

Although there are efforts aimed at developing indigenous languages in South Africa, these activities have ignored terms coined during interaction in spoken language corpora. As a result we see an attempt to coin terms that are totally foreign to the speakers of indigenous languages as they are created by a few individuals in isolation. In this article we seek to present a persuasive objective argument concerning terminology development which is based on language use. This can be seen as a proposal put forward for a better approach to intellectualising indigenous languages. Fishman (1977:37) argues that when a language moves into functions for which it was not previously employed, its modernisation becomes necessary if it is to fulfil its new roles. In the case of the indigenous languages of South Africa we can argue that teaching in the medium of these languages in schools and in tertiary education can necessitate the introduction of many technical terms into these languages to express the concepts that were not originally available in them. Terms extracted from spoken interaction can eventually be standardised and used in learning and teaching material.

We have already stated in the introduction to this article that intellectualising indigenous languages may be considered as part of the African Renaissance. The latter is about rebirth and reform. The tools of language reform are either simplification or purification (cf. Lewis 2002). Simplification is about regularising vocabulary and grammar while purification on the other hand is about conforming to a version of a language known as pure. The latter entails the opposition to any changes of a given language and it is a desire to get rid of those changes. Purification may not necessarily help in terms of language intellectualisation, as it does not allow adoptives that arise from multilingual situations. In this article we focus on simplification as a progressive strategy in language intellectualisation (Zuckermann 2009). We follow Allwood (2001) in that terminology development based on the spoken language corpora which reflect language used in real life can do more to help than to hinder education and culture as highlighted in the following section.

The Importance of Spoken Language Corpora in Language Development

Spoken language corpora can allow for the use of statistical performance measures and observation of language used in real life (cf. Biber *et al.* 1998; Biber & Finegan 1991; Allwood 2001). Written language corpora have been already collected by other institutions for a few indigenous languages. The most noticeable corpora of written texts are the Zulu corpus and Sepedi corpus based at the University of Pretoria. However, written corpora do not necessarily represent how language is used in real life since it is based on fiction and other formal written texts such as the newspapers, school books, etc. The focus, therefore, must be on corpora of spoken varieties of these languages, since 'spoken language varies considerably in different social activities with regard to pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar and communicative function' (Allwood *et al.* 2001).

Allwood and Hagman (1994), on the other hand, assert that spoken language is a fundamental trait of the human species. They further argue that

spoken language is fundamental also from a social point of view since it is integrated not only with the human brain but also with human society in various not yet totally understood ways (Allwood & Hagman 1994:1).

Previously, linguistic research focused on written language and as a result this has limited our knowledge of spoken language (cf. Linell 1982; Harris 1980). However, according to Allwood and Hagman (1994:1), the progress in audio, video and computer technology enables us 'to record and analyse spoken language without having to rely on either memory or written language'. It is due to such technological advancement that during the last two decades there has been a strong focus on the corpus linguistic approach.

The Spoken Language Corpora of Indigenous Languages in South Africa

The first task in corpus development is the compilation of a body of texts called a corpus. The rise of computer knowledge and the capacity of

computers to store up large quantities of information have greatly enhanced corpus studies. While English and other European languages are currently far advanced in this development, there are still no comprehensive spoken corpora available for the indigenous languages in South Africa. Therefore, the research and the development of these languages is hampered due to a shortage of data. A corpus represents an enormous research potential, which entails linguistic, social, cultural, educational, inter-lingual and inter-communicational and technological aspects.

In South Africa spoken language corpora for the official indigenous languages are being developed by the University of South Africa (UNISA) as an open-ended corpus project. The first goal of the spoken language corpus project is to produce an average of one million words per language (Allwood & Hendrikse 2003: 194). It is envisaged that the collected corpus data will be used to accomplish the following aims:

- to establish a spoken language corpus research centre
- to adapt and develop computational linguistic software suitable for the agglutinating languages of South Africa
- to develop the relevant African languages of South Africa, and
- to understand the role of language and communication in real life situations.

The intention is to include spoken language from as many social activities as possible in order to get a more complete understanding of the role of language in society. In the meantime, recordings for a pilot study have been collected and a description of the planning phase has been published in some articles (cf. Allwood *et al.* 2003; Allwood & Hendrikse 2003).

Progress and Problems

Out of nine official indigenous languages of South Africa it is only Xhosa that has been able to show greater progress in corpus development. This is because Xhosa was used for piloting the project and it has a consistent transcriber. Zulu is lagging behind with less than 25,000 transcribed tokens so far. The Xhosa corpus includes a total of 45,723 tokens from audio recording and 201,292 tokens from video recordings.

It is discouraging, however, to note that little or nothing is currently happening in the development of the spoken language corpora for the remaining official languages. This is due to insufficient tools and a lack of sufficient financial and human resources. Even in the languages that have shown some progress in corpus development, there is no appropriate monitoring as some of the video recordings get damaged and some of the digitized recordings have been lost. Some of the recordings are of such a poor quality that no transcriptions can be made based on them. Besides these problems there are many uncoordinated individual activities that are going on in corpus development. The other problem is the word-hood in the agglutinating languages. While it is easy to identify words in isolating languages, in agglutinating languages it is almost impossible to find words. The so-called words in agglutinating languages are complex and morpho-syntactic. For example, the Zulu construct ‘*yayingakaguqulwa*’ means ‘it had not been changed’ and it has a lexico-grammatical structure as it can also be analysed at the syntactic level.

Methodology

General Procedures

In order to see the nature of words that can be considered as borrowed in the two Nguni languages, we extracted from the transcribed spoken Zulu and spoken Xhosa corpora approximately 20, 000 tokens per language. We wanted to use a method which would identify the frequency of occurrence of borrowed words in normal spoken language. Once the frequency of occurrence of borrowed words in spoken Zulu and Xhosa corpora can be determined this can be analysed and be contrasted with original Zulu and Xhosa words that are found in spoken corpora. A spoken corpus-linguistics approach was selected as the most appropriate method in making observations about the nature of intellectualisation that is already taking place in spoken languages.

Data Analysis

We applied *WordSmith Tools* to isolate each token that is found in transcribed spoken corpora. *WordSmith Tools* is a form of lexical analysis

software that was developed by Mike Scott. The application of *WordSmith Tools* to a corpus results in isolating each token that is used in the corpus. Our task was to extract borrowed words and concepts from the list and note their frequency of use in transcribed spoken Zulu and spoken Xhosa corpora. We also wanted to look at the nature and the formation of these words in order to support the hypothesis that the spoken corpus data has a significant number of borrowed lexical items that can be used as the basis for the intellectualisation of indigenous languages. The tools gave us access to the ranked frequency of all words in the sample corpora of both languages. By using the token lists we were able to obtain a sample of single words extracted from the transcribed spoken corpus data. The list called A provided us with alphabetically arranged words and the frequency of their occurrence.

Results and Discussion

In the transcribed spoken Zulu corpus data of exactly 18954 tokens and 5584 word types we found 285 tokens representing borrowed words and code switches and mixes (see Appendix). That counted for 114 word types in the total sample corpus. In the transcribed spoken Xhosa corpus of exactly 19238 tokens and 5143 word types we found 430 tokens representing borrowed words and code switches and mixes. This counted for 151 word types in this sample corpus.

The observation here is that while Zulu has a significant number of borrowed words, Xhosa has more of these words than its counterpart. Another observation is that while Zulu classifies borrowed words in almost every class gender, Xhosa only classifies these words in specific classes (see Appendix). It was also observed that these borrowed words can be categorised into various groups according to how they are borrowed and adapted in indigenous languages.

Adoptives

In this process the borrowing is integrated into the linguistic structure of the borrowing language. This includes new words that are formed by adapting foreign words into the phonological and lexical system of the borrowing language as reflected in the following examples:

Zulu	Gloss	Xhosa	Gloss
<i>Udokotela</i>	Doctor	<i>Usisi</i>	Sister
<i>Ijele</i>	Jail	<i>Izinki</i>	Zinc
<i>Isikole</i>	School	<i>Iyunivesithi</i>	University
<i>Imali</i>	Money	<i>Ikoloni</i>	Colony

Sounds that are not in the borrowing language are replaced with a similar sound such as the case of /r/ in the word ‘doctor’. The spelling is adapted and the word such as ‘zinc’ is pronounced as ‘uzinki’. Morphologically these words adopt particular class genders in South African indigenous languages. For example, classes 5 and 9 become the default class genders where speakers of Nguni languages automatically classify borrowed words. Some exceptions in the classification of borrowed words are due to factors such as morphology and semantics. For example, ‘isikole’ is classified under class 7 because morphologically the first consonant of the word ‘school’ has become a basic prefix in the adapted form. Some words such as ‘unobhala’ (secretary) are classified in class 1(a) because their semantic properties are associated with humans.

Loan Translations or Calques

Loan translation is a process of translating morphologically complex foreign expressions by means of combinations of native elements that match the meaning and the structure of the foreign expression and their component parts. The following examples depict this phenomenon:

Zulu	Gloss	Xhosa	Gloss
<i>Umengameli</i> (derived from the verb <i>engamela</i> - 'preside')	President	<i>Unobhala</i> (from the act of writing - <i>bhala</i> - 'write')	Secretary
<i>Umcwaningi</i> (from the verb <i>cwaninga</i> - 'analyze')	Researcher	<i>Umqhubi</i> (from the act of driving - <i>qhuba</i> - 'drive')	Driver

<i>Umnotho</i> (from <i>notha</i> - 'rich')	Economy	<i>Umabonakude</i> (from to see and distance - bona kude - 'see far')	Television
<i>Isichazamazwi</i> (something that explains words - <i>chaza</i> <i>amazwi</i> - 'explain words')	Dictionary	<i>Isithuthi</i> (that which moves from one place to another - <i>thutha</i> - carry away)	Transport

Coinages

Coinage refers to the invention of new words. A new word that does not exist in a language is formed from a native perspective of what the borrowed object or phenomenon might mean. For example, the word '*ingculaza*' (HIV/Aids) is a coined word and it has the invented meaning to native speakers of the language. Although this word has never existed before in the borrowing language, native speakers can easily understand it because it describes the painful act that comes as a result of this particular new disease.

Loan Shift

This takes place when a word that already exists in a borrowing language is used to refer to a borrowed concept which is similar in function or meaning to that which exists in the borrowing language. This is sometimes referred to as the semantic shift. For example *ingwazi* is a word that was used to refer to a person who was a hero in the war, but now the term refers to someone who is a champion or prolific in his or her work.

Codemixes and Codeswitches

It is also noticeable in the words extracted from the corpus that there is significant number of words that retain their original form or some part of

their form from the donor language. In this case we have found a lot of English words in Xhosa and Zulu corpora. Xhosa has more of these words compared to Zulu. However, the use of English in Zulu and Xhosa spoken text may depend on whether people are bilingual or not. The educated will most likely use English forms instead of adapted forms, as English is the lingua franca in South Africa and it is regarded as a language with high status.

Synonyms

There is also an abundance of synonyms as a range of new terms are sometimes used to refer to a single entity. For example *ingculazi*, *ugawulayo*, *i-Aids* refer to HIV/Aids respectively. People understand all these words and they use each word depending on context. One would think that it is only the educated people who can refer to HIV/Aids as *i-Aids*. But even people who do not speak English understand the latter term since this word has been used repeatedly because of the severity and the scourge of this pandemic. According to Finlayson and Madiba (2002:47), we will need to define distinctions between words that may have been synonyms. The use of the statistical method based on spoken corpora can allow us to see which words are commonly used in spoken interaction.

Some Observations

From the foregoing, it is clear that success in the intellectualisation of indigenous languages in South Africa will depend on the strategies used in documenting new terminology for specialised communication. Ngcobo (2009) argues that we need to use modern strategies such as communication and technology in promoting the use and development of indigenous languages in South Africa. If indigenous languages are used in modern and specialised domains such as science and technology, the communicative imperative will result in new intellectualisation terms being developed in speech rather than in isolation. Finlayson and Madiba (2002) argue that the failure to use African languages as media of instruction will surely impede the intellectualisation of these languages. They argue further that,

the use of a language as a medium of instruction ... creates the demand for new terms and further provides the opportunity to use them in meaningful contexts, e.g. in textbooks, in teaching, for scientific experiments and so forth (Finlayson & Madiba 2002:46).

The use of methods such as borrowing can contribute in the intellectualisation of indigenous languages. In a multilingual situation it is almost impossible to exclude new words that come as a result of interaction with other languages. It is also an observable fact that since English is prominent in modern domains we can expect that it will influence the intellectualisation of indigenous languages in great measure. For example, in a bilingual environment code switches or mixes are used to deliver the message. This strategy provides a clear sense of optimism for the development of indigenous languages as media of instruction.

Conclusion

In this study we have revealed that we need to use spoken language data in the intellectualisation of indigenous languages. Corpora may be used as the basis for generating new term lists. This is the strategy that can help in providing objective term creation and the acceptance of new terms by a wider community. The use of spoken corpus data for the two Nguni languages (Xhosa and Zulu) shows that there is a significant number of raw terms coined by people in interaction. These terms may be used as the basis for generating other terms as the need arises. This is a significant step forward towards the intellectualisation of the indigenous languages. Indigenous languages' morphology is very flexible and therefore allows a variety of word formation patterns with ease.

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Appendix

New Terms Attested in Zulu and Xhosa Corpora

Zulu Nouns	English gloss	Cases	Xhosa Nouns	English gloss	Cases
Gender 1a/2a					
U-mongameli	President	1	Ubhuti	Brother	21
U-dokotela	Doctor	21	Unongxowa	Treasurer	48
U-Jesu	Jesus	1	Utata	Father	6
U-sihlalo	Chairperson	3	Ugqirha	Doctor	6
U-solwazi	Professor	2	Umam	Madam	1
U-chwepheshe	Expert	2	Udisemba	December	1
U-mhleli	Editor	3	Urhulumente	Government	8
U-thisha	Teacher	1	Unobhala	Chairperson	10
U-Mrs	Mrs	1	Uthixo	God	4
			Unesi	Nurse	1
			usisi	Sister	1
Gender 1/2					
Um-cwaningi	Researcher	3	Umlungu	White person	9
Um-lungu	White person	1	Umqhubi	Driver	4
Um-fundisi	Reverend	1	umthwebuli	Photographer	1
Gender 3/4					
U-hulumeni	Government	1	Umkhenkce	Ice	1
U-beetroot	Beetroot	1	Umzuzu	Minute	1
U-gawulayo	HIV/Aids	1	Umabonaku de	Television	6
Um-khandlu	Council	3	U-sugar	Sugar	1
Um-gwaqo	Road	1	Umbane	Electricity	1
Um-khakha	Field (of study)	1	Uduladula	Bus	1
Um-notho	Economy	1			
Gender 5/6					
Ilokishi	Township	3	Ityotyombe	Slum	1
I-dobha	Town	1	Izinki	Zinc	1
I-researcher	Researcher	1	Ikhumsha	Modernised per	1
Ijele	Jail	1	Inesi	Nurse	1
I-shalofu	Shelf	1	Ipasi	Identity doc	2

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I-bhokisi	Box	1	Ikwayikwayi	High hilled shoe	1
I-bhuku	Book	1	Ihotela	Hotel	2
I-khafula	Kaffir	1	Ikwerekwere	Foreigner	1
I-ndiya	Indian	1			
I-philisi	Tablet/pill	5			
I-phepha	Paper	1			
I-holidi	Holiday	1			
I-phoyisa	Police man	1			
I-sosha	Soldier	2			
I-bhadi	Bad luck	2			
I-bhayibheli	Bible	1			
I-bhanoyi	Aeroplane	2			
I-viki	Week	1			
I-khemisi	Pharmacy	2			
I-ngisi	English person	1			
Gender 7/8					
Isi-bhedlela	Hospital	6	Isibhedlele	Hospital	15
Isi-kole	School	8	Iziyobisi	Drugs	4
Isi-poti	Drinking area	1	Isikolo	School	7
Is-ayoni	Zion	2	Isihlangu	Shoe	5
Isi-chazamazwi	Dictionary	12	Isibhamu	Gun	3
Isi-funda	Region	1	Isilungu	English	2
Isi-fundazwe	Province	2	Isimomondiy a	Pretty girl	1
Isi-hlalo	Chair	1	Isibhulu	Afrikaans	2
Isi-kali	Scale	3	Isithuthi	Transport	1
Isi-khungo	Institution	12	Isipaji	Wallet	1
Isi-lungu	English	5	Isingesi	English	1
Isi-ngisi	English	5	Isithuthuthu	Motor-bike	4
Is-ono	Sin	1	Isithixo	a stature/god	2
Is-onto	Church	4	isitulo	Chair	1
Isi-klabhu	Sheep	2			
Isi-gaba	Section/ paragraph	1			
Gender 9/10					
Im-ali	Money	8	Incwadi	Book	9
I-genge	Gang	6	i-Afrika	Africa	3
Im-oto	Motor car	7	Imali	Money	21

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In-gculazi	HIV/Aids	34	i-Medunsa	Medunsa	2
Ibhodi	Board	1	Imelika	America	1
i-computer	Computer	1	Inkongo	Service	5
I-geji	Gauge	1	Iyunivesithi	University	1
i-guiter	Guitar	1	I-ajenda	Agenda	1
In-cwadi	Book	2	Idrinki	Drink	1
In-diza	Aeroplane	1	Ilali	Rural area	2
In-hlosongqangi	Main aim	1	Imoto	Car	4
In-tatheli	Journalist	2	Impi	War	2
i-punchbag	Punch-bag	1	Ingqesho	Employment	2
i-support	Support	1	Irabhi	Rugby	1
I-tekisi	Taxi	2	Iphanado	Panado	1
In-gwazi	Prolific person	1	Isheleni	Ten cents	1
In-konzo	Church service	1	Itoliki	Interpreter	2
			Itranskayi	Transkei	2
			Iveni	Van	1
			Ikoloni	Colony	2
			Ikota	Quarter	1
			i-dean	Dean	1
			itishala	Teacher	2
			Ingculazi	HIV/Aids	1
			Icawa	Church/Sunday	1
			Iswelikle	Sugar	4
			Ifama	Farm	1
			itshomi	Friend	1
			Ibhasi	Bus	1
			Idolophu	Town	2
			Ikaka	Faeces	5
			Ihagu	Pig	1
			Ibhola	Ball	3
			Igusha	Sheep	1
			Ikofu	Coffee	1
			Iholide	Holiday	1
			Ipali	Pole	1
			Ikati	Cat	1
			Iti	Tea	1
			Itreyi	Tray	1

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			Iveki	Week	1
			Ipasika	Easter	1
			Ijele	Jail	1
Gender 11/10					
U-hlamvu	Consonant	2			
U-cingo	Phone/wire	1			
U-cwaningo	Research	1			
U-shanguzo	ARVs	1			
Gender 14					
Ubu-chwepheshe	Technology	1			
Ubu-krestu	Christianity	1			
Ubu-dokotela	Medical profess.	1			
Gender 15					
Uku-cubungula	To analyse	5			
Uku-preventa	To prevent	1			
Uku-shicilela	To publish	1			
Zulu verbs/adjectives					
			Xhosa verbs/adjectives		
jova	Inoculate	1	fona	Phone	1
ngcwele	holy	1	owebala	Coloured	2
jima	Gym exercise	1	tolika	Interprete	1
cwaninga	Research	2	bhala	Write	11
qopha	Record	1	bhalisa	Register	2
bhala	Write	3	driva	Drive	1
tolika	Interpret	2	khumusha	Speak English	3
Shutha	Shoot	1	bhatala	Pay	9
cubungula	Analyse	1	thenga	Buy	1
shayela	Drive	1	tshintsha	Change	2
shintsha	Change	2	qhomfa	Abort	1
			thwebula	Take photo	1
			qhuba	Drive	3
			thengisa	Sell	1
			tyikitya	Sign	1
English word					
right		1	English words		1
			About		

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Africa	2	Admires	1
Aids	2	Adoptive	1
as	4	Advertise	1
behalf	1	And	1
but	3	As	1
buses	1	But	2
coming	1	Code	8
community	1	dragging	1
discussion	1	Drive	1
English	1	English	8
first	1	Ever	1
hand	8	Example	1
handshake	2	Flat	1
HIV	1	For	1
introduction	1	Head	1
just	1	His	1
mayor	2	ID	2
MP	1	Is	2
problem	1	Know	5
question	1	Laughter	1
		Loan	1
		Man	8
		Minutes	1
		Mix	5
		Money	1
		Next	2
		Not	1
		Numbers	1
		Ok	1
		Shake	1
		Should	2
		Shouldn't	1
		Sixteen	1
		So	2
		Sound	1
		Storytelling	1
		Switch	3
		Talk	4

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		Teen	2
		Teenage	2
		Themselves	2
		Time	2
		TV	1
		Twelve	1
		Unwittingly	1
		USA	1
		US	1
		Vir	1
		Word	1
		You	7
TOTAL	285		430

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Corpus Planning, with Specific Reference to the Use of Standard isiZulu in Media

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Abstract

This article focuses on standardisation, an aspect of corpus planning which is one of the categories of language planning. Corpus planning refers to activities such as coining new terms, reforming spelling, and adopting a new script. It refers, in short, to the creation of new forms, the modification of old ones, or the selection from alternative forms in a spoken or written code. The argument in the article is that whilst the three isiZulu newspapers, namely, *Ilanga*, *Isolezwe*, and *UMAFRIKA* are doing a great job in promoting the use of isiZulu in the media, there are inconsistencies in the way they apply isiZulu orthographical rules. The data used in this article was collected from the three isiZulu newspapers. The words selected in the three newspapers were spelt differently in the different newspapers. The article argues that the three isiZulu newspapers are inconsistent in the application of orthographic rules in isiZulu which can cause problems for the intellectualisation process, which is a strategy for accelerating the growth and development of languages.

Keywords: language planning, corpus planning, standardisation, media, orthography, intellectualisation

Introduction and Background

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) recognizes eleven official languages namely: isiZulu, isiXhosa, Afrikaans, Sepedi, English,

seTswana, seSotho, xiTsonga, isiSwati, tshiVenda and isiNdebele. All these languages should be used and developed as per the government's policy framework on language. South Africa is in the process of developing the indigenous languages through the Pan South African Languages Board and other government structures. One of the requirements for developing any language is the planning of its corpus. This refers to the standardisation and also intellectualisation of a language. According to Batibo (2009b) the intellectualisation process is a strategy for accelerating the growth and development of languages. A corpus may be written or spoken. For example, the media is a source of language data and creates a written corpus. Olohan (2004:1) defines a corpus as

a collection of texts, selected and compiled according to a specific criterion. The texts are held in electronic format, i.e. as computer files, so that various kinds of corpus tools, i.e. software, can be used to carry out analysis of them.

This article explores the inconsistencies with regard to the interpretation and application of orthographical rules by three isiZulu newspapers representing the print media. The inconsistencies in the application of orthographical rules is also observed in the isiZulu news programme of the South African Broadcasting Corporation 1 (SABC1).

The argument in the article is that the three isiZulu newspapers namely, *Ilanga*, *Isolezwe*, and *UMAFRIKA* are inconsistent in the application of some of the orthographic rules in isiZulu which is a concern for the author because isiZulu is a standard language and standard languages have notions of what is 'correct' and 'incorrect' according to the isiZulu National Language Board (NLB). The problem that has been identified is that there is a cohort of isiZulu editors in both print and electronic media that are not acquainted with the standard orthography and other rules and their usage of written isiZulu. These problems are prevalent in the writing style of isiZulu writers especially the journalists and editors of isiZulu newspapers. These include, among other things, spelling which deals with many linguistic issues such as writing conventions in isiZulu, old versus new isiZulu orthography, and notations. The expression 'old versus new' is used to indicate that the isiZulu orthography has changed over the years,

'old' in this case referring to the orthography that used to be applied and 'new' referring to the current standard orthography. Masubelele (2007:129) confirms that Colenso had begun to use the agglutinative system ('new') of writing as early as 1855, but the writing of isiZulu in the conjunctive manner began in 1959. It was introduced by the Bantu Education Section of the Department of Native Affairs and became compulsory in schools in the Union of South Africa (Doke 1958: xii).

Fourteen years after the publication of the report on the standard and non-standard African language varieties in the urban areas of South Africa (STANON) research programme (Calteaux 1996) with its recommendations, there still exist inconsistencies in the application of standard isiZulu orthography. The STANON programme was a collaborative research project between the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), African Language Association of Southern Africa (ALASA) and the then Department of Education and Training (DET). The aims of the research programme were: to describe the differences between the nine standard African languages (i.e. isiZulu, isiXhosa, isiSwazi, isiNdebele, Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho, seTswana, Venda and Tsonga) and their non-standard varieties in selected areas of South Africa; to describe the influence of the non-standard varieties on the standard language in selected areas, and to make recommendations for language planning and language education. The long term objectives of the STANON programme were to promote research in the nine African languages spoken in South Africa as well as the development of these languages. Another objective was to involve mother tongue speakers in a country-wide scientific research programme and also make a valuable contribution to the teaching of the African languages in schools.

Conceptual Framework

This article is conceptualized within the broader field of language planning. It has been through macro planning (Ngcobo 2009) that South African indigenous languages have been given official status. Language planning occurs for several reasons, one of which is to solve language problems, which may exist in society. The government is involved in language planning because it has the power to legislate on language. Language

planning as a concept is very complex, and it has been defined in different ways by different scholars (cf. Kaplan & Baldauf 1997; Eastman 1983; Haugen 1983; Cooper 1989). Neustupný (1994:50) claims that 'any act of language planning should start with the consideration of language problems as they appear in discourse, and the planning should not be considered complete until the removal of the problems is implemented in discourse'. Calteaux (1996), Webb (2002), Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) see language planning as a process. They choose to define this process by referring to Haugen's (1983) model. According to this model (1983:275) language planning is a process that can be viewed from a societal focus or a language focus. The societal focus deals with issues of status planning and the language focus forms part of corpus planning. Cooper (1989) chooses to categorize language planning into three areas, namely status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning. Status planning refers only to those aspects which reflect social issues and concerns. Two of the issues which make up a language plan are the selection of languages for particular functions and the implementation of those languages for those functions (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997:30). Corpus planning, on the other hand, can be defined as those aspects which are primarily linguistic and hence internal to language, like orthographic innovation of language material (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997:38). Scholars such as Neustupný (1974) and Gonzalez (1993) use the term 'language cultivation' in place of 'language elaboration' to refer to corpus planning. Implementation of the status planning decisions frequently demands corpus planning, particularly when a language or language variety is chosen for a communicative function which it has not previously served. As an example, the University of KwaZulu-Natal took a status planning decision to create a language policy that promotes the use of English and isiZulu as languages of administration, tuition and research. In this example, isiZulu as an indigenous language is now serving a new function. This is an opportunity to intellectualise isiZulu as an academic language through corpus planning. Various Schools at the University of KwaZulu-Natal have already begun to develop new terminology for use in professional programmes with the long term goal of using isiZulu as an alternative medium of instruction Ndimande-Hlongwa *et al.* (2010). Acquisition planning refers to organised efforts to promote the learning of a language. Corpus planning is the focus of this article.

Cooper (1989:125) chose to categorize corpus planning into graphisation, standardisation, modernisation and renovation. Standardisation is the main focus of this article. Standardisation is the process of deliberate choice and promotion of one variety of a language to become the standard variety (Batibo 2009a:1). The idea is meant to ensure that one variety is used in the school curriculum, in publishing, in the media, in teaching the language to foreigners and in official settings. According to Hall (2005) language standardisation is the process by which a vernacular in a community becomes the standard language (SL) form. This carries implicit elements of prestige (whereby the SL vernacular is valued more highly than others), stability, and common usage. There are various models for standardisation, but the author would like to highlight only three significant models namely Haugen's model (1966), Crystal's model (1993) and Garvin's model (1993). Haugen's model has four stages and is probably the best and most widely used model. It is very comprehensive and includes the selection of a norm, codification of form, elaboration of function and acceptance by the community. Crystal's model (1993) has four stages as well, namely selecting the norm, codification, modernization and implementation. Garvin (1993) bases his model on the following three questions: What is a standard language? How does a standard language serve its users? And lastly, what are the conditions required for the development of a standard language? The three models are all relevant in this article, but the author will work with Garvin's model (1993). The reason for doing this is because Garvin goes further than the other models by identifying two properties of standardisation, namely, flexible codification and intellectualisation. Codification not only refers to the written code but also implies that rules of correctness are codified in documents which are accessible to the speech community such as grammars and dictionaries. Yet, this codification also has to be flexible in order to accommodate changes in the language (Garvin 1993:41). The intellectualisation property deals with the capacity of language to develop more accurate means of expression in, for instance, technology, higher education and politics. Garvin (1993:45-48) proposes five functions of a standard language, these being the unifying, separatist, prestige and participatory functions, which are all symbolic, and the objective frame-of reference function. Garvin links the five functions to different language attitudes as follows:

- The unifying and separatist functions are linked to the attitude of loyalty. The unifying function concerns the loyalty of a speech community to the standard language. The separatist function concerns the loyalty of a speech community to its own standard language, and not to any other variety.
- The prestige function links up with the pride of a speech community to possess a ‘real’ language and not just a dialectal variety.
- The participatory function links up with a desire to take part in modern life through intellectualisation in the field of technology and science, for instance.
- The frame-of-reference function links up with an awareness of norm. Members of a speech community are aware of a model that they can follow for matters of language correctness, for instance.

This article is informed by Garvin’s (1993) five functions of a standard language and the different attitudes attached to these. The focus of the article is on the inconsistencies in the usage of an already codified language (i.e. isiZulu). According to Haugen (1966) and Holmes (2001) codifying a language can vary from case to case and depends on the stage of standardisation that already exists. It typically means developing a writing system, setting up official rules for grammar, orthography, pronunciation, syntax, and vocabulary as well as publishing grammar books, dictionaries and similar guidelines. If there are several variants for a certain aspect, e.g. different ways of spelling a word, decisions on which variant is going to be the standard one has to be made. According to Haugen (1966) and Garvin (1993) this stage is also commonly known as graphisation.

Cooper (1989:125) differentiates graphisation from codification. For him, graphisation entails the process of reducing a language to writing. Codification, for Cooper (1989:145) refers to the written form of a standard language evidenced by the existence of published dictionaries, grammars, spellers and manuals. The author will now provide a little historical background to the codification of African languages, isiZulu in particular. According to Makoni and Meinhof (2003:4) from the late 18th century and

throughout the 19th and much more of the 20th, missionary imperatives led to grammar and spelling systems being ‘developed’ for African languages. That kind of work is currently being continued under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) in different parts of Africa. In South Africa, this work is currently under the auspices of the National Language Boards (NLBs) which are structures of the Pan South African Languages Board (PanSALB). Makoni and Meinhof (2003:4) say that even if those involved in the codification and production of writing systems might not have defined what they were doing as applied linguistics, retrospectively they argue that the production of the writing systems constituted applied linguistic activities of major significance in shaping sociolinguistic images of the African landscape. The production of writing systems for different languages was not a simple matter of writing down a language. It involved a process of investing ‘simplified’ or standardised versions of African speech forms, mediating between a range of dialects, and losing vocabulary and social significance in the process. Masubelele (2007:145) says that what we see today as written isiZulu is a culmination of years of trials that stretched over a period of almost one hundred and fifty years. When European explorers who came into contact with the Zulu people recorded isiZulu words in their journals, they did this by using the alphabet of the languages they spoke. The first evidence of written isiZulu in 1844 was the work of Adulphe Delegorgue, as cited in Davey and Koopman (2000:134). He compiled a vocabulary of the language which he called ‘*la Langue Zoulouse*’. Other important written contributions came from the early missionaries of the American Board in Natal, Bryant and Grout. In 1848 Bryant wrote the first isiZulu grammar book. In isiZulu language, graphisation was characterized by changes in spelling due to language development.

Orthographic Changes in isiZulu

The orthography of a language specifies the correct way of using a specific writing system to write the language. Orthography is defined by Richards, Platt and Platt (1993:259-260) as an accepted way of writing and using words of an official language. According to van Hyssteen (2003) this term in African languages does not only include spelling but also terminology.

Orthography is defined by Webster (1954:367) as ‘the art of spelling and writing words correctly’. All the languages in South Africa use the roman script. The development of African languages led to changes in the orthography as reflected in the examples from the isiZulu language.

Old versus New isiZulu Orthography

The old isiZulu orthography refers to the orthography that was used in the earliest period of writing isiZulu and the new refers to the current standard orthography. The old spelling rules are no longer in use today, but it is important that all the concerned people in all the educational and public domains be aware of them since such spelling is still occurring in surnames because people did not want to change them. Often people went to register their children’s birth names and the clerks recording the names wrote them down incorrectly. Many people do not report such mistakes and so they are never rectified. There are place names as well that are still written in the old spelling.

Old	New
<i>Dhlomo</i>	<i>Dlomo</i> (surname)
<i>Mapumulo</i>	<i>Maphumulo</i> (place name)
Kumalo	Khumalo (surname)

The following examples are common orthographical changes in the earliest isiZulu orthography. In the earliest grammars, no distinction was made between **hl** and **dl**. For example the word –**hlala** was used to mean ‘stay’ and ‘play’ (Döhne 1857:29). In the case of the **h**, which is a voiced glottal fricative, it was replaced by **hh** because **it** was inconsistent and varied for many years which caused confusion. The voiceless fricative remained a single **h**.

Old	New	Examples
dhl e.g. idhla	dl ,	idla (eat)
h e.g. iholo	hh ,	ihholo (hall)

In the next example, **h** is an aspirated plosive and must always follow the plosives **p**, **k** and **t** which was not the case in the earliest orthographies, e.g.

Old	New	Examples
-p	-ph	phila (alive)
-k	-kh	khala (cry)
-t	-th	thatha (take)

Language change takes place at a number of levels, namely phonological, morphological, semantic, and syntactic. These changes are the result of a number of varied factors for example: the proximity, influence and prestige of other languages; social, political and economic changes; the influence of education and literacy; technological advances; cultural changes; the influence of the media, both written and electronic; the influence of the church: early missionary societies, the preaching of Christianity and the translation of the Bible by early missionary societies, translation of the Bible and other religious texts, etc. Calteaux (1996:8)). The following discussion is on the issue of writing disjunctively or conjunctively in isiZulu orthography.

Writing Disjunctively or Conjunctively

The disjunctive method of writing means that linguistic units are written separately from one another e.g. *ngi- ya- dla* (I am eating) in isiZulu, while the conjunctive method requires morphemes to be glued together e.g. *ngiyadla*. IsiZulu is known to be an agglutinative language because it glues morphemes together in word formation. The disjunctive method of writing occurs generally in the Sotho languages. However it also occurs in isiZulu especially in writing the demonstrative pronouns, although isiZulu uses mainly conjunctive writing (van Hyssten 2003:68). The disjunctive manner of writing was used by early isiZulu grammarians like Döhne (1857) and Roberts (1899). The conjunctive method of writing was used by isiZulu grammarians such as Bryant (1905), Colenso (1905), Samuelson (1925) and Doke (1945). The rationale for the change from a disjunctive to a

conjunctive writing system was due to inconsistency on the part of the authors themselves. The missionaries who started the codification of isiZulu wrote it from a western perspective, based on their own language systems. Makoni and Meinhof (2003:4) argue that the missionaries often used a very small part of the stylistic range, partly because they had to capture it in writing prematurely after they had learned only enough to get across certain quite basic messages. In other words, they did not have access to the full, elaborate code. They were also people of the age of ‘progress’, often impatient of the associative discourse so characteristic of oral cultures, and favouring linear reasoning styles (Makoni and Meinhof, 2003:4). Grammarians like Doke, Bryant and Colenso also felt that the conjunctive method of writing was not complicated, so, as a result of all the above factors, standard isiZulu today employs the conjunctive method. Bryant (1905), cited by van Hyssten (2003:69), explains why the conjunctive approach is preferable: ‘... in the word *wahamba*, the particle *wa-* on its own, would be meaningless and unintelligible to the Native mind’. Samuelson (1925:17) regards this method as correct since the ‘isiZulu word’ constitutes in the Zulu mind ‘... a complete thought under one controlling accent and enunciation conveying one undivided meaning’. As mentioned in the introduction the conjunctive method of writing began in 1959 and this decision was recorded in the isiZulu terminology and orthography of 1962 (Masubelele 2007:152). In order to further explain the writing system in isiZulu, the author will look specifically at the manner of writing the demonstrative pronoun and the hyphen in order to indicate the inconsistencies in the three isiZulu newspapers.

Demonstrative Pronoun (rule 9 according to PanSALB 2005)

The manner of writing the demonstrative pronoun in the isiZulu language is the most disputed orthographic issue. The problem emanates from the orthographic rules formulated by the isiZulu language boards over the years which concerned the demonstrative pronoun. These rules varied from disjunctive to conjunctive and back to disjunctive, thus causing inconsistencies in application by the writers of the language. Comparisons could be made from the orthography rules published in 1957, 1962, 1976, 1993 and 2005. Although isiZulu is following the conjunctive method of

writing there are exceptions in the rules of writing a demonstrative. In isiZulu the current rule requires that the demonstrative pronoun be written as separate words, e.g. *lo mfundi*, *lowo muntu*, *leziya zingane*, etc. Currently all the three isiZulu newspapers are aware of the latest orthographic rule, but do not adhere to the rule that the demonstrative pronoun be written disjunctively in certain cases. The inconsistencies that were identified were extracted from page 2 of *Ilanga* newspaper of June 12-14 2006, *UMAFRIKA* June 30-July 6 2006 and *Isolezwe* of 3 October 2008. These examples are supposed to be written disjunctively.

<u>Conjunctive Writing</u>	<u>Disjunctive Writing</u>
<i>lelikhonsathi</i>	<i>leli khonsathi</i> (this concert)
<i>lezizingwazi</i>	<i>lezi zingwazi</i> (these heroes)
<i>kulomgubho</i>	<i>kulo mgubho</i> (in this festival)
<i>lesisizinda</i>	<i>lesi sizinda</i> (this domain)
<i>loluhlelo</i>	<i>lolu hlelo</i> (this programme)
<i>kulendawo</i>	<i>kule ndawo</i> (in this area)
<i>lomcimbi</i>	<i>lo mcimbi</i> (this function)
<i>kulomkhakha</i>	<i>Kulo mkhakha</i> (in this field)

The above examples show that there are some inconsistencies in the way the demonstrative pronoun is written. Even in the isiZulu bible all the demonstratives are written together with nouns, which could be the reason for the continued confusion in the manner of writing the demonstrative in the newspapers. The role of media in promoting the use of isiZulu is recommended and Alexander (2005:11) is of the opinion that the promotion of print and electronic media in African languages on a large scale, as it happens in some West and East African countries, is urgently necessary. At this level of popular modernisation of the languages, the culture of reading can be effectively established and thus the basis for the intellectual modernisation of the relevant languages. Whilst we promote the use of African languages in media, especially isiZulu in KwaZulu-Natal, it is essential that we avoid the inconsistencies identified above.

The Use of Hyphen (rule 6)

In isiZulu orthography the hyphen is used when a numeral is preceded by an inflected prefix to join concords to Arabic numerals, e.g. *ngehora le-10* (10 o'clock). It is also used to separate two vowels, e.g. *i-Afrika* (Africa). It is used with enclitics, e.g. *kodwa-ke* (but then). It is inserted between the initial vowel prefix and the acronym e.g. *i-HIV* (human immuno deficiency virus). The hyphen is also used with words which are directly taken from other languages e.g. *lokhu sekuyi*-status quo (this is now the status quo). The words from the other languages should be written in italics. It is also used with certain place names as well as with double-barrel surnames or hyphenated surnames (PanSALB 2005:15). The two isiZulu newspapers show inconsistencies in using the hyphen rule when joining concords to Arabic numerals. For example, page 14 of *Ilanga* newspaper of June 12-14 2006, *Isolezwe* of October 3 and 23 2008 and *Isolezwe* of 15 June 2010 wrote numbers in such a way that they are read in English language, whereas according the standard isiZulu orthography numbers should be written in such a way that they are read in isiZulu, e.g.

Examples from newspapers	The standard orthography
<i>ngomzuliswano ka-6</i>	<i>ngomzuliswano wesi-6</i> (round 6)
<i>ngomzuliswano ka-7</i>	<i>ngomzuliswano wesi-7</i> (round 7)
<i>ngoMgqibelo ngo-8</i>	<i>ngoMgqibelo ngehora lesi-8</i> (Saturday at 8 o'clock)
<i>Mhlaka- 05</i>	<i>ngamhla zi-5</i> (on the 5 th)
<i>ukusukela ngo- 10</i>	<i>ukusukela ngehora le-10</i> (from 10 o'clock)
<i>abavukuzi abangu-57</i>	<i>abavukuzi abangama-57(57 miners)</i>
<i>washona nabantu abangu-12</i>	<i>washona nabantu abayi-12</i> (s/he died with 12 people)

In writing the years as well, there are major problems in the three isiZulu newspapers in adhering to the standard isiZulu orthography rule. The following are some of the examples found in *Isolezwe* of 14 October 2008, UMAFRICA June 30-July 6 2006 and *Ilanga* of 7-9 August 2006:

Examples from newspapers	The standard orthography
<i>Le nhlangano yaqala ukufika ngo-2006.</i>	<i>Le nhlangano yaqala ukufika ngonyaka wezi-2006.</i> (This organization came for the first time in 2006)
<i>ngo-1967 futhi waba nguthisha</i>	<i>ngonyaka we-1967 futhi waba nguthisha.</i> (In 1967 s/he then became an educator)
<i>Indebe yoMhlaba ka-2010.</i>	<i>Indebe yoMhlaba yonyaka wezi-2010.</i> (2010 World Cup)
<i>ilayisense yokuvula iTavern ngo-2002</i>	<i>ilayisense yokuvula iTavern ngonyaka wezi-2002.</i> (License for opening a Tavern in 2002)
<i>waqashwa kwaMuhle ngo1984.</i>	<i>waqashwa kwaMuhle ngonyaka we-1984.</i> (was employed at kwaMuhle in 1984)

In the above examples extracted from the newspapers the years are read in English even though the sentences are written in isiZulu. The hyphen rule does not allow numbers and years to be read in other languages except in isiZulu. UMAFRICA does not use the hyphen at all when writing numbers and years. In relation to Garvin's functions of the standard language the newspapers are not loyal to the standard isiZulu language. The use of the hyphen as punctuation mark according to van Hyssteen (2003:75) can be regarded as part of the conjunctive writing system, since it prevents lexical items from being separated entirely.

It should be noted that some of the inconsistencies found in the three isiZulu newspapers were paid adverts from government departments, for example, KwaZulu-Natal Legislature, Office of the Premier, Arts and Culture, KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Government, eThekweni municipality, Department of Education etc. These constituencies have language services departments within their structures but the adverts that are written in isiZulu and published in these three isiZulu newspapers leave much to be desired. It is important that some mechanism be put in place to address these

inconsistencies in writing standard isiZulu in the newspapers especially since the editorial policy does not allow the editors to edit the adverts. Alexander (2005:12) was impressed with the project led by Professor Kwesi Prah of the Centre for the Advanced Study of African Societies (CASAS) at Rondebosch, Cape Town that addresses issues of orthography. Their excellent work culminated in a monograph titled *A Unified Standard Orthography for South-Central African Languages with Specific Reference to Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia*. In consultation with PanSALB, the author recommends that the nine National Language Boards of South Africa should also move in this direction instead of having many separate booklets for each language.

Language users need guidance to be linguistically accurate and consistent, when dealing with orthographical issues. Calteaux (1996:165) states that the media plays a significant role in the language activities of the community. Not only do they form a barometer for measuring language changes and acceptability of changes in the speech community, but they also serve as role models for standardised and conventionally acceptable language use. If newsreaders, editors and commentators are not taught how to use correct orthography the whole community will not learn the standard convention. Such practices eventually lead to language impurity/creolisation and even language corruption. Ongstad (2002:82) is of the view that standardisation as a process is inevitable. However, there is an unanswered question: 'at which point is it functional for a country's population to stop expecting greater conformity to a given standard, and instead start adapting to a range of new forms?' This is an important question that requires attention by relevant bodies and language planning organizations.

It is vital that National Language Boards, as well as Provincial Language Services, Provincial Language Committees, PANSALB, isiZulu newspapers and the African languages in higher education institutions come together and address issues of orthography in order to fast track the intellectualisation process which is a strategy of accelerating the growth and development of languages. The standard language forms were seen as representing the authentic voice and spirit of the people (Ongstad 2002).

Recommendations and Conclusion

This article has looked at corpus planning as a category of language planning and the focus was on standardisation. It has also touched on the three models of language standardisation i.e. Haugen's model (1966), Crystal's model (1993) and Garvin's model (1993). The three isiZulu newspapers *iLanga*, *Isolezwe* and *UMAFRIKA*, were used to show the extent of the problems in isiZulu orthography. It is important that orthographical inconsistencies be attended to since they can prevent language practitioners, terminologists and language editors from effectively fulfilling their task of intellectualising isiZulu as an African language. The three isiZulu newspapers should be commended for intellectualising isiZulu in media. People have access to information in their language of choice. At the same time the issue of orthography is a serious one because there are teachers who are using isiZulu newspapers as resources for teaching. It is recommended that all stakeholders involved in language issues such as government departments and institutions of higher learning come together to address issues of orthography. It is also recommended that place names with the old orthography should be changed in order to conform to the new orthography. In KwaZulu-Natal this is the responsibility of the Provincial Geographical Names Committee. Newspapers should do their level best to follow the correct orthography rules when writing their stories. This is because the media is an official fora, which should at all times use the standard form. The IsiZulu National Language Board (IsiZulu NLB) together with PANSALB should meet with all relevant stakeholders in the education and public sector, especially media, to talk about the changes and the new trends in isiZulu orthography. There should be strategies in place to evaluate the process.

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Newspapers

ILanga

Isolezwe

UMAFRIKA

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Fast-tracking Concept Learning to English as an Additional Language (EAL) Students through Corpus-based Multilingual Glossaries¹

Mbulungeni Madiba

The road leading from the initial familiarity with a new concept to the moment when the word and the concept become the child's property, is a complex internal psychological process (Vygotsky 1986).

Abstract

The aim of this article is to discuss the corpus-based Multilingual Concept Glossaries project at the University of Cape Town (UCT) and to show how multilingual glossaries can be used to fast-track concept literacy among English as Additional Language students (EALs). In South Africa, it is an accepted fact that most of EAL students from poor academic and family backgrounds enter higher education with limited English proficiency which makes it difficult for them to learn and understand concepts in different content learning areas (cf. Kapp 1998; Council on Higher Education 2007; National Benchmark Tests

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Project Progress Report 2009). Thus, the development of the multilingual glossaries is aimed at providing academic support to these students. It is the contention of this article that the development of these glossaries constitutes an important intervention strategy to optimize concepts learning in different content areas to EAL students. The pedagogic value of glossaries is widely acknowledged by many scholars in the field of academic literacy (cf. Hüllen 1989; Marzano 2003, 2004; Graves 2006; Beck, McKeown & Kucan 2008; Hiebert & Kamil 2005; Farstrup & Samuels 2008; Sauer 2009). However, as the Project is still in its initial stage, the article mainly provides a conceptual argument based on two theories, namely, the theory of conceptual difficulty (cf. Perkins 2007; 2009), which provides a theoretical framework for analysing EAL students' conceptual difficulties, and Vygotsky's socio-cultural constructive theory which provides a framework of pedagogic intervention to fast-track concepts learning.

Keywords: multilingual glossaries, concept, zone of proximal development, Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills, Cognitive/ academic language proficiency, hypermedia

Introduction

South African universities are faced with a humongous challenge of improving throughput rates, especially among the English as Additional Language (EAL) students. This problem is alluded to by the recent Report of the Council on Higher Education published in *Higher Education Monitor* No.6 (Council on Higher Education 2007) which was focussed on students' throughput in South African universities over a period of five years from 2001 - 2005. The Report shows that although access to higher education has improved over the last few years, throughputs are not satisfactory, particularly with Black African students. In this survey African students performed worse than White students in most disciplinary fields (Council on Higher Education 2007:2). Although the report attributes this poor academic performance among African students to several factors, it identifies language as one of the main contributory factors. This fact is also supported by the results of the *National Benchmarking Test (NBMT)* (NBMT Report 2009) recently conducted at a few selected universities. The results of the NBMT show that most of the EAL students who enter higher

education have not developed the required language and numeracy skills essential for academic success in higher education. Thus the use English only as the medium of instruction unequivocally creates a barrier to learning for these students.

To address the language problem of the EAL students, government has adopted in 2002 the Language Policy for Higher Education. Central to this policy, is the need to promote multilingualism in teaching and learning programmes. The policy recommends the development of resources such as glossaries and dictionaries to support students for whom English is not the first language and to promote the intellectualisation of the indigenous African languages. Accordingly, several universities have over the last few years embarked on multilingual glossaries projects. However, the development of these glossaries raises questions of theoretical, methodological and practical nature. Theoretically, there is still a dearth of research that has focussed on the pedagogic value and use of multilingual glossaries at university level in South Africa. Thus, the question of crucial concern to this article is to what extent multilingual glossaries can be used to optimize concept learning to EAL students.

The aim of this article is to address this question with a special focus to the corpus-based multilingual glossaries that are being developed at the University of Cape Town as part of the Multilingualism Education Project. The development of these glossaries is aimed at providing academic support to EAL students. It is the contention of this article that the development of these multilingual glossaries constitutes an important intervention strategy to optimize concepts learning to EAL students in different content areas. However, as it will be shown later, some South African scholars such as Mesthrie (2008) are not convinced about the pedagogic value of multilingual glossaries that are being developed in different universities in the country. Contrary to this view, the article will argue for the use of corpus-based multilingual glossaries which overcome most of the shortcomings of traditional glossaries raised by Mesthrie (2008). Furthermore, the article will show how multilingual glossaries can be used to fast-track concepts learning to EAL students in higher education. However, as the Project is still in its initial stage, the article mainly provides a conceptual argument based on two theories, namely, the theory of conceptual difficulty (cf. Perkins 2007, 2009), which provides a theoretical framework for analysing EAL students' difficulties in mastering concepts in different content

areas, and Vygotsky's socio-cultural constructive theory which provides a framework of pedagogic intervention to fast-track concepts learning.

The article begins by describing the Multilingual Glossaries project at UCT and then discusses theories underlying their pedagogic use to optimize EAL students' concept learning in different content areas.

The Multilingual Glossaries Project at the University of Cape Town (UCT)

The Multilingual Glossaries Project at UCT was launched in 2007 as one of the university's strategies to implement its Language Policy (adopted 1999 and revised in 2003) and the Language Plan developed in 2003. The Language Plan requires that multilingual glossaries be developed to support students for whom English is not the first language (Language Plan 2003). Thus, the glossaries are aimed at optimizing EAL mastery of concepts and vocabulary of different content-learning areas. As the Project is on its pilot phase, the development of glossaries was only focussed on five disciplines, namely, Statistics, Economics, Law, Physics and Health Sciences. All these glossaries are based on the Special Language Corpora constructed for this purpose. The focus of this article is only on Statistics Multilingual glossary as it is the only one that has so far been completed.

The Statistics Glossary is based on the small Corpus constructed according to the generally accepted criteria and principles of designing a corpus, namely, size, text types, publication status, text origin, constitution of the texts, authorship, external and internal criteria (for a detailed discussion of these principles see Madiba 2004).

With regard to size, the corpus has about 118 000 running words made up of instructional texts such as prescribed and recommended books, course manuals and tutorials. Although the size of this corpus is small, it offers a huge resource for term mining. As Sinclair (2001:x) points out, the advantage with small corpora is that they can be analysed or mined right from the beginning either manually or using term extraction tools. The WordSmith Tools was used for term extraction and concordancing. The following are examples of terms extracted from the Statistics corpus using WordSmith Tools:

ID	Word	Freq	% Lemmas
10171	Sample Correlation Coefficient	11	
10172	Sample From A	3	
10173	Sample From The	2	
10174	Sample In Chapter#	2	
10175	Sample Is Drawn	2	
10176	Sample Is Needed	0	
10177	Sample Is Required	5	
10178	Sample Mean And	13	
10179	Sample Mean Bar	3	
10180	Sample Mean Has	3	
10181	Sample Mean Is	14	
10182	Sample Mean Of	7	
10183	Sample Mean Overtime	5	
10184	Sample Mean To	2	
10185	Sample Mean Was	2	
10186	Sample Means Are	2	
10187	Sample Means Based	3	
10188	Sample Of #	73	0.05
10189	Sample Of Alterns	2	
10190	Sample Of Data	3	
10191	Sample Of Industrial	2	
10192	Sample Of Size	23	0.02
10193	Sample Or Two	2	
10194	Sample Size And	2	
10195	Sample Size Formula	3	
10196	Sample Size Increases	2	
10197	Sample Size Is	7	
10198	Sample Size N	3	
10199	Sample Size N#	3	
10200	Sample Size To	2	
10201	Sample Size Was	4	
10202	Sample Sizesample Meanssample	2	
10203	Sample Sizesidots Bigskip	2	
10204	Sample Space For	6	
10205	Sample Space Has	2	
10206	Sample Space Is	4	
10207	Sample Space Of	4	
10208	Sample Space S	17	0.01
10209	Sample Space To	3	
10210	Sample Space With	2	
10211	Sample Standard Deviation	16	0.01
10212	Sample Standard Deviations	2	
10213	Sample Suneyssidots Bigskip	2	
10214	Sample T-Test	4	
10215	Sample To Sample	3	
10216	Sample Variance And	3	
10217	Sample Variance Is	2	

Screenshot 1: Examples of terms extracted from Statistics corpus using WordSmith Tools.

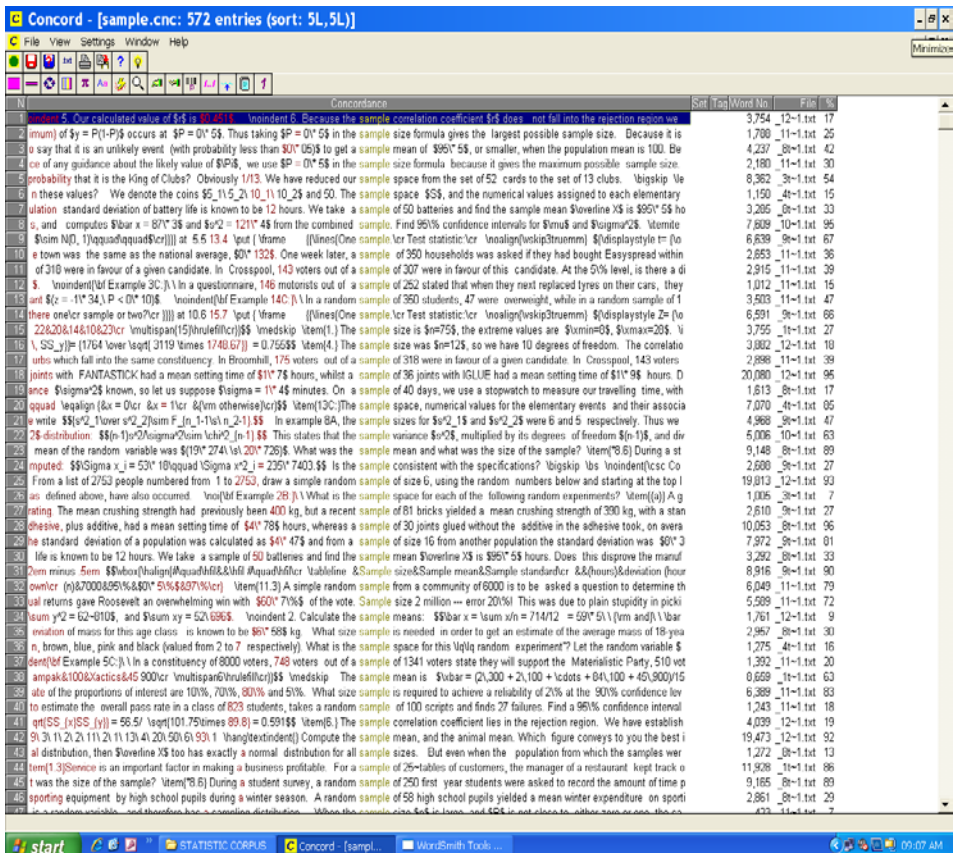
About 3689 terms were extracted from the corpus. Out of this number, about 472 terms were selected according to their frequency, difficult level and conceptual richness. The final word list was made in collaboration with the Statistics lecturer.

After the compilation of the final word list, concordances were generated using WordSmith Tools to identify the meanings or senses of the terms in contexts. The Screenshot 2 shows the concordances of the term ‘sample’ generated by using WordSmith Tools.

The concordances in the examples below provide different contexts of the term ‘sample’. In WordSmith tools, these contexts can be expanded to a paragraph or full text to provide a better understanding of the concept which is necessary for the development of definitions.

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After the terms were defined, they were then translated into all the nine official indigenous African languages of South Africa and Afrikaans.



Screenshot 2: Concordances of the term 'sample' extracted from Statistics corpus using WordSmith Tools.

Theoretical Framework for the Pedagogic Use of Multilingual Glossaries

The pedagogic use of multilingual glossaries at university level raises questions of multilingual and methodological. Theoretically, the main question, as

pointed out at the beginning of this article, is to what extent can the use of multilingual glossaries optimize EAL students' mastery of discipline concepts and registers. In South Africa, there seems to be no consensus among scholars on the pedagogic value of multilingual glossaries at university level. This is not surprising as the professionalization of multilingualism in higher education is a new phenomenon in South Africa and the world over. For example, scholars such as Mesthrie (2008) argue that though the development of multilingual glossaries or word lists is a necessary condition, they are not a sufficient condition for the use of indigenous African languages at university level. To support this view, Mesthrie (2008) advances the following two arguments. The first argument is that the mastery of discipline knowledge at university level does not only involve the learning of terms, but the mastery of registers. The second argument is that registers cannot be artificially created or transferred from another language through translation. Rather, they are developed in use by experts or a community of practice. Thus, the lack of discipline experts who are native speakers of the different indigenous languages is viewed as a serious constraint to the development of multilingual registers in different content areas. However, what Mesthrie's (2008) second argument fails to take into account is that EAL students are an important resource for developing terms and registers in African languages. As Paxton (2009) indicates, these students constitute a community of discourse which is important in developing terminology and registers in their own languages. Furthermore, Mesthrie's view on the non-transference of registers seems to be mainly based on traditional glossaries. As Madiba (2008) points out, most of the shortcomings of traditional glossaries may be easily overcome by corpus-based multilingual glossaries. What distinguishes corpus-based multilingual glossaries from the traditional ones is that they make use of contextual examples of terms. Literature abounds with studies that emphasise the importance of contextual examples in concepts and vocabulary instruction (cf. Nagy 1987, 1988, 2005). As Stahl and Fairbanks (1986:76), rightly point out,

a method that gives multiple exposures to a word would have a greater effect on vocabulary learning than one that gives the student one or two mentions of the word paired with a definition or used in a sentence.

Although glossaries have from time immemorial been used as pedagogic

tools to promote concepts learning (cf. Hüllen 1989; Sauer 2009), their pedagogic use at university level should be based on well-researched theories of conceptual difficulties and pedagogic intervention. Accordingly, the focus of the next section will be on these theories.

Theories of Conceptual Difficulties

Although the problem of concept learning among EAL students is highly marked, there are not yet well-researched theories of conceptual difficulties that help to explain their difficulties. Without a good theory of conceptual difficulty, it is easy for lecturers to apportion blame to EAL students for their under-preparedness and their lack of academic English proficiency. Thus, Perkins (2007, 2009) argues that any intervention to address concept learning should be based on a good theory of conceptual difficulties. Such a theory should provide an explanation on what makes the learning of scientific concepts hard to students (Perkins 2007, 2009). Perkins' theory of conceptual difficulty identifies the following four factors as the main cause of students' conceptual difficulties: 1) their level of academic development versus the cognitive demands of the discipline (developmental theories), 2) the nature of the discipline knowledge or epistemological knowledge, 3) the troublesome nature of threshold concepts, and 4) conceptual difficulty related to language. As all these four factors are crucial to the understanding of conceptual difficulties of EAL students in South African universities, they will be discussed separately with a view to identify pedagogic strategies for using glossaries to overcome them.

The first factor is informed by learning theories of scholars such as Piaget and Vygotsky who viewed learning to be developmental and constructive (Fosnot & Perry 2005:22). Piaget learning theories locate the learners' conceptual difficulties to the lack of well-developed mental structures or certain logical schemata that allow encoding of aspects of content and their learning at deep level (cf. Piaget 1959; 1977). Accordingly, the learners' conceptual difficulties may be viewed to be due to a 'mismatch between the schematic repertoire of the learner and the often hidden structural presupposition of the content' (cf. Perkins 2007). Thus, according to Piaget, unless learners have reached a certain stage of internal development, instruction from outside may not be effective. This theory of conceptual difficulty is useful in explaining the lack of preparedness of most EAL students because of their poor schooling and

family backgrounds. However, as Lev Vygotsky, who was a contemporary of Piaget argues, this problem can be overcome by means of direct instruction of scientific concepts. Contrary to Piaget, Vygotsky (1986) argues that the learning of scientific concepts precedes the development of an established logical structure, and that such a development can be optimized through direct instruction. According to him, instruction need not wait for development. Rather, the instruction of scientific concepts should precede the development of an established logical structure. Vygotsky maintains that the development of mental structures is influenced by internal factors as well as external factors such as social and cultural factors. Thus, the conceptual difficulties of EAL students need not be viewed as an inherent internal problem in their psychological make-up. These are conceptual difficulties that can be overcome by direct instruction of scientific concepts that takes into account the socio-historical and socio-cultural contexts of EAL students.

The second factor that gives rise to conceptual difficulties to students at university level is the nature of epistemological knowledge (cf. Perkins 2007). The mastering of the epistemology of different disciplines and their distinctive patterns always poses a challenge to students. According to Perkins (2007:98-99) concepts are by their very nature difficult to master as they are

more abstract rather than concrete, continuous rather than discrete, dynamic rather than static, simultaneous rather than sequential, or organicism rather than mechanism, interactiveness rather than reparability, conditionality rather than universality and nonlinearity rather than linearity.

Furthermore, disciplinary concepts in higher education are difficult to EAL students because they also come to the discipline with other kinds of conceptual knowledge such as ritual knowledge, inert knowledge, foreign knowledge, tacit knowledge, and so on (Perkins 2007, 2009). As several studies have shown (cf. Young *et al.* 2005), for EAL students in South Africa to master concepts of the different content areas and to undergo conceptual change or transformation, they need direct instruction of concepts or concept literacy.

The third factor has to do with the nature of *threshold concepts*. According to Meyer and Land (2006), threshold concepts may be described as 'akin to a portal, opening up a new and previously inaccessible way of thinking

about something'. Each discipline has concepts that are keys to its mastery and learners often find these concepts difficult and also troublesome to learn (Meyer & Land 2006). These concepts are important for learners to master them as they are not only key to understanding the discipline, but also represent a transformed way of understanding or interpreting the subject matter, subject landscape or world views (Meyer & Land 2006). Thus the development of multilingual glossaries should be focussed on threshold concepts to make them more visible to EAL students. These concepts should be taught more explicitly rather than implicitly. As research has shown, students tend to understand and remember better threshold concepts that are explicitly taught than those that are taught implicitly (Davies 2006; Cousin 2006).

The last factor that contributes to EAL students' conceptual difficulties is language. The role of language in concept learning and conceptualization is widely recognised (cf. Vygotsky 1986; Cummins 1979, 2000). Vygotsky (1986), for example, maintains that there is a direct relationship between thought and language. In his essay entitled '*Thought and word*', he noted that word meaning is an instance of the unity of thought and word, and as such one cannot be separate from the other. According to him the 'meaning of a word represents such a close amalgam of thought and language that is hard to tell whether it is a phenomenon of speech or a phenomenon of thought' (Vygotsky 1986:212). This relationship question between language and conceptualization is important for a better understanding of the conceptual difficulties experienced by EAL students in learning scientific concepts through a language which is not their first language.

It is an accepted fact that students who learn concepts in a language in which they have limited proficiency experience much difficulty as they also have to deal with the special subject language of the discipline. Cummins's (1979; 2000) studies provide a better understanding of the relationship between language proficiency and conceptualization. According to him, learners who have low proficiency in a language which is used as the medium of instruction may struggle to understand concepts through that language which may then result in poor academic achievement. Cummins (1979; 2000) maintains that concepts are learned better in one's first language or a language in which one has a high proficiency. In fact, recent neurolinguistic studies (cf. De Groot 1992, 2002; Kroll & Stewart 1994; Kroll & Tokowicz 2005; and Pavlenko 2009) clearly show that students with low proficiency in additional language tend to

access concepts in this language via their first language (L1) in which they have high proficiency. It is only students who have achieved high academic language proficiency in an additional language who may access concepts directly through it. The following Figure (1) adapted from Kroll and Stewart (1994) shows how EAL students access concepts:

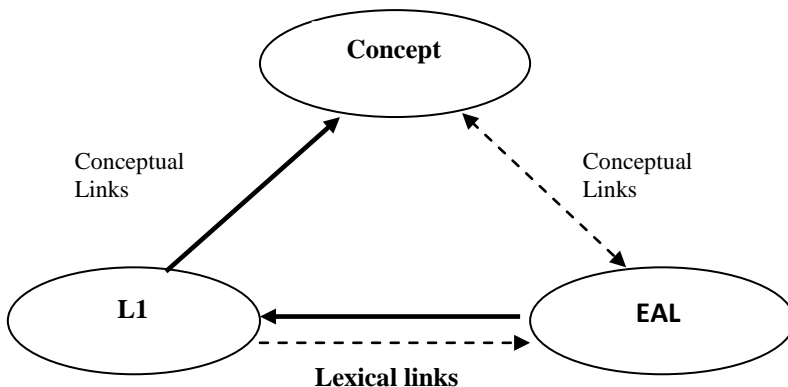


Figure 2: Revised Hierarchical model (adapted from Kroll and Stewart 1994)

From the foregoing, it is clear that EAL students with low academic English proficiency would access concepts through their L1 instead of English which is the medium of instruction. The question, however, is how this access to concepts through L1 can be optimized through the use of multilingual glossaries. In the next section, an attempt will be made to show how such problems can be addressed through multilingual glossaries. In fact, the theories of conceptual difficulties discussed in the foregoing, do not only provide a framework to analyse and to understand EAL's students' conceptual difficulties, they also help to identify strategies to deal with these conceptual difficulties.

Using Multilingual Glossaries to Overcome Conceptual Difficulties

As already mentioned, it is the argument of this article that conceptual difficulties of EAL students can be overcome by corpus-based multilingual glossaries. Vygotsky's (1986) socio-cultural constructivist theory provides a useful framework of pedagogic intervention. According to this theory, the

capacity of any student to learn scientific concepts can be optimized through direct instruction which takes into consideration the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD). In accordance with the ZPD theory, Vygotsky argues that it is not enough for the teacher to merely determine what a child knows as the child is able to copy a series of actions which surpass his or her capacities. Instead, the teacher should determine what a child is able to learn. He further indicates that a child is able to perform much better by means of copying when together with or guided by an adult than when left alone (Vygotsky 1986). With regard to EAL students, the ZPD seems to provide a strong basis for scientific concepts instruction to fast-track their academic development. To expand students' ZPD with regard to scientific concepts, Vygotsky believed in the kind of direct instruction which should go beyond memorisation or rote learning of concepts. He has the following to say in this regard:

the teacher who attempts to use this approach [simple transmission] achieves nothing, but a mindless learning of words, an empty verbalism that stimulates or imitates the presence of concepts in the child. Under these conditions, the child learns not the concept but the word, and this word is taken over by the child through memory rather than thought. Such knowledge turns out to be inadequate in any meaningful application. This model of instruction has the basic defect of the purely scholastic verbal modes of teaching which have been universally condemned. It substitutes the learning of dead and empty verbal schemes for the mastery of living knowledge (Vygotsky 1986:170).

Vygotsky believed that the student's, development of scientific concepts requires deep learning processes, that is, the understanding of concepts and their relationship with other concepts which may be hierarchical, subordinate and coordinate in the content domain. He argued, for example, that a student who has understood the concept 'triangle', should be able to (a) determine that the sides of pyramids are triangles, (b) subdivide hexagons and other polygons into a particular number of triangles, (c) relate triangles to other polygons, and so on instead of just simply defining the concept or matching the concept with examples (Gredler & Shields 2008:126-127). For Vygotsky, it is this kind of deep learning of concepts that leads to the development of high mental functions or thinking order.

As already mentioned corpus-based multilingual glossaries are conducive to EAL students' development of high mental functions or thinking order. Unlike traditional glossaries, corpus-based glossaries provide contextual examples that enable students to develop high mental functions or thinking order such as decontextualization and generation skills. The contextual examples allow EAL students to have multiple exposures to the term and to analyse its different senses in different contexts, and in doing this analysis, students develop decontextualization which involves deep learning processes essential for conceptualization and academic development. In fact, according to Nelson and Nelson (1978; cf. Stahl & Fairbanks 1986:76),

children learn to form a flexible and decontextualized notion of a word's meaning through successive refinement of the rules of meaning developed through multiple exposures to the word used in different contexts.

The following is an example of how the term 'sample' in Statistics can be learned or taught using a corpus-based approach which begins by analysing the meaning of the source concept in context.

	Concordance	Set	Tag	Word No.
1	It can be shown that if a sample is drawn from a population having a normal distribution, then a simple transformation of the sample variance s^2 has exactly the χ^2 -distribution: $((n-1)s^2/\sigma^2 \sim \chi^2_{n-1})$.	4,990	c:\specia ~1\tim_1 0~1.txt	63
2	We consider a sample to be a small number of observation taken from the population of interest . We hope that the sample is representative of the population as a whole, so that conclusions drawn from the sample will be valid for the population. We consider methods of obtaining a representative sample in Chapter 11.	2,638	c:\specia ~1\tim_1 t~1.txt	19

3	A sample of 47 drivers each drive the car under a variety of conditions for 100 km, and the fuel consumed is measured.	2,552	c:\specia ~1\tim_8 t~1.txt	26
4	If the sample is smaller than 30, then σ_X will have a normal distribution if the population from which the sample is drawn has a normal distribution.	6,904	c:\specia ~1\tim_9 t~1.txt	70
5	With a large sample size , the sample mean is likely, on average, to be closer to the true population mean than with a small sample size .	1,372	c:\specia ~1\tim_8 t~1.txt	14
6	In a random sample of 350 students, 47 were overweight, while in a random sample of 176 businessmen, 36 were overweight.	3,503	c:\specia ~1\tim_1 1~1.txt	47
7	This states that the sample variance s^2 , multiplied by its degrees of freedom $(n-1)$, and divided by the population σ^2 has the χ^2 {rm-distribution} with $n-1$ degrees of freedom.	5,006	c:\specia ~1\tim_1 0~1.txt	63
8	What was the sample mean and what was the size of the sample ? \item{*8.6} During a student survey, a random sample of 250 first year students were asked to record the amount of time per day spent studying.	9,148	c:\specia ~1\tim_8 t~1.txt	89

From the examples above, it may be observed that the term ‘sample’ is used in different contexts or concordances. These concordances introduce different meaning or senses of the term. Students can be systematically led to develop definitions or explanations of the term ‘sample’ by analysing the different contexts in which the term occurs. Sometimes it is possible to find a full definition of the term in the very list of concordances. A good example of this is concordance no 2 above which provides a generic definition of the term

‘sample’ in Statistics. In this concordance, the term ‘sample’ is defined as

a small number of observations taken from the population of interest [which] is representative of the population as a whole, so that conclusions drawn from the sample will be valid for the population.

An analysis of the other concordances gives rise to different senses or meanings of the term ‘sample’. These different contexts provide the student with multiple exposures to the concept. Such multiple exposures to the concept are essential for a student to understand its different meanings or senses. As already mentioned, in analysing the meaning of the term in different contexts, students develop decontextualization skills which involve deep learning processes essential for conceptualization and academic development. To help EAL students develop decontextualization skills, they should be first introduced to the scientific concepts in their simplified form at the beginning, and then progress to learning more complex versions of the same concept and learn how to apply it in a range of contexts and to translate it into their first languages (Davies 2006:72). For example, from the concordances given above, students can be led systematically to construct the following definitions or explanations of the term ‘sample’ using the different concordances:

1. A **sample** of people is a number of them drawn from a larger group which has a normal distribution.

~ *We consider a **sample** to be a small number of observations taken from the **population of interest**.*

~*It can be shown that if a **sample** is drawn from a population having a normal distribution*

2. A **sample** of a people can be of a small size or a large size that shows you what the whole is like.

~*With a large **sample** size, the **sample** mean is likely, on average, to be closer to the true population mean than with a small **sample** size.*

3. A **sample** of people is number of people selected from the overall population for tests or to be examined and analysed scientifically.

~This states that the **sample variance** s^2 , multiplied by its degrees of freedom $(n-1)$, and divided by the population σ^2 has the χ^2 (rm-distribution) with $n-1$ degrees of freedom.

4. A **sample** of people can be done randomly (a random sample), but it has to be representative of the distribution of the total number if the sample is smaller than 30)

~We consider methods of obtaining a representative **sample** in Chapter 11.

~ In a random sample of 350 students, 47 were overweight, while in a random sample of 176 businessmen, 36 were overweight.

~ If the sample is smaller than 30, then σX will have a normal distribution if the population from which the sample is drawn has a normal distribution.

~ We hope that the **sample** is **representative** of the population as a whole, so that conclusions drawn from the **sample** will be valid for the population.

5. A **sample** of the population has to be calculated in relation to the total population to get sample mean and sample variance.

~It can be shown that if a sample is drawn from a population having a normal distribution, then a simple transformation of the sample variance s^2 has exactly the χ^2 -distribution: $(n-1)s^2/\sigma^2 \sim \chi^2_{n-1}$.

From the foregoing, it is clear that definitions based on concordances are more elaborate and helpful to EAL students than dictionary definitions, especially dictionary definitions that are not based on corpus. Providing students with mere definitions to memorize, results in superficial understanding of a concepts. 'Students must have both definitional and contextual information about words, as well as repeated exposures and opportunities to learn and review them' (O'Hara & Pritchard 2009:11). Once students understand the meaning of terms in different contexts, it becomes easier for them to generate their own definitions and the translation equivalents in their first language. The following table show the translation equivalents of the term 'sample' and other related terms in different African languages. However, these translations were done by professional translators instead of students.

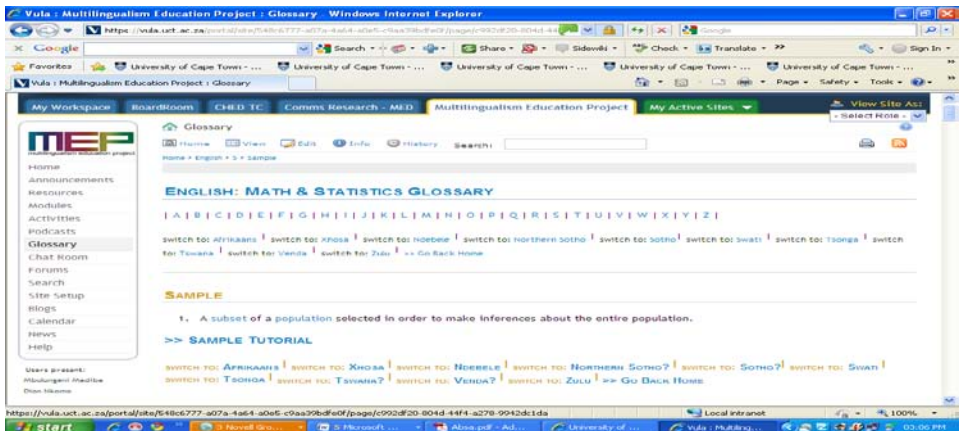
English	Afrikaans	Xhosa	Tswana	Sotho	Pedi
Sample	Steekproef	Isampula	Sampole	Sampole	Sampole
Sampling	Steekproef-neming	Ukuthatha isampulu/ ukwenza isampulu	Go dira sampole	Ho etsa sampole	Go dira sampole
Sample correlation coefficient	Steekproef-korelasie-koëffisiënt	Inani elandisayo lesampulu yonxulumano	Bokalo jwa nyalanyo ya sampole	Papiso ya sampole	Bokaalo bja nyalanyo ya sampole
Sample maximum	Steekproef-maksimum	Eyona sampulu inkulu	Makسیمamo ya sampole	Palo e phahameng ya sampole	Maksیمamo wa sampole
Sample mean	Steekproef-gemiddelde	Umndilili wesampulu	Palogare ya sampole	Palohare ya sampole	Palogare ya sampole
Sample size	Steekproef-grootte	Ubukhulu besampulu	Saese ya sampole	Boholo ba sampole	Bogolo bja sampole
Sample space	Steekproef-ruimte	Isithuba sesampulu	Sepeisi sa sampole	Sebaka sa sampole	Sekgoba sa sampole
Sample survey	Steekproef-opname	Uphando lwesampulu	Sampole ya patlisiso	Patlisiso ya sampole	Tekanyetšo ya sampole
Sample variance	Steekproef-variantsie	Ukungavani kwesampulu	Pharologano ya sampole	Phapano ya sampole	Phapano ya sampole
Sample standard deviation	Steekproef-standaard-afwyking	Ukuphambuka komgangatho wesampulu	Phapogo ya maemo a sampole	Phetolo e tlwaelehleng ya sampole	Phapogo ya maemo a sampole
Sampling distribution	Steekproef-verdeling	Usasazo lokuthatha isampulu	Tlhagiso ya sampole	Kabo ya sampole	Kabo ya go dira sampole
Sampling variability	Steekproef-veranderlikheid	Ukutshintsha kwesampulu	Go farologana ga go dira sampole	Phetoho ya sampole	Phapano ya go dira sampole
Sampling with replacement	Steekproef-neming met terugplasing	Ukuthatha isampulu ngokuthathela indawo	Go dira sampole ka go tsenya sengwe mo boemong jwa se sengwe	Sampole ka phetolo	Go dira sampole ka go bea ye nngwe legatong la ye nngwe

Sampling without replacement	Steekproef-neming sonder terugplasing	Ukuthatha isampulu ngaphandle kokuthathela indawo	Go dira sampole ntle le go tsenya sengwe mo boemong jwa se sengwe	Sampole ka ntle ho phetolo	Go dira sampole ntle le go bea ye nngwe legatong la ye nngwe
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Figure 1: Draft list of terms taken from our Statistics Glossary

It is evident that certain terms have no equivalent indigenous terms in African languages. As such, translators have used either loan words or paraphrasing. As Wildsmith-Cromarty (2008) points out, the translatability of academic discourse from English into African languages poses a serious challenge. However, it is important to note that although translation equivalents are important for our project, we are aware that simply giving word lists in African languages does not give EAL students access to academic concepts. What is more important for EAL students is how they are made to engage with the different concepts in ways that promote the development of high thinking order skills.

Once completed, the glossaries are uploaded to MEP Online Learning Environment on Vula which is the University Online Environment developed by the Centre for Education Technology and powered by Sakai. This networked Online Learning Environment provides EAL students with easy access to the multilingual and other online courses. The MEP Online Learning Environment on Vula is shown in Screenshot 3 below.



Screenshot 3: Vula Multilingual Glossaries Hypermedia

As may be observed from the Screenshot above, Vula Multilingual Glossaries Hypermedia provides several other functions such as Chat room, Forums and Blogs which are quite useful in allowing EAL students to engage interactively with the terms and concordances. Students can also give comments in the comment spaces provided for each term.

Conclusion

The aim of this article was to show how corpus-based multilingual glossaries can be used to promote concept literacy to EAL students in South African universities and UCT in particular. Perkins's (2007, 2009) theories of conceptual difficulty were used to provide a theoretical framework for analysing EAL students' conceptual difficulties. Vygotsky's constructivist socio-cultural development theory was used to develop a theoretical framework of intervention. Drawing from this theory and the subsequent Zone of Proximal Development, the article argues that given good academic support such as direct vocabulary instruction and explicit concept teaching which involves learners first languages, new zones of learning possibilities can be created for EAL students.

Contrary to Mesthrie (2008) who maintains that the development of terms and registers is mainly the prerogative of special subject experts, the article argues that EAL students are part of the community of discourse in their fields of study and as such they are instrumental in developing terms and registers in their different indigenous African languages (cf. Paxton 2009). In fact, as Paxton (2009) observes, EAL students are already doing this at UCT as they discuss with friends and tutors about concepts of the different disciplines in their own primary languages. What these students need are linguistic resources such as corpus-based multilingual glossaries that may assist them to engage with concepts in different content areas in their primary languages. As already indicated, corpus-based multilingual glossaries enable students to engage with concepts in their different contexts and in doing so they develop deep learning processes such as decontextualization and generation which are pivotal to academic success.

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IsiZulu Terminology Development in Nursing and Midwifery

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Abstract

The Education White Paper of 1997 on transformation in higher education in South Africa (South Africa 1997) indicated that because of the multilingual nature of the diverse communities in the new democracy, higher education should play a role in the development of all the official languages including the indigenous languages, as well as the Khoi, Nama, San and Sign languages. The School of Nursing of the University of KwaZulu-Natal took this obligation to heart by participating in the SANTED multilingualism project. This emanated from the needs of the student nurses who are being educated and trained in English, but serve in communities where Zulu is the dominant language. To meet the identified student needs, the nursing and midwifery specialists, in collaboration with various language specialists in KwaZulu-Natal, engaged in a process to develop terminology which enhances isiZulu as a scientific language. This article discusses the language policies and multilingual trends, both locally and globally and describes the experiences of the nursing specialists who participated in the terminology development process. The main categories for deriving terms based on the linguistic decisions made by the team are also described, and examples provided. The challenges are outlined and the recommendations include the importance of institutional buy-in at all academic levels and strategies for the sustainability of the project.

Keywords: Terminology development, language development, transformation in higher education, multilingualism, isiZulu, nursing and midwifery, term extraction, indigenous language

Introduction

The White Paper on Higher Education of 1997 (South Africa 1997) indicated that the multilingual nature of South African education should be reflected in the role played by higher education in the development of all the official languages, which include the indigenous languages, as well as the Khoi, Nama, San and Sign languages. This would entail promoting and creating conditions for the development of all these languages by elevating their status and advancing the use of indigenous languages (South Africa 1996: 30). In line with this national imperative call, the former president of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki (South Africa 1996: 30), declared that: *'the building blocks of this nation are all our languages working together. The nurturing of (the dream of nationhood)¹ depends on our willingness to learn the languages of others, so that we, in practice, accord all our languages with the same respect'*.

It became clear that the government of South Africa expected previous inequalities to be rectified at the level of higher education and that the language policy should include the development of indigenous languages to a stage where they can be used as media of instruction alongside with English (Wildsmith-Cromarty 2008). Such a development would assist in strengthening the essence of democracy by giving each person in South Africa the right to speak, live and learn in his/her own language. The University of KwaZulu-Natal language policy of 2006 (UKZN 2006), subscribes to the nationwide Higher Education language policy (Ndimandehlongwa *et al.* 2010, in press) This policy acknowledged the multilingual nature of the university community and advocated for the enhancement of isiZulu terminology development in nursing and midwifery, alongside English, as a language for teaching and learning. isiZulu is spoken in KwaZulu-Natal as a communicational language, together with English and the other official languages, and it was hoped that this initiative would assist

¹ Brackets our own.

in the modernization of the isiZulu language by reflecting the needs and lifestyle of modern generations (Van der Walt & Brink 2005: 843).

This development of policy introduced the School of Nursing of the University of KwaZulu-Natal to a new level of progressive nursing education. Progressive and innovative nursing education is one of the niche areas that mark this school's specific and unique contribution to the body of nursing science. The school is well known for its work in problem-based education (Uys & Gwele 2005) and community-based education models. It is this community-based approach that led the School of Nursing to participate in the SANTED multilingualism project (Ndimande-Hlongwa *et al.* 2010). It was believed that this might provide an answer to the communication challenges that students are experiencing in their experiential learning in the community and hospitals (Engelbrecht *et al.* 2008), as well as in their class room activities. The Engelbrecht *et al.* study (2008) identified the need for students to develop multilingual skills to add to their résumé of communication skills. The research found that both English and Zulu-speaking students expressed a need to be proficient in both Zulu and English in their nursing practice settings. The nature of their education and training expects students to work closely with the members of the community as well as with patients in the hospitals, and in both these environments Zulu is the more dominant language (Ndabezitha 2005). Ndabezitha (2005:1) highlights the problem in more detail when she explains that the health professionals speak 'medical' language in English while the patients speak 'every day' language in Zulu and this leads to miscommunication.

As Zulu is one of the official languages in KwaZulu-Natal, patients in this province have the right to be served in their own language which often puts the nursing students in difficult situations. Many students are not proficient in Zulu as the local indigenous language. Some speak only English and others (coming from Francophone-African countries) are even more challenged because English is their third language. The Zulu-speaking students are often requested to assume the role of interpreter which places them in a difficult position as they have never had training in interpretation skills (Engelbrecht *et al.* 2008). Furthermore, they find themselves unable to interpret because of the lack of appropriate Zulu terms. For example 'white blood cells' translated into Zulu is *amasosha omzimba*, which literally means 'soldiers of the body'. However, the eosinophiles, neutrophils and

basophiles are all translated as *amasosha omzimba*, so referring to white blood cells by the same term does not specify white cell functions when students need to explain the immune system in HIV training. It also works the other way that some of the cultural practices in Zulu are not translatable into English as there are no relevant English terms to describe the practice (Engelbrecht *et al.* 2008). An example of this is *isihlambezo*, which refers to the practice of nurturing a pregnancy and unborn baby until birth. One of the recommendations from Engelbrecht *et al.* (2008) then, is for nurse educators, as subject specialists, to participate in terminology development activities.

Although some students might wish to practise internationally, the majority of the students are trained to serve the local community. According to the above-mentioned language policy of South Africa, it is imperative that within the health services, both the health professionals and the patients should have the right to communicate in their mother tongue. As the providers of health, nurses and midwives should be able to accommodate this right by helping patients in their own language. However, the Department of Health, which governs the health systems of South Africa, has no official language policy in place (Ndabezitha 2005: 2).

It is also important to remember that student nurses and midwives, while learning to communicate appropriately in the language of their clients, should also have the right to learn and participate in academic discourse in the classroom in their own mother tongue (Engelbrecht & Wildsmith 2009). Batibo (2009a) suggested that currently the African languages might not be the best medium for higher education because they have not been systematically developed as languages of science. Engelbrecht and Wildsmith (2009), however, are of the opinion that the indigenous languages or mother tongue of the students might be more effective as the medium of instruction because they are associated with the cognitive, affective and cultural experience of students. Engelbrecht and Wildsmith (2009), in their article, highlighted the difficulty the language of instruction plays in facilitating higher-order cognitive skills in second language speakers. Furthermore, it was suggested that the inequality in language power that is to the advantage of English students, but the disadvantage of the other students, can be equalised by using more Zulu as a second medium of instruction next to English, or on the same level as English. This means that the nurse educator should take an active role in facilitating both English and Zulu

conversations in the classroom setting. This obliges the nurse educator to be innovative in her teaching methodology by developing her own multilingual skills, as well as taking ownership of developing and maintaining multilingual language corpora in her speciality area (Engelbrecht & Wildsmith 2009).

Developing scientific nursing terminology in Zulu will not only enhance effective communication in the health care services of KwaZulu-Natal, but will prepare students to be bilingual professionals enabled to meet the patients' needs. In addition, the students will be enabled to learn in their own language, enhancing their conceptualization processes (Newsroom 2007). To reach this goal, the School of Nursing participated as a partner in the multi-departmental and multi-institutional SANTED multilingualism project. The SANTED project was triggered by the Africa report auditing reasons for student failure at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (Africa 2005). Africa (2005) reported that one of the challenges facing academic staff and students is that English is used as the medium of instruction and while it is the primary language of the majority of lecturers, it is the second or third language of the majority of students (Africa 2005: 26).

The awareness of the importance of multilingualism in the University then progressed to the point where the SANTED project was initiated. The objectives of this project included the acquisition of Zulu by staff and students; the development of teaching and learning materials in Zulu and English; and the development of core terminology for nursing and midwifery in the Zulu language.

Terminology development was one of the core activities that involved both the subject specialists and language departments. In this article the authors will focus on the language development and experiences of the nursing and midwifery subject specialists participating in this process. Although the terms language development, terminology development or concept development may have slightly different meanings, in this article the terms are used interchangeably to refer to the process experienced (Ndimande-Hlongwa *et al.* 2010).

Literature Review

Multilingualism in education is an important global trend. Historically, in the United States of America (USA) the general trend was one of not valuing

languages other than English, but according to Grant (2009: 3), one of the political campaign items of President Barack Obama was the valuing of a multilingual future. She continues to explain that in the history of the United States there were English/French, English /German and English/Spanish bilingual schools available, but that English remained the primary language. English was used to control the African people that came in as slaves and none of these African groups were encouraged to keep or develop their own languages. They were separated from each other and lost all contact with the languages that carried their identity and their culture. The same happened to the Native American peoples who were taught the ‘American way’ of living and talking and were punished when they spoke their native languages.

Today, all students in the USA who speak a language other than English are entitled to language support. Although Grant (2009) did not spell out what this support entails, she ended the article by mentioning recent language policies which require teachers to understand and respect the rights of their students and to encourage the aspects that reinforce their cultural identities (Grant 2009). Cummins (1996, 2000, 2001a, 2001b in Lee & Norton 2009), moreover, advocated for an educational frame work in North America that would promote multilingualism, enhance equity and enable minority students to succeed in an increasingly globalized world (Lee & Norton 2009).

In contrast with the USA, the European Union (EU) values the maintenance of linguistic diversity. According to Tender and Vihalemm (2009), the protection of the multilingual environment in Europe should be a priority of the European Union’s language policies. English as the *lingua franca* is increasing throughout Europe because of the effects of globalization and business developments. The EU authorities issued various documents which not only verified their values, but presented a framework of action where learners are trained in their own mother tongue and at least two foreign languages from an early age (Tender & Vihalemm 2009: 43). They expressed concern at the use of English as the medium of instruction in higher education. Furthermore, Tender and Vihalemm (2009) warned that if the use of ‘less widely used languages’ in Europe is diminished in higher education to the benefit of English, a direct impact on the sustainability and terminology processes of the respective languages will be observed.

Kosonen (2009) reported that although most Asian nations are multi-

lingual, their education systems use only one national language notwithstanding the fact that this is not the mother tongue of many learners. The outcome of this is that learners are excluded from learning opportunities and are generally disadvantaged in educational participation and achievement. Although Kosonen thoroughly discusses the challenges of learning in a multilingual context in Asia, she does not discuss it in terms of tertiary education. She agreed, though, with other international research findings that the first language should preferably be used throughout the educational system, including tertiary education as it will provide a solid foundation for further studies and the acquisition and successful transfer of literacy skills from the first to the second language. Kosonen (2009) concluded that first language-based multilingual education is a solution that can include learners who have been excluded from education due to language. It was not clear from this article what language planning and terminology development strategies were being implemented in Asia.

In Kenya, the development of Kiswahili as a nationally acknowledged language was mainly influenced by social history. During the colonial period Kiswahili was standardised and used in administration and in the lower levels of education (Onyango 2005: 220). After independence, however, the language policy changed stating that everyone in Kenya should speak Kiswahili and twenty-one years after independence, Kiswahili is a compulsory and examinable subject. This is interesting, as it was possible to trace a strong move in the development of the language to its rightful place as an official language (Onyango 2005). This has not been the case in South Africa with the declaration of the eleven (11) official languages.

Although the policy for language in education in South Africa is progressive, it is also complex. While the educational system has an obligation to promote multilingualism (Biseth 2006), this policy, however, is still an issue of debate in the primary and secondary phases (Heugh 2002) which has circled wider to the tertiary education systems in South Africa. According to Heugh (2002), a new policy of using non-discriminatory language in the educational system was put in place in 1997 to rectify the inequalities of language used during the apartheid era. This policy incorporated the internationally accepted principle of mother tongue education and provided a medium where pupils could gain proficiency in one language (English for most) while they are still able to use their mother

tongue alongside it. This worked in the primary schools, but as students progressed to high school as well as higher education institutions, English became the medium of instruction. Heugh (2002: 4) criticized this new language policy for its incomprehensiveness and the lack of integration into the national development plan. Thus, we find discriminatory processes still in place in all spheres of education. English-speaking students experience the benefit of being educated in their mother tongue and this is especially significant in the higher education system as most universities use English as their medium of instruction. Consequently, because of the racial distribution in KwaZulu-Natal, a minority group of students perform well as English is their mother tongue. The rest of the population, however, are handicapped by their lack of the language skills they need for the academic writing and highly complicated subject matter of their chosen professions. This leads to low academic performance and eventually non-completion of courses by the second language students (Africa 2005). This trend was confirmed by Kosonen (2009) who stated that learners who have insufficient comprehension and command of the languages used as the languages of literacy and languages of instruction are likely to learn differently from those who are fully proficient in the languages. She also mentioned that the ethno-linguistic minorities are generally disadvantaged in education participation and achievement as their mother tongue is not the dominant language with the benefits of a language with official status (Kosonen 2009).

Balfour (2007) sees the primary language as the dominant language a person uses while conversing, writing or debating in her/his professional life. This, however, may not necessarily be their mother tongue. Batibo (2009a) further suggests that the primary or dominant language may also be the affective and expressive language that dominates a person's life. However, it is recommended that the use of bilingual education strategies will assist students to learn adequately in the dominant language (primary language), while learning materials and additional learning experiences, for example tutorial groups, should still be provided in the mother tongue. This would be to the advantage of students in all language groups as *'language is not only a tool for communication; it is more fundamentally a tool for thought'* (Biseth 2006: 8). It makes sense to promote the use of multiple languages in a learning environment where students' critical thinking in a problem-based education programme are developed, as illustrated by Engelbrecht and

Wildsmith (2009). To accomplish this, the indigenous languages must not only be promoted and developed, but materials for teaching and learning should also be developed.

There is a chronic lack of classroom materials that promote multilingualism. Because of their perceived low status in education and civil society, African languages have lagged far behind English and Afrikaans in terms of the number of titles published. Nevertheless, a small but growing number of publications and learning resources in African languages are becoming commercially available (LANGTAG 1996). In the higher education system, it would be the task of nurse educators to get involved, not only in the processes of language development, but in the development of new educational strategies and methodologies which include learning materials to provide the learner opportunities to learn in both English and an indigenous language such as Zulu.

The importance for multilingualism in nursing cannot be emphasized enough. In a study done in Australia it became clear that communication plays a major role in providing optimal transcultural nursing care as students practise in diverse health care services (Lim *et al.* 2004). Lim *et al.* (1999) continued to argue that an individual's social attitude towards health and illness, participation in early detection and screening programs, compliance with treatment and their coping strategies are greatly influenced by cultural values, beliefs and norms. Nurses who can neither understand nor communicate in the language of their patients face a challenge in providing and maintaining quality nursing care that is culturally congruent with the clients they serve. This is in line with the study of Ndabezitha (2005), in South Africa, who highlighted the communication challenges in a hospital in KwaZulu-Natal. Nurses must be able to translate transcultural concepts and skills into practical strategies that are linguistically and culturally appropriate for each patient (Lim *et al.* 2004). Collins (2005) added to this discourse by arguing that when neither the medical practitioner nor the nurse understands the language of the patient, it causes miscommunication which leads to the lack of quality health care. Furthermore, the nurses lose the advocacy role they play within the health team.

According to the ICN Code of Ethics (International Council of Nurses 2006), nurses are morally obliged to acknowledge and integrate the individual, family and community values of patients while performing their

duties. The ability to be sensitive to these values is based on self discovery and experience of these values by nurses which, in turn, is based on knowledge and understanding of the language spoken by the patients (Austgard 2007: 139). In addition, the quality of nursing care is based on professional judgement and decision making, both of which involve interpretational exercises where language plays an active role in the shaping of judgements and decisions made (Matinsen 2005; cf. Austgard 2007). As an example of implementing the above, the European educational context acknowledged the need for the mobility of nurses across country boundaries. Students now receive a multimedia language package as part of their nursing education and training which enhances their employment opportunities (Ludvigsen 1997). As the South African nurses are a resource for both the local and global health systems (Rispel *et al.* 2009), it would strengthen their profile if multilingual skills were included in their curriculum. The improvement of communication skills through multilingualism is one of the major objectives driving the terminology development process for nursing and midwifery, as discussed in this article.

Terminology development is an academic activity '*concerned with the creation, recording and institutionalizing of lexical items*' (Batibo 2009b:1). The terms used as the building blocks of a discipline are the scientific concepts within a discipline to describe the knowledge and the skills which constitute the infrastructure of specialized knowledge. In this article, the term terminology development will be used instead of lexicography, as this article is reflecting a subject specific approach and not a linguistic approach. Terminology development is the term used in most of the activities in the SANTED project (Ndimande-Hlongwa *et al.* 2010, in press) and is also acknowledged as a term in other studies (Buthelezi 2008).

Terminology development is essential when new language domains emerge or when the level of adequacy of terms in the given domain is found to be inadequate (Batibo 2009b). In nursing and midwifery, for example, these domains consist of practice, education and research. Batibo (2009b) presents the principles of terminology development within a framework which includes the operational principles, prioritization of sources used, criteria for the selection of alternatives, descriptive versus prescriptive nature of the process, phonemic rules to capture canonical word structure and the oral or orthographic source. Batibo continues to discuss various strategies in

terminology development namely: concept versus word-based; domain of use; term of representation; derivation/affixation; semantic expansion; compounding; blending; acronym; coinage; loan translation; and borrowing. Some of these will be discussed later in the article. Terminology development further includes the identification of terms, the preparation of workshop materials, the preparation of subject specialists who will attend the workshop for the first time, as well as the terminology development workshop itself where specialists in both Zulu and nursing meet to discuss, translate and develop scientific terms from English into Zulu.

The recording of guidelines as the criteria of how to choose and develop good terms and best practices is vital to enhance the productivity and the quality of terminology development. It can also increase the review and standardization process of new terms (Sluis 2001:1). Onyango (2005) presents a framework for the terminology process that describes a macro view to developing a language effectively. This framework includes the formation of a language institute, setting of goals, actual engineering of terms, mode of dissemination and evaluation. Within the micro activity of this project at the School of Nursing, it was important to follow the same framework.

The Process of Terminology Development

The process we have used will be described in steps, although none of the activities are totally separate from the others.

Step One: Terminology Extraction

The project manager extracted significant terms in the various subject areas of nursing and midwifery. This was a huge, labour-intensive activity as the terms selected were embedded in the materials that are mostly used in the students' learning materials. In order to involve students in the project, third and fourth year Bachelor of Nursing (B.N.) degree students were requested to assist with the identification and extraction of terms from their learning materials. This enriched their learning experiences, as they did not only learn the concepts and definitions themselves, but they were actively involved in creating glossaries which they knew would contribute to advancing the learning of future students.

There are various ways of extracting terms from texts such as manuals and software programmes.

The Wordsmith software can be used to identify terms that are most frequently used in a given text. For example, a text book might have different topics and the particular author focuses more on the communication skills of the nurse than her attitudes and values towards caring. The subject specialist then identifies and validates the essential terms in that particular subject. Another method of extraction of terms or concepts from resource texts is to do it manually. This involves reading the text, identifying items and deriving definitions from the text or other resources such as dictionaries. These terms with definitions are then typed into terminology lists and cited accordingly. If the resource text used is a hard copy and not a digital copy, this might take a considerable amount of time which is compounded by the risk of typing errors and mistakes. As we did not receive the Wordsmith training before the end of the SANTED project, the extraction of terms for this project was done manually. The following principles for term extraction evolved from this learning experience:

- Identify a specific chapter or textbook.
- Explain how terms should be identified. Experience showed that participants (students in this case) might identify the more difficult terms (e.g. Neuro- hypophysis) while passing over the more important, more commonly used descriptive terms that give nursing and midwifery its own context or characteristics (e.g. pain, foetus).
- Explain to the participant the importance of the definition and description of the term. Sometimes more than one explanation of the term is included, as different definitions had different meanings or uses in different subject contexts. For example, ‘partner’ in the context of community health nursing might refer to a community member being in partnership with the professional nurse in a community development project, but in the context of the HIV/Aids pandemy, the term ‘partner’ would refer to the person in a sexual relationship with the patient.
- After the terms and definitions lists are compiled, the subject specialist should edit these lists to ensure the terms are representative of the subject and that the definitions and explanations are adequate for the

specific context of the subject domain. To add more meaning to the definitions already listed from the subject context, textbooks and dictionaries, these descriptions of terms might be extended and elaborated on in the working process when the specialists explain the term from their own experience and integrated knowledge,

- Terms and definitions are arranged alphabetically in a table with an extra column for the Zulu equivalents.
- All materials are referenced to acknowledge the copyright of previous authors.

Step Two: Preparing Subject Specialists

The next step that is essential to a successful terminology development workshop is the preparation of the subject specialists. Because it was essential for the specialists to come prepared in order to present and explain the terms to the linguists, the terminology list for the specific discipline was given to the subject specialist prior to the workshop.

Step Three: Selecting the Terminology Team

To ensure that triangulation took place, thereby enriching the term descriptions, at least three subject specialists in the field participated in order to give in-depth explanations of the terms. It is during this phase that the definitions of the identified terms are crafted and adapted to make them more meaningful and descriptive. In this project the subject specialists were nursing and midwifery specialists. According to South African Nursing Council (SANC) regulation R212 (SANC 1993 as amended), a Nursing and Midwifery Specialist is defined as a person with an additional qualification which includes a specialized post-graduate degree in a specific nursing field such as community health, medical-surgical, mental health and midwifery, and/or more than five years clinical experience in the specific discipline.

Both linguists and terminologists were included in the team to ensure representation of their differing skills in developing new Zulu equivalents for the identified terms. A linguist is a specialist who is skilled in the science of a particular language (Collins English Dictionary 2006) while a terminologist

is a specialist who is skilled in the science of specialized words and expressions relating to a particular subject (*Collins English Dictionary* 2006). In the case of this project, the language specialization refers to Zulu and the terminologist was a specialist trained in linguistics, specializing in the development of terminology.

A good balance between traditionalist *versus* modernist language specialists is also helpful. A traditionalist ensures the pure use of the language, that is, *deep Zulu*, while the modernist language specialist is concerned with the functionality and dynamic use of the language. Over representation of traditionalists makes it difficult to capture the dynamic characteristics of the language and to adapt to more modern ways of speaking. People from the Southern, Northern and Midlands areas in KwaZulu-Natal speak different dialects and it was, therefore, also important to have representation from all these geographical areas.

Although such representation is necessary, the group size should remain conducive to the work at hand. The ideal working group, from our experience, is a group of ten members, including the subject specialists. In this way all members of the group have an opportunity to participate.

Step Four: The Workshops

In this step, the aim was to generate equivalent terms in Zulu for identified nursing and midwifery terms. Four, three-day workshops were held at a venue neutral for all participants. These workshops were conducted according to specific disciplines in nursing and were attended by teams of subject specialists according to their specializations. These included two medical-surgical nurses, two community health nurses and three midwives. At the workshop, each participant received a prepared terminology booklet. The meaning and context of the terms was discussed in English, where the terminology was presented by the nursing and midwifery specialist, who also suggested an appropriate Zulu term that could be used within the communities. The linguists and terminologists contributed to the development process in accordance with the grammatical structure of the terms in Zulu, as explained by Batibo (2009b). Terms, meanings and structures were discussed and agreed upon in a negotiation process until the Zulu equivalent was finally recorded.

Step Five: Post-workshop Management of the Terminology

The workshop negotiations resulted in appropriate Zulu equivalents for 1400 English nursing and midwifery terms. After the workshops the definitions and explanations were given to the subject specialists to be translated from English to Zulu who, in turn, sent them to be edited by the linguists.

Currently, the identified terms in English, the Zulu equivalents as well as the definitions in both languages have been put on a Moodle (Rice 2006) online learning website in the form of a glossary, and a workshop will be conducted to introduce nursing and midwifery lecturers to the use of the website. Thereafter, students, at the various levels of their study programmes, will be introduced to the website during the orientation period at the beginning of each year. This will not only provide both teacher and learner with an important resource, but it will encourage the School of Nursing to buy into the continuation of the development of Zulu, alongside English, as a teaching, learning and expressive scientific language.

Language Development

Although most of the team involved in this project speak Zulu as a first language, it became apparent to us during the process of language and terminology development that there was still much to learn. We identified five categories of Zulu terms that were developed during our engagement with the team:

1. Using lay terms: It was found that some terms were already available in Zulu such as *umbungu* (foetus), but some of the words did not convey the appropriate meaning in the context of nursing and midwifery. In some instances these terms were retained which fulfilled the criterion of clinical cognition as referred to by Sluis (2002 in Bakhshi-Raiez *et al.* 2008). *Clinical cognition* ensures that the term chosen will be consistent with existing clinical terms that are easily understood by the targeted user or that are familiar to the user. For example, the word *ukuxukuza*, literally translated into English as ‘shaking of the stomach’, is a generalised term used by the community to refer to the abdominal examination of a pregnant woman. Although it does not describe the exact process in biomedical terms, it is an

accepted term in the community. Thus it was retained by the team. Other cases in which the team decided to use terms already used by lay people, were the term for miscarriage, *ukuphuphuma kwesisu*, literally ‘the natural coming out from the stomach’ and the term for abortion, *ukuhushulwa kwesisu*, meaning ‘to remove or pull out from the stomach’ which is perceived by the community as meaning intentionally induced termination of pregnancy.

2. *Using synonyms for intimacy terms: Ukuhlonipha* or ‘the act of respecting’ is fundamental to the functioning of Zulu society, and is most appreciated when practised by people outside the society who are engaging with a Zulu context (UKZNdaba 2007; Ndabezitha 2005). Using certain intimate terms in public is not socially acceptable, and synonyms, which are called *ukuhlonipha* terms, should be used instead. The students/learners need to know these terms so as not to offend members of the community with whom they are speaking and working, and should rather use more accepted terms when they are doing health education in Zulu. An example of this practice can be seen in the use of the term *isisu* (stomach) rather than *isizalo* (womb). Although stomach is not medically correct, community members are using it to indicate *ukuhlonipha*. It is important, however, that students understand the ‘unspeakable’ terms when they hear them, even though they may not use the terms themselves.

A huge debate developed when working on the terminology, especially for midwifery. The dilemma was whether the ‘true’ term should be used on the web glossary, or whether the ‘*ukuhlonipha*’ synonym of the term should be used to ensure that the students would not use disrespectful terms. One of the issues under debate was whether to retain the respectful term for ‘vulva’ in midwifery which is *inkomo* (cow) referring to the final cow that should be paid in lobola for the mother of the child or to use ‘vulva’, a common term used in the midwifery setting. It was finally agreed that the respectful term *inkomo* should be retained. The team decided to use a two-pronged approach with respect to the ‘*ukuhlonipha*’ words, namely: 1) they would retain the terminology that is acceptable in the community; and 2) use terms that the students will be expected to use when attending to their patients. The students would be referred to the Zulu dictionaries and other resources for the ‘true’ version of the *ukuhlonipha* words.

3. *Using borrowed terms:* Transference refers to the process of borrowing a term from English and transferring it to Zulu without changing it (Ramani *et al.* 2007: 213). For example the term for ‘AntiD injections’ is *umjovo we-AntiD*. Transliteration on the other hand, means that the equivalent was morphologically and phonologically adapted to the target language (Ramani *et al.* 2007). This was used quite often by the team. The following examples will explain how transference and transliteration were used.

White blood cells are commonly known as *amasosha omzimba* in Zulu. The literal translation in English is ‘body soldiers’. This term is used when talking about immunity and antibodies, but when nurses explain the processes of compromised immune systems, they need more refined terms for these explanations. In this case, transliteration was used so that nurses could differentiate between the different types of cells by referring to ‘neutrophils’ as *ama-neutrophils* (transference) or *amanyutrofilisi* (transliteration) and ‘basophils’ as *ama-basophils* (transference) or *amabhasofilisi* (transliteration). These words were clearly not available in Zulu and were borrowed from English. The outcome of a debate whether to retain the original English spelling or to change the spelling according to Zulu rules was that both versions were included in the glossary of terms. The traditionalists were in favour of keeping to the Zulu rules, whereas the modernists did not have a problem using the English spelling of the term.

4. *Adapting terms geographically:* *Izigodi* (geographical areas) sometimes use different words for the same term and this increased the difficulty in specifying a particular term for nursing. For example ‘buttocks’ are referred to as either *izinge* (Southern KZN) or *izibunu* (Northern KZN). The team’s decision was to include all equivalent terms used according to different geographic areas.

5. *Re-introducing lost terms:* Some terms in Zulu are available, and listed, but not commonly used and consequently not well known. For example, *isigqa*, meaning ‘hormones’, is an old word, but it has fallen into disuse as it is not commonly used by the younger generations. There are various factors that affect the transmission of a particular community’s language to the next generation, including age, gender, birthplace, period of residence in a specific area, educational level, qualification as well as migration

(Schüpbach 2009). Whatever the reason for the terms being lost, we realised that when terms are not used, they die or disappear, and are replaced by more informal terms. For example, 'HIV' is now commonly referred to as *Iqhoks*, literally translated into English as 'pencil heel shoe' describing the marks made on a body when a person is hit or assaulted with a high heel shoe. Thus the original term has been changed to contain a new meaning used by modern or younger generations. It is vital that the original terms should be used in teaching, learning and research contexts if we want them to survive. On the other hand, new meanings should be clarified and understood by students to be able to understand the fine nuance of the terms used in the community. If we use the correct terminology in teaching, we help to preserve the indigenous language and develop cognitive proficiency (Koch & Burkett 2005).

6. *Creating new terms (Coining)*: Where no existing terms could be found, the team discussed the English terms extensively in the workshop situation. The subject specialists presented these terms as mentioned above. After developing a clear image of the use of the term in the nursing and midwifery context, the linguists and terminologists assisted with developing an appropriate term, guided by language rules, and created new Zulu terms from English and other languages (Batibo 2009b: 1; Batibo 2009c). For example, the new Zulu term *Isigcinabisi ebeleni*, which means 'reservoir of milk in the breast', was created for the English term 'Lactiferous sinus'. The importance of combining the knowledge and skill of subject specialists and language specialists was especially evident in this kind of terminology development where the different specialists complemented the skills of each other.

Challenges in Terminology Development

Although the team consisted of highly specialized people, the process was very slow and labour-intensive. A list of only 350 terms was developed during one three-day workshop. After four workshops, 1400 terms had been developed and made available to nursing and midwifery. In spite of allocating 120 working days to the workshop activities, these terms have not yet been submitted to a standardization process or a language board as recommended by Batibo (2009c).

The availability of specialists can sometimes be a challenge. When there were not enough academics available to participate in the procedures of a specific workshop, clinical specialists, who were actively involved in the particular clinical field, were recruited. For future workshops, we recommend the inclusion of students and clinical practitioners in nursing and midwifery in this process.

Another challenge we now face is to maintain the momentum of such a demanding project. It can easily happen that the product of this project gets shelved as glossary lists and will not be made available to students, academics and clinical practitioners for nursing education, practice and research. There is a need to disseminate these terms in the public domain through publishing and validation from the stakeholders (Batibo 2009c). This means that it is vital to continue this project and, thus, future funding is of extreme importance for its continuation and sustainability.

Recommendations

1. The University should have a language policy in place which will ensure institutional support over the longer term.
2. The language board of the university should take ownership of terminology development in the different subjects or discipline areas by providing capacity building and funding for future initiatives.
3. Funding is important for the continuation of the process already initiated by the SANTED project.
4. Projects of this nature are dependent on long term commitment. Coordination and management of the process is essential to sustain it.
5. Capacity building skills and resource development to engage in terminology development is important for both the linguistic and the subject specialists.
6. The engagement of students and clinical practitioners in future projects should be encouraged.

7. The use of electronic methods for the extraction and development of terminology, translation of documents and dissemination of glossaries should be cost effective, as explained in Fernandez (2008).

Conclusion

In this article we shared the process of developing terminology from the perspectives of the subject specialists. We discussed the lessons learnt as we collaborated with the language specialists in the process. The techniques, as well as the categories of terms developed, were explained. The challenges were discussed and relevant recommendations, based on our experiences, were suggested. Participating in this project gave us, as nursing and midwifery specialists, a glimpse of ‘*the dream of nationhood*’ as reflected in the constitution of South Africa. With appropriate means, this process of terminology development, which has been initiated by The School of Nursing of the University of KwaZulu-Natal, can be continued and sustained to enhance Zulu as a language for the benefit of our learners and communities at large.

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The Translation and Cultural Adaptation of Patient-reported Outcome Measures for a Clinical Study Involving Traditional Health Providers and Bio-medically Trained Practitioners

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Abstract

This study reports on the cultural and language translation of measures for use with Zulu speakers in South Africa. The translation process was purposefully used to integrate our diverse 14 person study team by employing Community Based Participatory Research (CBPR) strategies.

Measures included: the Medical Outcomes Study HIV Health Survey (MOS-HIV), Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D), and Perceived Stress Scale (PSS).

The translation was made complex by the variation in Zulu dialects

across regions and even between two cities only forty-five minutes apart.

Carefully conceived translations can simultaneously produce good translations and deepen team members' understanding of each-other .

Keywords: Translation, outcome measures, CBPR

Introduction

An estimated 5.4 million South Africans are infected with the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) (Dorrington *et al.* 2006). Rates of HIV infection are highest in the province of KwaZulu-Natal where the prevalence is estimated to be between 16.5% and 40% (Dorrington *et al.* 2004; Dorrington *et al.* 2006). Measurement of patient-reported outcomes of HIV disease, such as increased depression and anxiety are important as they have been shown to adversely affect the course of the disease (Leserman 2003; Kopnisky *et al.* 2004). However, there is a shortage of appropriate culturally-adapted and language-translated measures for use with the Zulu speaking residents of KwaZulu-Natal. The lack of properly translated measures is important as it threatens the validity of data, interferes with comprehensive evaluations of interventions, and prohibits the safe aggregation of global data sets (Wild *et al.* 2005). The primary aim of this study is to report on the process of cultural adaptation and language translation of patient-reported outcome measures for use with Zulu speakers.

Conducting a sound cultural adaptation and language translation process can be quite challenging as it is complicated by contextual factors. For example, this challenging task is more difficult when one seeks to translate a health measure from one language to another (e.g. English to Zulu) as compared to producing a same language version (e.g. American English adapted for use with English speaking South Africans). The process becomes further complicated when the measures being translated are based on psychological constructs, such as quality of life, which are heavily culturally laden. For example, translating a measure of nutritional intake would require one to establish an understanding of the types of locally available foods and measurement system (e.g. metric vs. inch-pound system), but would not require the researcher to establish whether individuals in the target group ingests food to survive. In contrast, more culturally laden

constructs like quality of life may not have relevance for all and it should not be assumed that a western understanding of this construct is relevant in other cultures (e.g. anorexia nervosa is not observed in numerous cultures throughout the world). For this reason, conducting sound cultural adaptation and language translations of measures for use with a new population requires attention to the relevance of the underlying constructs of the target measures.

While the overall aim of any translation measure is to produce a new language version which is both conceptually equivalent to the original and relevant in the new target culture, the actual methods employed to produce a quality product vary greatly depending on each context. Guidance on the proper approach for translating such measures for use in new contexts has been available for some time (Monika *et al.* 1998; Koller & West 2005). However, in 1999 the International Society for Pharmacoeconomics and Outcomes Research (ISPOR) created the Task Force for Translation and Cultural Adaptation in order to create a consensus statement on best practices. Drawing heavily on earlier guidelines (Monika *et al.* 1998; Koller & West 2005), the Task Force published the 'Principles of Good Practice' for the translation and cultural adaptation of patient-reported outcome measures in 2005 (Wild *et al.* 2005). This paper reports on our experience of applying these guidelines for the translation and cultural adaptation of three patient-reported outcome measures for use in a randomized clinical trial set in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.

With the HIV/AIDS epidemic placing enormous pressure on an already strained public health care system (Barnett 2006), many South Africans do not have access to adequate health care (Magasela 2006). Currently THPs provide important health care for many who do not have access to (Barnett 2006) or wish to use allopathic health care (Puckree *et al.* 2002). While the exact percentages are unknown, it is estimated that $\geq 70\%$ of rural South Africans regularly visit THPs and that the majority of all South Africans will seek the services of THPs at some point in their lives (Puckree *et al.* 2002; Babb *et al.* 2007; Aceme 2007). Despite a long history of marginalization, many in South Africa including the government have begun to recognize THPs as a valuable health resource (Devenish 2005). However, their inclusion in the mainstream public health care system is only just beginning. Given the long standing distrust between THPs and allopathic health care providers (Devenish 2005) and the need to have these health care providers

work together to administer the clinical trial and, more importantly, to address the HIV/AIDS epidemic in South Africa (Morris 2001; Aceme 2007), our second goal for this paper is to report on how we deliberately used the translation process to build bridges between these two worlds by employing Community Based Participatory Research (CBPR) strategies. We report on our successes, struggles and lessons learned in this paper.

Method

A large team of individuals with a range of degrees, life experience, and expertise was created to address the specific goals of this project. This team included a USA-trained clinical health psychologist who had experience with the target measures, the translation process, and team building; one USA-trained medical doctor with extensive knowledge of the translation process; two South African trained medical doctors who are Zulu; a South African trained nurse who is Zulu and has an intimate understanding of THP's practices; eight well known and respected Zulu THPs, and one Xhosa biochemist who is fluent in Zulu and works closely with the THPs.

This project was carried out to support a National Center for Complementary and Alternative Medicine funded study in order to conduct a randomized clinical trial to test the safety of a particular herb used by THPs (i.e. *Sutherlandia* or unwele) in a sample of HIV+ adults with ≥ 350 CD4 cells (who are not on antiretroviral therapy [ART]). To our knowledge, this is the first clinical trial of *Sutherlandia* (unwele) in HIV+ individuals and the first trial to utilize a fully integrated team of allopathic and traditionally-trained health care providers. The setting for this study is the Umgungundlovu Hospital Complex in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. Approximately 10%-15% of the 1 million adults who seek services at the Complex are believed to be HIV+ and currently there are over 6000 patients registered with the HIV Clinic. The Complex also has a network of well-integrated Communicable Diseases Clinics that provide opportunistic infection prophylaxis for HIV+ adults and, more recently, ART as part of the South African Government's rollout programme. The main site of the study is Edendale Hospital which is the largest hospital in the Complex and serves a predominantly peri-urban and rural population.

For the purpose of the larger clinical trial, we selected the following well-validated measures that have all been successfully translated into other languages. For example, the Medical Outcomes Study HIV Health Survey (MOS-HIV) has been translated into 14 European and North/South American languages. However, as we note below, the only known African language translation is Lugandan for use in Uganda. To our knowledge, the Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D) and the Perceived Stress Scale (PSS) have been translated into European and North/South American languages only.

Quality of Life

The MOS-HIV is a brief (35-items, 5 minute administration) but comprehensive health status measure that has been used extensively in studies of HIV+ individuals (Wu *et al.* 1997). The MOS-HIV covers ten dimensions including: 1) general health perceptions, 2) pain, 3) physical function, 4) role function, 5) social function 6) cognitive function, 7) mental health, 8) energy/fatigue, 9) health distress and 10) quality of life. Each sub-dimension is scored such that higher scores indicate better health and overall physical and mental health summary scores can be generated (Revicki *et al.* 1998). The MOS-HIV has been shown to be internally consistent and validity has been established by numerous studies demonstrating its: 1) consistent association with concurrent measures of health, 2) ability to discriminate between distinct groups, 3) ability to predict future outcomes, and 4) responsiveness to changes over time. It is available in at least twenty languages; however the only available African language translation is for Lugandan-speaking individuals in Uganda. Sample items include: 1) ‘Does your health keep you from working at a job, doing work around the house or going to school?’; and 2) ‘How has the quality of your life been during the past four weeks? That is, how have things been going for you?’

Depressive Symptoms

We used the 15-item short form of the Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D) in this study (Radloff 1977). This scale has

established reliability and validity (e.g. correlations with other self-report measures, clinical ratings of depression, and other variables which support its construct validity) through use in a wide variety of patient populations. A sample item is: ‘How often (in the past week) did you feel that your life had been a failure?’

Perceived Stress

The Perceived Stress Scale (PSS) (Sheldon Cohen 1997) is a 10-item self-report scale designed to assess how unpredictable, uncontrollable, and overloaded respondents find their lives. The PSS has good reliability, and validity has been established via correlations with physical symptoms, depressive symptoms, and life events. Typical questions include: ‘In the past month, how often have you felt that you were unable to control the important things in your life?’, or ‘How often have you felt that things were going your way?’

Translation Process

The ISPOR ‘Principles of Good Practice’ detail 10 steps that include: Preparation, Forward Translation, Reconciliation, Back Translation, Back Translation Review, Harmonization, Cognitive Debriefing, Review of Cognitive Debriefing Results and Finalization, Proofreading, and Final Report. Below, we describe the critical components of each step, as well as how we addressed each step.

Step 1. Preparation: The critical components of this step are: a) to obtain permission to use the instrument(s), b) invite the instrument developer to be involved, c) develop an explanation of concepts in the instrument, and d) recruit key in-country persons to participate in the project.

In order to address these critical components, we selected measures that were in the public domain (a), we invited one of the developers of the main outcome measure (MOS-HIV) to consult on this project (b), and with the help of our Zulu colleagues at the study site in South Africa (d),

we developed what we hoped would be understandable explanations of the concepts in the instruments selected for translation (c).

Step 2. Forward Translation: There are two critical components in this step: a) at least two independent forward translations and b) provision of explanation of concepts in the instrument to the key in-country persons and forward translators.

We addressed this step by having two of our Zulu-speaking research team members complete independent translations of the measures (a). We had numerous e-mail and telephone conversations prior to the translations being conducted in which we discussed the concepts in the instruments and both were familiar with the content of questionnaires (b).

Step 3. Reconciliation: This step requires the two independent translations to be reconciled. We had our two independent translators meet to review each questionnaire item by item and to resolve any discrepancies between their two versions.

Because we wanted to ensure that our adaptation of these measures of psychological constructs were appropriate for use with Zulu speakers and to more fully develop our working relationships with our THP colleagues, we conducted additional forward translation/reconciliation efforts. First, knowing that our THP colleagues were experts in Zulu culture and language, we established several meetings that focused on the reconciled translations of the measures described above. We developed detailed focus group guides and conducted two meetings with our THP colleagues at Edendale Hospital. In the first five-hour meeting, we focused on each construct in turn (first depression, then perceived stress, then quality of life), to ensure that they made sense and were recognized by the expert THPs. The second four-hour meeting focused on instructions and response categories for the measures. Next, we conducted a meeting with our THP colleagues in Durban where we reviewed all measures with particular attention paid to issues that had been contentious in our earlier efforts or that were still unresolved.

Step 4. Back Translation: This step involves back-translating the reconciled translation into the source language. This was accomplished by having another independent Zulu speaker review the reconciled translation. The back translator read every instruction, question and response category out loud. A word-for-word record of the English translation was recorded by a native English speaker.

Step 5. Back Translation Review: This step mandates a review of the back translation against the source language. We accomplished this step by comparing the word-for-word back translation to the original English version to ensure that concepts had not been lost.

Step 6. Harmonization: The goal of this step is to ensure conceptual equivalence between the source and target language versions and between all translations. It is an additional quality control step that helps to ensure that data from global trials can be safely aggregated. We accomplished this task by bringing members of the project team together to examine the back translation review.

Step 7. Cognitive Debriefing: This step assesses the level of comprehensibility and cognitive equivalence of the new translation, usually among individuals from the target population. During this process, any translation alternatives that have not been resolved by the steps above should be discussed. Because this step is done with members of the target population, it is also likely to highlight anything that may be confusing or inappropriate. We accomplished this task by asking three Zulu-speaking first year nursing students to review the questionnaires. Nursing students were selected because they were easily accessible at the study site, and representative of the ultimate target population of sexually active Zulu-speakers.

Step 8. Review of Cognitive Debriefing Results and Finalization: This step is a purposeful review of the results of the Cognitive Debriefing process to produce a final translation. We accomplished this step by having members of the project team meet with each of the nursing students to

get their feedback on the measures. We sought feedback on the readability, complexity and appropriateness of the translated versions.

Step 9. Proofreading: This often omitted step requires one last review of the finalized translation to ensure that no minor or typographical errors remain. A member of our project team who is fluent in Zulu and English finalized the translations. We also sought two independent professional forward translations conducted by paid consultants and compared those to our finalized versions.

Step 10. Final Report: This last step involves the documentation of how each of the steps was addressed and how all translation/wording choices were made. This important step is key to ensuring that future translations of the same measure can be harmonized with previously developed versions. Working together, our project team created this report to address this final step.

Strategies Employed for Team Development and Diffusion of Expertise

Working from a CBPR perspective, we deliberately used the translation process to build trust and collaboration among group members and to diffuse the expertise of all members to the larger group. CBPR is a collaborative approach to conducting research by which community members affected by the problem fully participate in the process of developing research questions, data collection, intervention implementation, and analysis, interpretation, and dissemination of results (Isreal *et al.* 2005). Use of CBPR methods have been found to assist in the development of socially-validated research methods, for building greater trust and respect between researchers and communities, and for increasing sustainability of intervention methods. In Table 1, we outline the nine guiding principles of CBPR (Isreal *et al.* 2005) and how we addressed each in this process. Using principles of CBPR was especially important as this project involves health professionals from worlds that have experienced historically poor integration and suffered from a great deal of mistrust (i.e. traditional and western medicine). We carefully selected our team members to include individuals who were recognized leaders and who

had an interest in making a connection with other recognized leaders from other health care traditions. Recognizing the historical discrimination that THPs have experienced, we deliberately assigned tasks to the South African trained staff that required them to depend on the THPs in order to successfully accomplish their assignment. For example, we asked our South African trained Zulu nurse and one of our South African trained Zulu medical doctors to perform the initial forward translation and then to lead the translation focus groups with THPs.

Results

Translation and Cultural Adaptation

We successfully completed each of the ten steps described in the Method. Selection of the measures, description of the concepts covered and recruitment of in-country team members was easily accomplished as we had established our team early in the process to prepare our grant proposal. Similarly, the first two forward translations and reconciliation were straight forward and quick. However, our meetings with the THPs proved to be more challenging and informative than we could have anticipated.

Following the guidance of our expert consultant, we had developed detailed focus group guides. These guides started by thanking THPs for their willingness to teach us; stressed that they were the experts, and that we needed to hear their thoughts even if they were different to what others were expressing. We asked questions that focused on: 1) establishing the validity of each underlying construct for Zulu speakers (e.g. ‘Can the English word *depression* be translated into Zulu?, If so, what meaning does it have?’), 2) establishing what symptoms are associated with each construct (e.g. ‘If the phrase quality of life means something, what would you expect someone with good quality of life to look like?’), and 3) establishing that the anchors in the response categories made sense. Focus group guides ended with questions focused on ensuring that we had not missed anything important and understanding THPs’ experience of the process. There were two purposes to these guides: 1) to ensure that we created an environment where the THPs’ expertise could emerge and 2) to provide, if necessary, sufficient explanations of the concepts in the patient outcome measures to make our

discussions of appropriate translations meaningful. We will discuss results related to the first goal in more detail below. In terms of the second goal, our guides were extremely helpful in keeping the group on task and ensuring that clarifications were available if necessary. In addition to the guides, we used a variety of visual aids (e.g. dry-erase boards) and group activities (e.g. sorting of response categories) to encourage participation and to keep individuals focused over the course of two very long sessions. Pre-printed index cards were especially useful in allowing the group to work together to clarify their understanding of symptoms of syndromes and response categories (see Figure 1).

The first two THP groups revealed that there are few direct translations of the words *depression*, *stress* and *quality of life*. Taking each construct in turn, the THPs clarified that these constructs exist and that it is something that they regularly see and treat in patients. However, because their belief system of disease etiology is divergent from the western allopathic model, they do not necessarily recognize depression as a syndrome made up of specific symptoms. With that said, they were also clear that when they see patients who are experiencing a low mood, they often see other accompanying symptoms like loss of appetite, disturbed sleep, suicidal ideation, hopelessness, apathy, and sexual dysfunction (which we had not presented for discussion as it does not appear on the CES-D). Similar discussions regarding stress and quality of life emerged. Despite the lack of standardized diagnostic criteria, appropriate translations for depression (*umoya ophansi*—‘low spirit’), stress (*ingcindezi*—‘pressure or oppression’), and quality of life (*izinga/iqophelo lempilo*—‘quality of health’) and all associated symptoms were identified. The most striking and difficult part of these meetings involved producing meaningful translations of the Likert-type response categories for the questionnaires. We presented index cards with each response option printed in Zulu (Figure 1). We then asked the THPs to put the response options in order from most to least of each response option (e.g. ‘strongly agree’ to ‘strongly disagree’). Difficulty arose as some comparisons of concepts (like small increments of time) are ambiguous in any language, but especially difficult to do without context. For example, communicating that a symptom occurs ‘some or a little of the time’ vs. ‘occasionally or a moderate amount of time’ was particularly difficult until the corresponding question was presented. After considerable conversation,

consensus was reached, with the greatest number of changes from the initial reconciled forward translation associated with the response categories and quality of life measure.

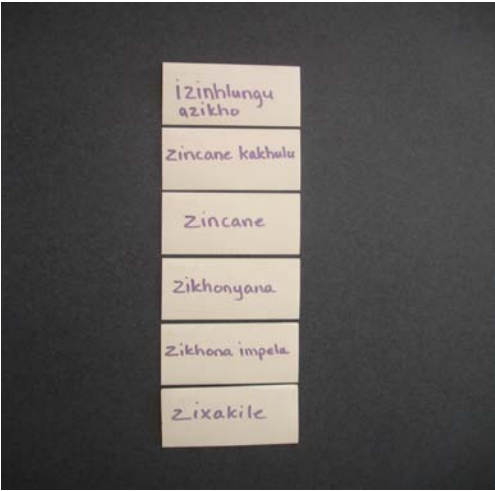
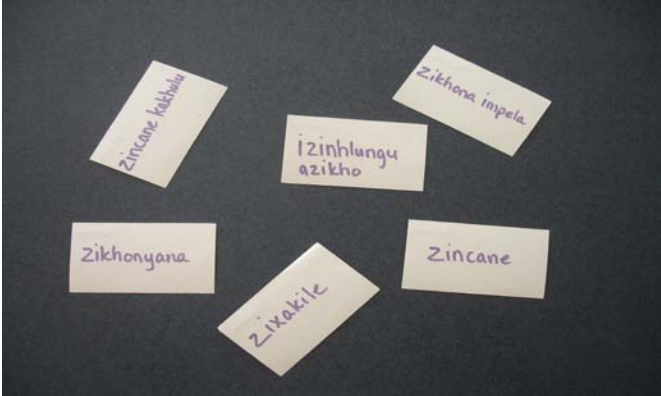


Figure 1¹: Index cards in isiZulu

¹ Index cards in isiZulu used to establish the translation for the response category of ‘None of the time’, ‘A little of the time’, ‘Some of the time’, ‘A good bit of the time’, ‘Most of the time’, and ‘All of the time’.

After making all of the agreed upon changes, we presented the new reconciled translations to another independent group of THPs and another colleague fluent in Zulu in Durban. This meeting produced additional changes in the wording of scale instructions, questions and response categories. Consistent with the prior focus group meetings, most of the discussion focused on the response categories. We edited the translations consistent with the feedback obtained in this focus group with our Durban colleagues and preceded to the back translation stage.

The back translation process quickly revealed that the suggested changes obtained from our colleagues in the Durban focus group had altered the meaning of items and relied on more formal and/or local Zulu than the version from our first two focus groups that were held with THPs who worked and resided in the area around the trial site. Because our goal was to produce translations that would be readily accessible to participants drawn from the area surrounding the trial site, we decided to go back to the prior version that was produced in the meetings with the THPs and completed the back translation process. This proved to be a good decision and the back translation and review process was completed with only a few minor issues to be resolved (e.g. tense of a few words, unnecessary density in one set of instructions). These issues were easily resolved in the harmonization meetings. The back translation process revealed that a word-for-word translation was possible, but difficult as sentence structure is quite different in Zulu as opposed to English. Further, translating the tense of words is quite difficult without context. Therefore the back translator tended to read the entire sentence, consider its meaning, and then provided a word-for-word translation of the material.

Participants in the cognitive debriefing process (nursing students) were interviewed individually. Feedback on appropriateness, understandability and content was uniformly positive with some minor suggestions for simplifying one set of scale instructions. Team members asked each of the participants to read aloud several items that had been the most contentious in earlier discussion (i.e. specific items and the response categories). The team considered the suggestion to simplify one of the scale's instructions, but no changes were ultimately made as they required a significant deviation from the original English version and were not seen as improving the translation in a meaningful way. Results of this process reassured us that the final Zulu

versions were accurate reflections of the English versions.

Proofreading was accomplished by project team members and allowed for the opportunity to ensure that all earlier drafts were properly labeled and retained, and that the final versions were error-free. As an additional check, we had additional forward translations completed by two independent professional certified translators. We compared these independent translations to our versions which revealed some minor recommended changes. After discussion with the certified translators about the process we had used to ensure the appropriateness of our translations, it was agreed that the majority of the suggested changes would not improve the translations. Then, after another round of proofreading, the final report was completed by the project team which resulted in a final version of the patient-outcome measures.

Team Development and Diffusion of Expertise

As detailed in Table 1, we strategically employed CBPR methods which encouraged team members to work with and learn from each other. For example, asking our South African trained Zulu health care providers to perform the initial translation and then lead the THPs' focus groups was intended to create a situation where the expertise of the THPs was needed in order to successfully complete their task. What these biomedically-trained team members learned was that despite being Zulu and fluent in Zulu, their biomedical training and day-to-day work primarily in English made them less than ideal translators. In contrast, the THPs conduct the majority of their work in Zulu which allowed them to correct the biomedically-trained staff's translations and offer a richer understanding of the underlying psychosocial concepts represented in the measures. This open exchange of ideas allowed the THPs to see that the biomedically-trained staff could learn, and more importantly acknowledge learning, from their expertise.

A secondary goal of this purposeful use of the translation process was to make this new, richer understanding and respect among members diffuse to the larger community from which each came. This was accomplished by carefully selecting individuals who are influential in their own worlds and consistent with a diffusion of innovations approach (Rogers 1995), constructing an experience in which all members could learn from

each other and take their new understanding of the others back to their respective worlds. Feedback from the individuals involved with this portion of the translation process was strongly positive and indicated that we were successful in accomplishing this goal. For example, all members reported having a better understanding of what it takes to produce cultural and language translations of questionnaires for use in research studies. Our biomedically-trained team members reported that they had developed new skills in conducting focus groups and translation processes that they would use in future studies. Most important, all reported a deeper understanding of the procedures and practices of health care providers from traditions divergent from their own and a commitment to share these observations with others.

Discussion and Conclusion

Despite being laborious, the approach to translation and cultural adaptation of patient-reported outcome measures described here proved to be very successful in allowing us to simultaneously accomplish both of our goals. We were struck by several things that emerged in our work: firstly, that we continued to have new insights at each step of the translation process; secondly, that the translation of response categories would be so difficult, which has, however, been observed in other studies (Ware 1995); thirdly, that despite speaking Zulu daily with their families and some patients, our biomedically-trained Zulu health care professionals' translations were not as accurate as those provided by the THPs. Lastly, and most striking, was the fact that the Zulu spoken in two cities forty-five minutes apart was very different. This should not be surprising as language is constantly evolving and this is especially true in an urban environment like Durban where there are numerous competing languages that influence each other. In the end, it is important to note that the very best translation for any project comes from careful work with members of the target population or as close a surrogate as possible.

Replicability of the ten-step translation and cultural adaptation process employed here is likely to present potentially insurmountable challenges in situations with limited resources. However, careful planning can allow for the consolidation of steps that will maintain the integrity of the

process while making it feasible. For example, several of us have used a more streamlined approach to conduct a cultural and language translation of the same measures into another South African language, Xhosa. Specifically, we consolidated the ten-step process into three stages. In the first stage, we consolidated steps 1-3 by drawing on our experience with these measures and identifying two Xhosa-speaking individuals to conduct the initial translation. Consistent with the process described above, these individuals produced independent translations and then met to reach consensus on a final translation. Unresolved issues were few and just like our experience translating into Zulu, mostly involved the response categories. The second stage addressed steps 4-7 and included conducting the Back Translation which was completed by the project director who is fluent in Xhosa and English and facilitation of a meeting with the original translators and two community health care workers who have vast experience with the target population to ensure the appropriateness of the translated versions and to resolve any remaining issues. The final stage addressed steps 8-10 and included administering the newly-translated versions of the measures to Xhosa-speakers from the target population and obtaining their feedback and editing the final version accordingly. This three stage consolidated process produced a well received Xhosa version of the measures and was conducted on a minimal budget in a short period of time. Future efforts that employ similar approaches are necessary to ensure that these techniques can be replicated in other resource-poor environments.

More research on the reliability, validity, and usefulness of these translated and culturally-adapted instruments with members of the specific target population are necessary. However, large scale validity studies may not always be practical in resource-limited settings. Other strategies to improve the integrity of data from translated measures include carefully selecting measures that allow for convergent, divergent, concurrent, and predictive validity analyses within studies; employing community advisory boards that review and provide feedback on measures, and seeking feedback from participants throughout the study. As Aceme (2007) and Mills (2005) have noted, given the dearth of properly translated patient-reported outcome measures for use with Zulu speakers and the need for well-designed studies that address these important outcomes in the midst of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in South Africa, reports like this one are greatly needed.

From all accounts, we were successful in meeting our second goal to use the translation process to fully develop our team and allow for members' expertise to diffuse to the larger group of individuals who will ultimately participate in and be impacted by our work. All team members were clearly committed to the process as they dedicated significant time and effort to it. Members also clearly took pride in what had been accomplished and were eager to continue working together. Most importantly, as a result of participating, team members reported that they had acquired a better understanding of each other, new skills that will be useful in future collaborations, and an eagerness to share their experiences with others in their communities. Clearly, a very respectful and meaningful exchange had occurred.

Employing this type of careful planning is important if we are to capitalize on the full impact that the research process can have on a community. More importantly, thoughtful approaches like the one described here can do much to encourage previously marginalized communities to address and initiate solutions for important public health problems.

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Table 1. Community-Based Participatory Group Development and Expertise Diffusion

Guiding Principles of Community Based Participatory Research	How we addressed
1) Acknowledging community as a unit of identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Selected leaders from both the THP and allopathic health care provider communities who are all part of the larger community of care providers for those who are HIV+ and at-risk for HIV infection.
2) Building on strengths and resources within the community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recruited members of both communities that have an expressed interest in building bridges between the THPs and allopathic health care worlds. • Created opportunities for members of both communities to share their expertise with the group.
3) Facilitating a collaborative, equitable partnership in all phases of research, involving an empowering and power-sharing process that attends to social inequalities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Met with leaders from both communities early in the process. • Asked leaders to define the problems to be addressed and solicited their help in addressing them together.
4) Fostering co-learning and capacity building among all partners	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Created a group task (translation of measures) that highlighted the expertise of members from both communities. • Made visits to THPs offices to learn more about how they practice.
5) Integrating and achieving a balance between knowledge generation and intervention for the mutual benefit of all partners	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dedicated time to the tasks at hand as well as the exploration of group members' dreams and goals for this and future collaborations.

<p>6) Focusing on the local relevance of public health problems and on ecological perspectives that attend to the multiple determinants of health</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spent time exploring how our collaboration interfaces with the provision of HIV/AIDS and general health care in the community. • Talked about what footprint we would and would not like to leave as a result of our collaboration.
<p>7) Involving systems development using a cyclical and iterative process</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continue to include all members in all levels of the research process. • Continually requested feedback from all members to ensure that our materials, procedures and public statements are an accurate reflection of what we have done and make adjustments as appropriate.
<p>8) Disseminating results to all partners and involving them in a the wider dissemination of results</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As decided on by the group, we take pictures at each working session and provide copies to all members. • Produce written minutes of all formal meetings and provide copies to all members. • Conduct regular meetings with all members. • Acknowledge the contributions of all members who engaged in the writing process on publications.
<p>9) Involving a long-term process and commitment to sustainability</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dedicated time to discussing how our efforts together can lead to stronger relationships between THP and allopathic health care providers. • Continue to write grants and develop strategic partnership to meet these goals.

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Education and Development of Traditional Health Practitioners in isiZulu to Promote their Collaboration with Public Health Care Workers

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Abstract

The African Union has declared 2001-2010 the Decade of African Traditional Medicine (ATM). This declaration has been supported by a call from the World Health Organization, and the African National Congress, for the integration of ATM into the National Health Care System, in the context that communities are allowed to choose whom to consult for their health care needs. In order to facilitate collaboration between traditional health practitioners (THPs) and public health care workers (HCWs), we have developed a cutting edge project focused on establishing a district health-based collaboration between provincial and local authority clinics and THPs. To achieve this, it was necessary to develop training materials in isiZulu to capacitate THPs to document, monitor and evaluate their interaction with patients, and for the referral of patients to these clinics. The training programme is designed to facilitate a meaningful two-way participation between THPs and the clinics. The original materials were developed in South African English by biomedical practitioners in consultation with THPs. These were then translated into isiZulu for purposes of facilitating understanding, promoting ownership, and direction of the process by THPs. The programme has resulted in the empowerment and commitment of THPs

to document their own work in their own language which has a long oral tradition. This has further promoted understanding between THPs and HCWs. Patients can now freely consult THPs and receive health information from them in their own language and, when necessary, be referred to clinics and social workers to access services not rendered by THPs. This process has bridged the gap between the two health systems allayed myths and misconceptions or prejudice each system had about each other that has been a stumbling block to collaboration.

Keywords: traditional health practitioners, public health care workers, collaboration, clinics, training

Introduction

The World Health Organisation (WHO 2000; WHO 2001; WHO 2002; WHO 2003; WHO 2005) and other literature (Pretorius 1999; Morris 2001; Makhathini 2003; Gqaleni *et al.* 2007; Goggin *et al.* 2009; PCH 2009) indicates that 80% of South Africans utilize and rely on traditional medicine for their health care needs. In fact, up to 90% of people living with HIV and AIDS first consult traditional health practitioners before visiting practitioners of allopathic medicine (Morris 2001; Goggin *et al.* 2009). Literature indicates that so many make this decision that most experts now believe that this first health care system of African traditional medicine is actually bearing the brunt of HIV and AIDS care and support (Morris 2001; Goggin *et al.* 2009). How South Africa has developed its second health care system (now known as the national health care systems) is intractably linked to the historical legacy of apartheid and colonialism.

An epidemic such as HIV and AIDS has presented immense challenges to all health care workers, firstly, because it is a new disease to Africa and, secondly, because it has spread rapidly largely through sexual activity, thereby making it a very difficult condition to prevent. The clinical symptoms of AIDS are sometimes similar to the manifestation of *ukuthwasa*; a spiritual calling and training to become *isangoma* (a diviner) in traditional medicine. It thus becomes necessary to develop training programmes to equip traditional health practitioners (THPs) to know how to differentiate between the two conditions and effectively manage the epidemic within their practices

and in their communities. There are currently several training programmes aimed at equipping practitioners of biomedicine with knowledge of HIV and AIDS and its management and prevention, with little or no assistance for THPs.

The South African government, African Union and the World Health Organisation recognize and promote traditional medicine (ANC 1994; WHO 2001; WHO 2005; AU 2007). In a speech by the then Minister of Health, Dr Manto Tshabala-Msimang, at the African Traditional Medicine Day celebration in September 2007, the importance of the inclusion of African Traditional Medicine (ATM) in the national health system was highlighted (NDoH 2007). This marked an important departure from the apartheid and colonial past that marginalized ATM.

The African Union has declared 2001-2010 the Decade of African Traditional Medicine. This declaration has been supported by a call from the World Health Organisation and the African National Congress for the integration of ATM into the National Health Care System in the context that communities are allowed to choose whom to consult for their health care needs (ANC 1994; WHO 2001; WHO 2005; AU 2007). In order to facilitate collaboration between (THPs) and public health care workers (HCWs), we have developed a cutting edge project focused on establishing a district-health-based collaboration between district and local authority clinics and THPs using HIV and AIDS as a focal disease. The objective of this paper is to describe the process we have followed to develop materials in their own language of isiZulu for training to capacitate THPs to document, monitor and evaluate their interaction with patients, their communities, and for the referral of patients to these clinics. We call this project 'saving lives: biomedical and traditional healer collaboration on HIV and AIDS'.

The Biomedical and Traditional Healer Collaboration Project

The Nelson R Mandela School of Medicine at the University of KwaZulu-Natal has established strong relationships with THPs leading to the signing of a memorandum of understanding with THPs of KwaZulu-Natal (Kahn and Nzama 2003; Ngobese 2009). The relationships are based on sound principles and we believe can become a model for partnerships in this country and perhaps on the continent. The model aims to contribute to the

development of traditional health care knowledge without compromising intellectual property rights of the THPs.

This project on biomedical and traditional healer collaboration on HIV prevention, AIDS care and treatment is funded by the US Presidents Emergency Fund and administered by the Centres for Disease Control and Prevention. The focus of this five-year funded project is on establishing a district and local government level collaboration with clinics and THPs.

Partners in this project include the Nelson R Mandela School of Medicine, the KwaZulu-Natal Traditional Health Practitioners, KwaZulu-Natal Department of Health and the eThekweni Municipality Health Unit. The project centres around a training and implementation programme that has reached 1200 THPs in 3 districts (eThekweni, iLembe and uMgungundlovu). The project starts with a one-week workshop covering:

- Advanced HIV & AIDS Awareness which focuses on the human immunodeficiency viral behaviour, characterisation, transmission, prevention-of-transmission routes, immune system response to viral invasion, and eventual disease progression. The mode of training includes computer-simulated medical animations that are combined with graphics as well as dramatic enactments to ensure precise understanding.
- Prevention Approaches. Throughout the workshops, multiple approaches are taken, including culturally embedded methods, to deepen awareness of the necessity and viability of prevention, and to explore the application of abstinence, faithfulness and other prevention approaches, some specific to traditional healing contexts, in order to reduce the spread of the virus.
- Clinical Guidelines, appropriate to a traditional health practice, for syndromic management of HIV & Aids: These have been developed by the UKZN Department of Family Medicine and the eThekweni Health Unit in collaboration with the leadership of THPs, and are innovative, simplified guidelines for use by traditional health practitioners in their practice, to facilitate recognition of HIV-related symptoms and to facilitate ready referral where necessary. The longstanding relationship between the eThekweni Health Unit and traditional healers, and the involvement of traditional healers in the training of HCWs, have been advantageous in this regard.

- Monitoring and Evaluation, including patient record forms, follow-up forms, and referral forms. We have been developing a new patient record system for the THPs to use in their practice, including follow-up forms for repeat visits, and referral forms to facilitate referrals to the nearest provincial or local authority clinics. A monitoring and evaluation team is in place to visit the THPs and collect the relevant data for project reporting and project management.
- Basic Medical supplies. A modified version of home-based care kits specifically for THPs, are supplied to those THPs on the programme. These kits contain basic medical supplies such as rubber gloves, bandages, protective aprons, antiseptics, condoms etc. to assist with patient management, reduce the risk of HIV infection to the THPs, and ensure better patient care. Resupply is provided and coordinated by the project.
- VCT and ARV Awareness Introduction. The basic principles of voluntary counseling and testing are introduced and discussed, particularly in terms of the relevance to prevention and the need for timely care of those already infected. Basic awareness of antiretroviral drug regimens and potential side effects is combined with discussion of the necessity for caution in combining ARV regimens with traditional medicines.

Within the scope of this project, it was important that language was used in such a way that THPs would be able to fully and intelligently participate in the project without being overwhelmed by biomedical terms used by allopathic practitioners. A true spirit of equality had to be established. Two-way translation took place at two levels; English to isiZulu or isiZulu to English and biomedical scientific language to traditional medicine or *vice versa*. Thus, language as a resource was used in order to find appropriate ways of communicating that would be more conducive to all parties for the complex purpose of the project.

Development of Working Instruments

The project team consisting of THPs and biomedical practitioners had to establish working instruments. These included:

- the patient record and follow up forms as tools for THP record keeping,
- a referral form for the proposed referral system.
- a training manual as a tool for THP capacity building.

All these instruments were developed in English and then translated into isiZulu in line with the Access to Information Act No 2 of 2000 (South Africa 2000) and recommendations by various scholars (Halliday and Martin 1993; Gazette 2000; Alexander 2005). This translation was done by the University of KwaZulu-Natal's School of isiZulu (language experts) as well as a member of the team who has a good command of both isiZulu, English and the health-related terminology. Some of the team members involved are health workers and scientists deeply rooted in isiZulu culture and biomedicine. The main reason for including an isiZulu language expert and health workers in the translation process was because the language expert could not fully understand traditional or biomedical health issues. The project team met on a regular basis to review the translated information and the newly developed isiZulu language instruments.

The Cross Referral System

A referral system is a mechanism through which the biomedical and traditional healer collaboration could become a reality. It also presents an opportunity to encourage multilingualism so as to improve a formalized patient access across the service platforms. We developed a referral form which was simple and easy to be understood by busy HCWs and THPs but at the same time include as much relevant information as necessary. The purpose of the cross referral system was to implement, for the first time, a referral system between the clinics and THPs that will be conducive for optimized patient care and support. This system is based on the concept that the THPs refer their patients to the health facilities which will then respond accordingly through the acknowledgment note. Ideally this system is designed to improve communication and subsequently bridge the gap between the two systems while improving quality of health care for the patients.

Training Manual

The purpose of the training manual was to sensitize THPs to the clinical guidelines appropriate to their system, HIV and AIDS, referral and the recording keeping system. The training manual provided a conceptual framework, from a biomedical perspective, for understanding illness prevention, treatment and health promotion. In addition, the manual also included a section on African traditional ways of prevention of HIV infection. All the sections of the training manual were translated from English into isiZulu. Those concepts and terms that did not exist in isiZulu were approximated to known contemporary concepts by amaZulu. For example, 'high blood pressure' would be termed '*ihigh high*' or '*i-BP*'. These concepts were given descriptive meanings within their context. This did not only increase knowledge within the traditional healing system, but also contributed in the development of isiZulu language through borrowing of words and concepts from the biomedical terminology.

Translation of the Training Manual

The Content of the Translated Training Manual

The training manual consists of six sections. The first section involves HIV origins, transmission, pathology and prevention. This section introduced traditional healers to the concepts and principles of HIV as a virus, its origin, the way the virus is transmitted from person to person, what happens when the virus gets into the body, how infection leads to AIDS, and how to prevent transmission. It provides THPs with a detailed understanding of HIV, how it behaves, and how to stop it spreading from one person to another.

This section proved to be the most complex to translate and difficult for delivering the desired outcome. Translation was complicated by the fact that some of the terms used openly and generally in English and/or medical sciences were considered to be private or sacred within the traditional healing context. To use some of these terminologies openly in training THPs was considered taboo, an insult or even disrespectful. For example, in isiZulu culture it is considered inappropriate to speak openly about sex, especially talk about genital organs in public. This then meant modification of some of the words and explanations during translation. The word 'penis' is translated

as *umthondo* in isiZulu but it would have been inappropriate to use these words openly in public training, therefore words like *ubuntu besilisa*, the ‘distinct male organ’, or *isitho sangasese sesilisa*, the ‘male private part’ were used instead.

One of the intended outcomes of the training manual was to influence THPs’ attitudes toward causes and origins of HIV and AIDS and therefore reduce the spread of the disease. However, it soon became evident that THPs had their own understanding and knowledge of causes of illness and disease and were unwilling to change to a biomedical approach. There was, however, agreement on prevention approaches used traditionally, which were included. This was an important lesson for the biomedically trained team members.

The second section involves clinical guidelines for optimisation of the management of HIV and AIDS by THPs appropriate to their health care practices. This was the most exciting to engage in and involved translations of HIV and AIDS related diseases, symptoms, diagnosis and management, including, where applicable, referral to other THPs or public health care clinics. This session established much of the commonalities in approach between biomedical practitioners and THPs. For example, we realized that in both systems the Stott-Davis model during consultation is followed (Stott and Davis 1979). In this model, practitioners first learn about the management of patient’s presenting symptoms, then underlying symptoms are established followed by behaviour modification, the management of the patients continuing problem (where appropriate), and lastly, to look for opportunities for health promotion. Conditions such as Herpes zoster (*ibhande*), TB (*isifo sofuba*), AIDS (*isifo sengculazi*), sexually transmitted diseases (*izifo ezithathelanayo zocansi*), oral rehydration fluid (*umbhubhudlo onosawoti*), were translated to a language THPs are familiar with in their everyday work.

The third section deals with monitoring and evaluation tools. Its aim is to introduce THPs to concepts and principles of the monitoring and evaluation process and to provide them with a thorough understanding of the instruments developed for the project. For the first time THPs are able to have documented records of their patient interactions for themselves in addition to their oral way which has been well established and perfected over centuries.

The fourth section deals with issues of palliative and/or home-based care. It was introduced at the request of THPs who required assistance for their patients who either presented late or required to be cared in the home environment. The section introduces THPs to the concepts and principles of practice and home-based care and to develop further understanding of how to apply principles of universal protection, prevention of the spread of infectious diseases and promotion of health among patients.

Section five includes antiretroviral (ARV) literacy. This section is intended to equip THPs with the understanding of ARV treatment (*ukwelapha ngemishanguzo yegciwane iHIV*) and its effect on people living with HIV. It is also aimed at helping THPs understand the importance of their roles in helping the patients adhere to the treatment, if applicable. It was another complex section to translate because of medical and scientific terminology not related to traditional approaches to treatment. For example, in order to facilitate understanding of the concepts for the THPs, we were obliged to use names associated with the shape of the viral structure e.g. *inkomishi* 'cup' was used to describe the receptors of the CD4 cell and *isagila* 'club or knobkierie' was used to describe GP 120 of the human immuno deficiency virus. Section six deals with voluntary counseling and testing (VCT) (*ukweluleka ngokuhlolela igciwane lengculazi ngokuzikhethela*), its meaning and purpose. Basic counseling in a trusting and private environment is where THPs are strong when compared to public health centres.

Interpreting during the Training Workshop

A key principle of this project is the involvement of both THPs and biomedical practitioners as co-facilitators in the simultaneous interpreting from English to isiZulu including biomedical terminology to the language of traditional medicine. The co-ordinator of the workshop is a THP, assisted by 3 additional THPs, 2 nurses, 3 biomedical practitioners and 3 scientists. All these collaborated in interpreting during the workshop.

Interpreting during training took place on three different levels. Firstly, a workshop interpreter carefully articulates what is being narrated by the English speaking facilitator. Secondly, THPs interact with the training manual written in isiZulu during the workshop and ask for more clarity on

biomedical concepts they do not understand. This is where interpreting of science to the traditional (cultural) approaches includes the THPs facilitators in addition to biomedically trained practitioners. Thirdly, the practical level involves role play using the Objective Structured Clinical Examination method where THPs get a chance to relate the content of the training to their practices.

The workshop is participatory and open in that participants are encouraged to share their experiences. In this way we have been able to identify some of the similarities between African traditional and Western medical practices which we would otherwise have not been able to identify within the normal learning environment. For example we have been able to see common practices in terms of patient care, protocols and ethics of health care.

Language Conceptualization

It should be noted that, when it comes to the origins of HIV, there were differences on how the THPs and Western practitioners conceptualized the disease. This is due to the fact that, historically, traditional healers are not familiar with the germ theory. The conceptualization of the origins of HIV for THPs is determined by their cultural values and beliefs. Because of their holistic approach, THPs believe that HIV may originate from a number of factors which may be interrelated. Such factors would include environmental, social, biological, psychological as well as spiritual factors.

This is in contrast with the biomedical practitioners who conceptualize causes of illness as being exclusively due to biological factors. However, there were points of congruence when it comes to prevention of HIV. For example, it is an African cultural value that, before people start eating, they need to wash their hands. This facilitated consensus between traditional healers and biomedical practitioners when it comes to the biomedical concept of hygiene as a way of illness prevention. The African concept of *ubuntu* (a human is a human being because of other humans) embraces a number of African norms (expected ways of behaviour). All people are expected to behave appropriately so as to maintain high moral standards.

Outcomes

We developed pre- and post-assessment questionnaires in isiZulu for the purpose of quality assurance, monitoring and evaluation. The aim of these questionnaires were, firstly, to identify the level of shift in knowledge and attitudes particularly on understanding of HIV and AIDS, its causes, modes of transmission, signs and symptoms, and prevention. Secondly, their aim was to determine whether the training workshop had achieved its objectives or that learning did take place. Table 1 indicates that, on average, there was a significant, positive change noted on the level of understanding during post-training assessment compared to pre -training assessment.

Table 1: Outcomes of pre- and post-assessment of the traditional health practitioners' workshop

SECTION	PRE -ASSESSMENT	POST - ASSESSEMENT	CHANGE
Understanding origins of HIV and AIDS	39%	98%	59%
Understanding methods of HIV transmission	43%	82%	39%
Understanding of methods of prevention	53%	72%	19%
Understanding of signs and symptoms of HIV and AIDS related illnesses	35%	95%	60%

With regard to participants' level of understanding of HIV and AIDS and signs and symptoms of AIDS, there was a significant difference in terms of pre- and post-assessments (59% & 60% respectively) and modes of transmission (39%). We may attribute this to the African cultural influence over THPs' attitudes as they still believe that traditional methods of prevention and moral regeneration is the best approach towards prevention of HIV transmission. This was evident in the post assessment on methods of

cultural prevention where 95% of THPs chose cultural methods as most effective methods of prevention.

According to the THPs at the training workshop, young people are expected to delay sexual activities until marriage. This facilitated consensus between THPs and the public health approach of abstinence with respect to the transmission of HIV infection. However, THPs go beyond this and discuss traditional ways of prevention that have been recently recognised by scientists. These include male circumcision (not just a surgical procedure but a cultural method of passage from boyhood to manhood), *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* (virginity testing); a cultural training of maidens to maintain virginity and be proud of their femininity, *ukusoma* (sexual intercourse without vaginal penetration), and use of the traditional condom (*umnwedo*- a genital sheath) introduced by King Shaka for his warriors (Knight and McBride 1989; Harris 1998). Thus, condomisation is not a completely new concept to amaZulu.

This project has been successful thus far in terms of capacity building and creating a better awareness for THPs on the biomedical approach to HIV and AIDS. Moreover, the training has opened a new opportunity for information sharing and knowledge. From the training aspect, particularly role plays, frequently asked questions and comments it has become apparent that there is still a need for cross-cultural information sharing and learning.

The translation of documents which were part of the project will assist the Nelson R Mandela School of Medicine to begin to identify modules that could be developed in isiZulu in terms of concepts and terminology which, in the long run, could be offered in English and isiZulu.

General Discussion, Observations and Conclusions

According to Mapi (2009), when an indigenous language is used as a medium of instruction at an institution of higher learning, such language becomes intellectualized. It is important to note that training was conducted in collaboration with Nelson Mandela School of Medicine, University of KwaZulu-Natal in Durban and the various associations of THPs from eThekweni, iLembe, and uMgungundlovu districts. The training workshops were conducted in an indigenous language (isiZulu) and this is part of the process which may subsequently contribute to the isiZulu language acquiring its intellectual status (Stott & Davis 1979).

The translation of the training manual into isiZulu has served to demystify science and promote a public understanding of science using a local language and concepts (Makgoba 2000). Further the project has contributed to the development of the isiZulu language to include biomedical and scientific concepts and terminology.

The disempowerment of African indigenous languages by the previous South African colonial and apartheid governments who considered them as non official languages and their marginalization by the current democratic South African government during the first ten years of democracy seem to have contributed to the underdevelopment of African traditional healers and subsequent poor health care service delivery in South Africa. This is reflected when Beukes (2004) argues that:

a thorough analysis of developments over the last decade, against the background of 300 years of colonialism, segregation, and apartheid, suggest that language is one of the pivotal factors that will determine the direction in which our society will develop.

Language development, upon which multilingualism for language access and language intellectualization depends, is the responsibility of the South African government which must show political commitment by creating an enabling environment conducive for the promotion of linguistic diversity and respect for the different African indigenous languages (Halliday & Martin 1993). It should, however, be noted that the South African government has shown political commitment by developing a National Policy Framework which forms the basis for the development of previously neglected South African indigenous language (Webb 1992). It is through this National Policy Framework that much effort should be made to ensure that multilingualism for language access and language intellectualization becomes a reality in South Africa. Because of the fact that language is considered the basic instrument for learning, traditional healers were encouraged to use their home language as a language of learning during the training workshop. While traditional healers were able to access information through the language of their own choice, the isiZulu language itself also developed.

Marginalisation of African indigenous languages which are a vehicle of cultural heritage has also denied the HCWs an opportunity to become sensitized to indigenous cultures in a culturally diverse society thus, rendering them culturally incompetent and less effective in their health care practice (Schweitzer 1983; Beukes 2004). Using language policy development which is in line with the objectives of the South African constitution, the biomedical and traditional healer collaboration partners will be able to overcome some of the challenges associated with the African traditional healing system created during the colonial and apartheid era in South Africa, and which also contributed to inappropriate and less effective health care services (Webb 1992). Some of these challenges would include, for example, lack of equality between traditional healing and the biomedical systems in terms of their legal status, lack of development of traditional healers and lack of collaboration and development of mutual tolerance and respect between traditional healers and biomedical health practitioners in terms of their cultural and linguistic diversity (Webb 1992). With the practical intervention of the state, the biomedical traditional healer collaboration partners may be able to help elevate the status and reinforce the use of indigenous languages which is necessary for effective therapeutic interventions.

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The Role of the Web in the Promotion of African Languages

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Abstract

In this article we explore the possible contribution of the Web in promoting the use and status of African languages. Participation in sharing and producing knowledge through the Web can play a key role in the economic, social and educational development of Africa. While physical access to information is hampered by lack of infrastructure and connectivity, epistemological access is hampered by the use of English. Resources in African languages are available. Until the amount of Web content and the number of users reach critical mass, these resources play a symbolic rather than an instrumental role in promoting African languages. The use of electronic resources available on the Web could contribute to cutting the printing and transport cost of paper material, especially in multilingual settings where many languages would have to be represented. Another practical way in which the Web can promote the development of African languages is to promote communication among their speakers. This is already showing its potential by allowing experts from various disciplines to work collaboratively on the development of new indigenous terminology through mailing lists and chat rooms. On a larger scale, the Web can play a unifying function among speakers of different varieties of the same African language. This is similar to the role radio and TV played for European and, in recent times, for African languages. Improving the status of African languages by increasing their presence on the Web could be seen as a way to counter current attitudes and beliefs, and spear-head a positive cycle of

transformation in Africa. Government can play a coordinating and endorsing role, but the initiative needs to come from academic institutions and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). Users need to participate and support such efforts, in spite of the traditional association of African languages with backwardness and low-status domains. The extensive media coverage and participation in events such as translate@thons indicates latent support for the use of African languages in the ICT domain, which needs to be channelled through collaboration between the different stakeholders.

Keywords: African languages, Information and Communication Technology (ICT), web access, information access, educational development, economic empowerment, social transformation, linguistic and cultural diversity

Introduction

African languages are considered suitable for low-status domains and are seldom associated with modern technology (Webb 2002: 268). English and other languages from the West are the languages in which people globally access Information and Communication Technology (ICT) resources. This is endorsed not only by speakers of such languages, but also among African language speakers themselves. This position is supported by the misconception that African languages are underdeveloped and that their vocabulary is unable to express the precise meaning of technical terms (Webb 2002: 252). This notion entrenches English even further as a dominant language of Science and Technology in Africa, and undermines the richness of the African continent's linguistic and cultural diversity. Given the generally low levels of English proficiency on the continent, for Africa this is a huge challenge in actively participating in the production and sharing of knowledge through ICT.

Rationale for Promoting the Use and Status of African Languages in the ICT Domain

Africa is economically, socially and educationally underdeveloped. The economic empowerment, social transformation and educational development that in other continents is supported by the spread of ICT and participation in

the Information Society is almost absent in Africa. Adama Samassekou (2005) argues that this is partly the case because African people are not able to share and access information on the Web in their languages. For the revival of the African continent, many ICT experts agree that the linguistic and cultural diversity characteristic of Africa needs to be harnessed taking full advantage of the new technologies. Bamuturaki (2008) states that there is a need to make concerted effort and actively embrace technologies that will help influence Africa's commitment to economic restoration and growth. He further acknowledges that,

... linguistic and cultural diversity are realities of development and, therefore, ensuring that Internet content and user interfaces are available in African languages, and adapted to cultural preferences and sensitivities, should merit greater attention from the African governments (Bamuturaki 2008).

To many of the inhabitants of the African continent, English and other Western languages through which technology is accessed, are not their mother tongue, but were imposed on them by colonialism. This means that most Africans can access the Web only in a second or foreign language. The inability to access ICT-based information in one's own language curbs one's access to technology (Osborn 2006:87).

African languages are intrinsically capable of expressing any concept and of supporting integration and development. A pre-colonial picture of Africa is characterised by numerous languages, where indigenous languages were sufficient in communicating different kinds of knowledge within societies and across societies, as well as complex indigenous knowledge in areas such as 'astronomy, medicine, philosophy and history' (Department of Education 2003: Sect.12-14). The richness of African languages and their ability to promote economic empowerment is reflected in the thriving trade that existed in Africa during the pre-colonial times (Van Dijk 2006: 49 - 55).

Contact with Europe was detrimental to the multilingual character of Africa. Instead, the European languages and culture dominated and eventually took over in the high-function domains in the continent, while African languages and cultures were only considered suitable for low-status

domains. Former South African president Thabo Mbeki, in his book *Africa: The time has come*, argues for the rebirth of the African continent – a concept that has come to be known as African Renaissance. He argues that African Renaissance can play a significant role in re-identifying the developmental discourse of the continent. Furthermore, Tema (2002:136) affirms this notion by asserting that ‘African Rebirth’ can come about only when African indigenous people are allowed to use their own metaphors to anchor new concepts and to re-examine their indigenous knowledge, to construct an independent paradigm for development.

In the modern era, Information and Communication Technology (ICT) is a powerful tool to support development. In the African context, however, ICT contributes to perpetuating the colonial legacy. As an example, the Web is dominated by languages from outside the African continent, primarily European languages such as English. It is in this context that Serote (1999: 351) asks some challenging questions.

Is it true that Africa may be the only continent which imparts knowledge to its [people] in foreign languages? If this is the case, what are the implications? ... How must Africa ensure that [its people]... become empowered in their mother tongue to deal with concepts, and that diverse cultures which can also result in multilingualism and multiculturalism, are a resource of knowledge in order to find solutions to issues?

There is a relationship between access to information and socio-economic empowerment (Pigato 2001). In the African continent, European languages are instrumental to upward economic and social mobility and political participation. However, only a small percentage of the African population is proficient in these languages. Their use creates a hurdle for the majority of the people in accessing information and participating freely and openly in the global world of information technology. The inability of a large portion of the population to access technology and information in their language further widens the gap between the haves and have-nots. Adama Samassekou, as quoted in Bamaturaki (2008) observes that the ‘new information technology should empower our people and not take away knowledge’.

The combination of African languages and ICT can help to increase epistemological access to information stored on the Web (Ngcobo 2009). For example, in combination with text-to-speech technology, Web resources in African languages could contribute to addressing the problem of illiteracy. Illiterate people could have an automatic voice help them navigate through the interfaces and read the content to them in their mother tongue. Making materials available in electronic as opposed to print format could contribute to cutting printing costs as these are often mentioned as an argument against the use of African languages, especially in multilingual contexts where several languages would have to be represented at the same time (Titlestad 1996). The Web can support access to versions of the same document in various languages at the same time. Perhaps most importantly, presence on the Web would improve the status and visibility of African languages and their speakers in their own eyes and in the eyes of the International community.

African Languages on the Web

Although English is undoubtedly the dominant language in the field of Information and Communication Technology (ICT), it is not the only language used on the Web and account for roughly one-third of the total content available. Other powerful languages, such as Chinese, Spanish and Arabic for instance, are also well represented. In recent years, a growing number of resources relating to African languages appeared on the Web. These are mainly on-line dictionaries, often maintained by speakers of other languages. At the same time, considerable efforts have been put into localising applications (either desktop or Web-based) into African languages. Windows XP is already available in Kiswahili, Setswana and isiZulu, and upcoming Vista will include a number of other indigenous South African languages. Thanks largely to the efforts of Translate.org.za (an NGO committed to the localisation of open-source software in all 11 official South African languages), it is possible to operate a computer almost entirely in a language such as isiXhosa, for instance. This indicates recognition of the importance of making ICT available in African languages.

While information is available (in other languages) *about* African languages, there is not much content available *in* the African languages

themselves. There are on-line bilingual dictionaries such as ‘Xhosa on the Web’ (<http://mokennon2.albion.edu/xhosa.htm>), Wikipedia in various African languages (<http://ts.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afrika>), language learning web pages (<http://www.africanlanguages.org/>), for example, ‘Xhosa learning software, Xhosa Talk now’ (http://www.languagesource.com/acatalog/Xhosa_Learning_Software_Xhosa_Talk_Now.html), and general information and academic publications on African languages (<http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/indiv/africa/cuvl/langs.html>).

As far as websites in African languages are concerned, Wikipedia has some content available in some of the South African indigenous languages, i.e. isiXhosa, isiZulu and Sesotho. However, browsing through the content of the isiXhosa websites specifically, it seems that more work still needs to be done to ensure the appropriateness of the terminology used and the quality of the language.

The actual usefulness of Web resources in African languages needs to be further discussed and problematised. Maşoeu and de Villiers (2001) conducted a survey on the attitudes of speakers of African languages in South Africa towards the use of Web content in their mother tongue. They note that, at the present stage, making Web content available in African languages serves more a symbolic than an instrumental function. In other words, its main contribution is the promotion of the status of the African languages rather than increasing access to technology for their speakers. Users in Maşoeu and de Villiers’s (2001) study were already familiar with computers in English. Research conducted by some of the authors of the present article (Dalvit 2010) explored the experience of students in South Africa (in township and rural schools as well as University) learning computer literacy partly in their mother tongue (isiXhosa) from the beginning. Results were encouraging both in terms of students’ attitudes and access to knowledge. The study conducted in these high schools presented the continuing negative attitudes against the use of African languages as the LoLT especially in fields such as Science and technology. Even though students admitted that they sometimes struggle when taught in English these negative attitudes prevailed. These attitudes emerged from the perceived difficulties and challenges associated with the use of African languages. Contrary to their attitudes, it was evident that African languages play a significant role in improving students’ content comprehension. In the

interviews, students stated that when they come across English difficult words they usually refer to a bilingual dictionary.

The somewhat contradicting pieces of research presented above highlight the complexity of the issue. With respect to access to information, Africa is caught in a vicious cycle, trying to balance epistemological and physical access through ICT. On the one hand, Web content and resources in African languages can be physically accessed by a small portion of the population, as only a small percentage (Osborn 2006:89) of the African population is connected to the Internet. On the other hand, one could argue that lack of epistemological access, i.e. the ability to use the technology when available, is partly responsible for the little motivation to increase physical access and for the failure of many ICT-for-development projects. To support this claim, a more language-independent technology, i.e. cellphones, constitutes an incredible example of leapfrogging in the penetration of technology in Africa. While the dialectic relationship between physical and epistemological access provides an intriguing theoretical framework, the focus of our article is on the possible role of the Web in preserving and promoting linguistic diversity on the continent.

Efforts to make the web available in African languages are by small organisation and few individuals who mostly do so voluntarily. Although these efforts are interesting and should be applauded, they have little potential to impact on the bulk of the African population. The experience of many current projects support the arguments perpetuating the exclusion of African languages from the ICT domain, i.e. lack of resources, of support among their own speakers and of coordination amongst the various efforts. These are discussed further in the following section in relation to the role of different stakeholders.

The Role of Different Stakeholders

A. Government

The Government has a crucial role to play in promoting both physical and epistemological access. This can be done through the provision of infrastructure (ICT as well as electricity) and through education. In South Africa, for example, about 80% of the total population is not fully proficient

in English. This prevents them from accessing information, and communicating and sharing their knowledge with the rest of the world. It is argued (see Titlestadt 1996; de Klerk 2001) that providing education in all 11 official languages would be too expensive and that resources should be directed towards improving English teaching.

There are strong arguments against the view that English teaching should be foregrounded (Heugh 2002; Webb 2002; Grin 2003 and Cole 2003). Heugh (2002) cites a study by the World Bank according to which multilingual education would entail an increase of just 1% on the total spending for education. The development and use of e-learning material in African languages (see Dalvit 2010) can further help to reduce the printing and transport costs associated with paper-based material in all 11 South African languages.

Heugh (2002) also argues that the costs of the currently dysfunctional education system outweigh the benefit of epistemological access for all. Cole (2003) in a study conducted in South Africa on the cost of implementing the language-in-education policy, argues that language should be seen as an economic resource. He further states that when language is taken as an economic resource, 'language diversity is seen as an opportunity to achieve full participation by people in society and in the economy' (Cole 2005: 35). As discussed above, access to information in their mother tongue is closely linked to the economic, social and educational development of African people.

Presence on the Web can contribute to the development of African languages and their use in education. Dalvit *et al.* (2005) discuss the possible contribution of ICT to solving some of the problems traditionally associated with the use of African languages. In terms of the supposed underdevelopment of African languages, ICT could have a standardising effect in promoting the use of a common standard, in much the same way that TV did for other languages. The necessary government structures (e.g. Pan South African Language Board, BAKITA – KiSwahili Standardisation Board in Tanzania, etc.) are already in place to promote coordination among various efforts. Once this is achieved, supporting the widespread use of a common standard would help to overcome regional differences among different varieties. Government bodies could take advantage of the new technologies to make the process of coordination more efficient and to make

new terminology available for public comments and use.

B. Academic institutions

Hugo (2000) in his introductory speech at the CHI-SA conference points out that the Information Technology's impact is beyond working environment of desktops. It is part of our daily lives as it moves nearly into every environment in new devices such as cellular phones which have social value. He further argues that an inter-relationship between private sector, government and universities in South Africa, especially in terms of financial investment on the part of the government and private sector, and research in terms of the universities is essential. According to Hugo, the web interface should

reflect and acknowledge our diversity ... and accommodate the true needs of our upcoming generations ... we cannot afford to exclude any individual of any sector of society from access to and from benefiting from IT.

Although Governments have considerable financial resources they can commit and have structures in place to support language development, it should be noted that actual transformation, both in terms of language and in terms of ICT, is often driven by other stakeholders.

Academic institutions have an important role to play in promoting African languages. Alexander (2001) calls on universities to take the lead in the process of social transformation in Africa, as they have both a prominent status and the necessary flexibility for change.

The South Africa-Norway Tertiary Education Development (SANTED) programme is the fruit of collaboration between the Norwegian Government and the South African Department of Education. It sponsors several projects for the promotion of multilingualism at various South African institutions. At Rhodes University, it sponsors a programme for the promotion of isiXhosa, in realisation of the Rhodes University Language Policy (RULP 2005). The programme started at the beginning of 2007 and it is hosted by the Rhodes School of Languages (African Languages Section). One of the areas in which the programme is particularly active is the devel-

opment and testing of ICT resources in English and isiXhosa. The ICT Unit has worked in close collaboration with other academic sections and institutions as well as NGOs on making ICT resources widely available in African languages through the Web. Their outputs include the Horde/Imp webmail system in isiXhosa and the Mozilla Firefox Web Browser in Luganda.

C. Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO)

Various projects and organisations are devoted to the promotion of African languages in the ICT domain. The African Network for Localisation (ANLoc) project (<http://www.africanlocalisation.net/>) hosts a website with all recent developments concerning ICT and African languages. This is an example of a web-based reference for ICT resources (websites, software, spell-checkers, text-to-speech etc.) *in* and *about* African languages. It indexes projects and organisations responsible for various languages and activities throughout the continent.

Translate.org.za (<http://www.translate.org.za>) is a South African NGO committed to the promotion of all official languages of the country in the ICT domain. Besides its own translation application Pootle (PO-based, On-line Translation and Localisation Engine), Translate.org.za has also contributed with the localisation of various other Web-based applications into African languages. These include the Phone content management system and the Horde/Imp webmail system. To facilitate communication among African languages scholars and experts, Translate.org.za has established mailing lists where translators work collaboratively online. Each of the South African official languages has its own mailing list. These mailing lists are designed for each language community to discuss difficult translations and terminology development. This makes the work less expensive and time consuming as well as reduces duplication of work since translators all over the country are able to communicate their work online. The use of communication tools such as email is an example of how the Web can directly contribute to the development of African languages, in a way few other media can.

Translate.org.za has also developed a methodology to translate and localise software interfaces and Web content called `translate@thon`. A `translate@thon` can be described as a 'translation marathon', during which a

group of volunteers works collaboratively on-line to localise a piece of software or to translate content. A person with technical expertise usually works in pairs with a person with language expertise using a Translation and Localisation management System (e.g. Pootle) which divides the work equitably and provides suggestions for the translation of certain terms to ensure consistency. Translate@thons can be either small (a few experts who can yield high quality work) or large (a great number of volunteers who can tackle a big amount of work in relatively short time).

Support for African languages seems to be present at various levels, but it is important to co-ordinate and synergise such efforts, fostering the participation of all stakeholders. Translate.org.za has partnered with academic and research institutions in organising events to make ICT resources available in a number of African languages. In our experience at Rhodes University in South Africa and at Makerere University in Uganda, a large translate@thon is an excellent way to raise awareness around language issues. It is also an example of an innovative way in which resources for the African languages can be developed at low cost thanks to the use of ICT. Involvement of the actual users of the resources fosters a sense of ownership and pride in one's language, which is particularly important for the development of African languages at the present stage.

D. Users

The success of the translate@thon model disproves one of the main arguments often cited to exclude African languages from high-status domains such as ICT, i.e. lack of support among their own speakers. According to some scholars (Webb and Kembo-Sure 2000, others), speakers of African languages have negative attitudes towards the use of their mother tongue in domains other than the home and informal communication. It should be noted that most research on the subject has been carried out with individuals who have never been exposed to the use of their mother tongue in high-status domains, and whose only reference point in this regard is English. Enthusiastic participation at various translate@thons around South Africa and in other parts of Africa indicates that speakers of African languages are willing to contribute their time to the promotion of their mother tongue in the ICT domain. Recent research at PhD level (Dalvit 2010) suggests that being

exposed to resources in African languages improves the attitudes of their speakers, even in an English dominated domain such as ICT Education at university level.

Media of communication which use language independent technology, such as radio and TV, feature a strong presence of material in African languages. The Nigerian movie industry is an example of products in African languages which, with subtitles, are exported with success to other parts of Africa. In South Africa, other examples are radios such as *Umhlobo Wenene* (an isiXhosa radio station), SABC news (broadcasted in some of the indigenous languages) and soap operas such as *Isidingo*, *Generations* and *Muvhango* (where code-switching between English and African languages is the norm). Even traditional print media such as the *Isolezwe* daily newspaper are successfully run in isiZulu, in spite of printing costs, thanks to the support of its readers.

The costs of ICT physical access are becoming increasingly similar to those of accessing other media. Computers and laptops are becoming cheaper and cheaper, and their cost is not very different from that of a middle-range TV of a good Hi-Fi system. Cost of bandwidth and availability of network differs in different parts of Africa, but the daily equivalent of buying a newspaper can buy many more Megabytes of information on the Web.

In our opinions, epistemological access and availability of content in African languages is the main challenge for speakers of African languages to be motivated in accessing and exchanging information on the Web. The advent of Web 2.0 tools such as blogs, wikis, chats, forums etc, allow average Internet users to contribute and publish on the Web at little or no cost. Experiences with community blogging, partly in African languages, have been experimented in various sites (among which is Rhodes University) with success (Personal communication with Rod Amner, lecturer at Rhodes University's School of Journalism and Media Studies). Once enough users start producing and publishing content on the Web in African languages to reach critical mass, we hope to witness the growth of a Web in African languages driven by their speakers 'from below'.

Conclusion

Our premise in this paper was that availability of more Web in various Afri-

can languages can contribute to the positive impact of ICT in African. Some Web content, applications and services in African languages are available on the Web. Their impact, however, is conditional to the limited physical and epistemological access most African people have to ICT. Different stakeholders play different roles in the promotion of African languages, with Governments in co-ordinating and endorsing positions, academic institutions contributing resources and expertise, projects and organisation providing initiatives and users supporting and participating in the process. The Web can, in different ways, support all of these tasks and can make a significant contribution in addressing the relative challenges.

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Bilingualism at the University of KwaZulu-Natal: Staff and Student Preferences

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Abstract

This discussion provides an overview of the perceptions and preferences of students and staff regarding language use at UKZN and argues that attitude towards language is the key factor in determining the success of any language policy. Results elicited from a questionnaire survey completed by staff and students are provided. Despite UKZN's language policy of additive bilingualism, the data goes on to show a preference that the institution should remain a monolingual environment. The discussion ends with a strong call for interventions which could address the problem of the disjuncture between the policy direction and the views of students and staff.

Keywords: Bilingualism, Higher Education, isiZulu, Language Policy

Introduction

This discussion situates itself within the context of impending tensions about multilingual policy implementation in South African Higher Education (Mutasa 2003; Owino 2002; Van Huyssteen 2002). Recent mergers in Higher Education have resulted in a number of 'new' universities, many of whom have been forced to undergo a rather complex alteration in their language policies as a result of revised education legislation that has been amended to synchronise with the 1996 democratic Constitution of the country (Du Plessis 2006).

Most recent language policy recognises English and Afrikaans as

languages of instruction in Higher Education (Department of Education 2002) but encourages institutions to develop strategies to promote bi/multilingualism. In the Department of Education documents, the emphasis appears to be on developing bilingualism within a framework of multilingualism. A very broad and inclusive definition of *bilingual* views it as a common human condition that makes it possible for an individual to function, at some level, in more than one language (Baker 1988). *Multilingualism* is the ability to use a variety of languages; and for South Africa, multilingualism is characterized by equal status of all eleven languages listed as ‘official’ in the country’s most recent Constitution (1996). These are: Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu.

This discussion revolves around the latest developments regarding the University of KwaZulu-Natal’s (UKZN’s) deliberate move to revamp their language policy in line with latest education initiatives. A bi/multilingual language policy was approved by the UKZN Council in January 2006 (UKZN 2006). It essentially proposes a bilingual (English-isiZulu) medium of education, supporting the functional use of isiZulu alongside English, not only for instruction, but also for University-wide communication. The policy is designed according to certain principles that may be perceived as broad ideals central to the development of a democratic language policy and proposes that:

- English will continue to be used as the primary academic language.
- The university will begin actively the development and use of isiZulu as an additional medium of instruction.
- The languages of administration will be English and isiZulu.
- University emblems, public signs and notices and, where appropriate, public ceremonies such as graduation, inaugural lectures and other public functions will be in English and isiZulu.
- To enhance the knowledge of existing academic and administrative staff, the University will provide language courses for staff who do not have English or isiZulu communication skills.

The University intends to develop bilingualism in two phases. The first will

span 2006 to 2018. In this phase, isiZulu will be introduced in course materials and terminology. Here, the University plans to introduce translation services. In addition, the University's web pages, curriculum, syllabuses and contracts of employment will appear in both English and isiZulu as soon as possible. Upon completion of this phase, faculty boards will determine the choice of languages in which lectures will be conducted. It would appear that the trend here is for the UKZN to become dual medium in order to enhance the status of isiZulu while at the same time maintaining English. However, now that the policy is in place, questions arise regarding its actual implementation.

Background

UKZN was formed in January 2004 as a result of the merger between the University of Durban-Westville and the University of Natal. It is one of the largest universities in the country, much more demographically representative than any other South African university (UKZN 2009). The institution is characterized by a mix of racial and cultural diversity, with African, Indian, Coloured and White influences. In spite of the efforts made by the then leadership of both former universities, the periods just before, during, and just after the merger were fraught with controversies, suspicions, tensions, accusations of nepotism, even corruption, owing to the completely different, and often conflicting socio-economic and political histories of each institution. Consequently, a high degree of uncertainty both from staff and students prevailed (Department of Education 2008). This was the historical context within which the bilingualism policy was implemented.

Understandably, language is an '*extremely emotive issue*' in a country like South Africa, with such an ethnically mixed population so affected by a colonial past (Thorpe 2002: 1, Banda 2003). In fact, apartheid has caused 'hardened attitudes' against African languages, which have been severely marginalized throughout South Africa's history (Owino 2002: 208). These attitudes, Owino states, still continue to prevail right into the post-apartheid era.

From a conceptual standpoint, language policy implementation is crucially impacted by the attitudes of its users. According to Lewis:

Any policy for language, especially in the system of education, has to take account of the attitude of those likely to be affected. In the long run, no policy will succeed which does not use one of three things: conform to the expressed attitudes of those involved; persuade those who express negative attitudes about the rightness of the policy; or seek to remove the causes of disagreement (Lewis 1981: 262).

If one has to retrace the history of South African language policies from the post-colonial era, it is evident that government's attitude affected policy implementation. As far back as 1652, government put a particular language into practice to meet their own economic needs (Maartens 1998). In fact, foreign languages were imposed on people without a choice. Maartens (1998: 25) records the policy of '*free association*' as being adopted for reasons of '*trade*' and later for '*missionary-consciousness*'.

Within about forty years of the formulation of the first language policy in South Africa, an early form of Dutch, which evolved into Afrikaans, became the South African lingua franca. The government's reason for imposing Afrikaans on immigrant slaves and the Khoikhoi inhabitants was again for economic reasons, in that these people had entered the employ of the white settlers and had to communicate with each other as well as with their employers if business had to succeed (Maartens 1998).

With regard to English, notice the vigorous manner (special emphasis on words in bold) in which it gained ground within the next forty years or so:

That the British authorities saw the importance of language is apparent from the steps periodically taken to **compel** the public use of English. They **applied pressure** first in the schools; they **extended** it by proclamation in the courts from the late 1820's onwards; in 1853 they **made** English the exclusive language of Parliament; and by [1870] they appeared to be triumphing on all fronts (Maartens 1998: 26).

The ardent attitude of government further made it compulsory for Bantu Mother Tongue, as well as English and Afrikaans as second and even third languages, to be taught at schools. Government's reason was simply because

they were official languages and because they met with learners' cultural needs. Not only was the government persuasive, but society found a need for that particular language; hence the language gained momentum.

So attitude is fundamental to the '*growth or decay, restoration or destruction ...*' of a language, as conveyed by Baker (1988:112). He states that attitudes are pivotal to language policy and attitudes can predict the success or failure of policy, and adds that individual attitudes have a profound effect on communal or societal behaviour towards languages. For him, '*attitude ... impinges in an important way on the reality of language life*' (Baker 1988: 112).

Building more on the crux of this argument, Baker perceives attitude as an '*end product*', involving both input (causal) variables as well as output (outcome) variables. He uses Welsh lessons provided in school as an example illustrating how it could yield '*greater facility in the language*' as well as '*positive attitude to the language*'. For him, watching Welsh language programmes on television may have twofold results too: '*enculturation and positive attitude to Welsh cultural forms*'. He continues to clarify this idea in explaining how examination success, while it may be seen as the most important outcome of schooling, may result in mere 'short-lived' knowledge, whereas if accompanied by positive attitude, may yield a more 'enduring' outcome (1988: 113).

Baker adds another important dimension to his argument on attitudes. He alludes to the notion that attitudes and behaviour can be incongruent; this too resulting in the failure of policy. In other words, for him, '*A person may have positive thoughts about a language, yet behave in a negative way*' (1988: 113). He makes reference to Triandis's (1971) theory of attitudes encompassing three parts: cognitive, affective and active. In language, cognitive attitude may be exhibited by effective transmission of words and symbols, affective attitude may refer to feelings and emotions, and active attitude relates to '*readiness for action*'. Baker suggests that while there may be '*consonance*' between these three factors, there may also be '*dissonance*' (1988: 113). He recommends that if language policy seeks to be successful, all three of these aspects should work concurrently.

Concerning languages in education in South Africa, tensions revolve around potential conflict between the resuscitation of previously disadvantaged languages on the one hand, and maintaining the already

established ‘high status’ languages on the other (Balfour 2006). Further, there are challenges from affirmative action for African languages. It is in many ways unsurprising that language policy remains such an emotive issue, where complexities and difficulties exist in implementing multilingualism policy in the context of a country that has just emerged from political and racial inequalities in education.

The Problem

In its preliminary stage, UKZN’s bilingualism policy plan provoked criticism and controversy from many sides (Moodley 2009). For some, the policy plan appeared to encompass a top-down orientation, creating the impression of ‘imposing’ a particular language on the University community and seeming to neglect the consideration and input of its constituents, viz. the students and staff. Discrepancy stemmed from a noticeable absence of evidence of either the needs or opinions of the University community that had formally been addressed in the formulation of such a document. For others, the tone adopted by the authors of the policy plan was,

... overwhelmingly prescriptive, as if they had been given a mandate to impose their policies upon the University as a whole without debate or discussion ... endlessly authoritarian (and hence anti-academic) (Wade 2005: 1).

According to a University academic,

... the introduction of Zulu as a teaching medium will achieve precisely what the Apartheid government was trying to achieve—an ethnic institution (Moodley 2009: 72).

Amidst such sentiments, facts and trends needed to be more closely examined in order to gauge the nature and scope of the University constituents’ feelings towards the use of bilingualism for education. Such careful interrogation could ultimately assist in driving the move towards multilingualism forward. It was envisaged that it would better serve scholarship to get beneath the skin of resident attitudes about language use

by investigating their inclinations about the proposed bilingualism policy. So, rather than regarding the University population as inflexible racists or cultural conservatives, a study was undertaken, addressing the following areas of concern:

- Does the proposed new language policy conform to the expressed preferences of those involved?
- Is there any notion of negativity exhibited by the University community towards the use of isiZulu alongside English for education?
- Is there any notion of positive sentiments exhibited by the University community towards the use of isiZulu alongside English for education?

Investigating Language Preferences at UKZN

A University-wide study was conducted, assessing the sentiments of UKZN's staff and students towards the use of isiZulu alongside English as medium of education (Moodley 2009). The investigation hypothesized inherent dissonance between policy and practice at UKZN; that language preferences of UKZN's community were largely at odds with proposed language policy.

The research methodology fell within a quantitative design, using an effective instrument consistent with the quantitative method – the survey questionnaire (Neuman 2007). Two separate instruments were developed for staff and students (see Appendix A). Each questionnaire was presented in both English and isiZulu. Respondents were required to indicate whether they agreed or disagreed with a variety of statements pertaining to their language use. Some questions took on a multiple-choice format. Response options were arranged in a Likert Scale, utilizing the anchor of 'strongly disagree'; 'disagree'; 'neither disagree nor agree'; 'agree' and 'strongly agree'.

The first part of the questionnaire asked for factual information, such as age, gender, race, occupation, home-province, length of residence and home language. Some questions asked for language background. Others required information about degree of daily use of isiZulu and degree of

contact and association with Zulu language speakers on campus. Additional questions required attitudinal responses to the status and use of English and isiZulu for education at UKZN.

The target population for this study was the University community, comprising more than 35 000 students and over 6 700 staff (UKZN 2007). The technique of probability sampling was used, facilitating random sampling on a large scale and stratified random sampling on a smaller scale (Vogt 2006). The purpose of choosing this type of procedure was to ensure representation of two strata: staff and students. Table 1 (see Appendix B) clarifies how the sample was represented.

The survey was administered via the University's Intranet Web system over a nine-month period, beginning October 2006. The analysis drew on both descriptive and inferential statistics working hand-in-hand for retrieval of the results. The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) programme (version 11) provided these statistics. Raw data derived from the questionnaire were converted to Tables and Charts. Reliability was assessed using Cronbach's Coefficient Alpha (Salkind 2005). The resultant coefficient alpha was 0.734 for the staff questionnaire and 0.921 for the student questionnaire, indicating that the study was highly reliable and had a high degree of consistency among the items in the questionnaire.

Results of the Study

Respondent Demographics

Staff and students across all listed age-groups on the questionnaire responded to the survey. The majority of staff (70%) was above 35 years old, presumably having experienced significant changes in language interaction in education both during apartheid and also through a transformative period regarding the country's language policies. As for students, the majority (74%) was below 25 years old.

Although staff members comprised equal numbers of males and females currently employed at UKZN, the number of female respondents (67%) more than doubled the number of male respondents. This supports the notion, which many researchers advocate, that females may be more 'language sensitive' than males, and might thus display relatively more

eagerness to participate in a survey of this nature. However, the student participants comprised equal proportions of males and females.

From the standpoint of educational qualifications, the majority of staff (87%) had acquired post-graduate qualifications, viz. Postgraduate Diploma, Honours, Masters and PhD or equivalent; adding to the credibility of their opinions on educational issues. The majority of students (60%) were undergraduates.

Most staff and student respondents (29% and 45% respectively) hailed from the Faculty of Human, Development and Social Sciences. The supposition is that the issue under study posed a higher degree of salience for these sectors, since language studies fall under this Faculty. It was also noted that the survey elicited significant responses from the Faculty of Science and Agriculture. The majority of staff was based at the Howard College (38%) and Pietermaritzburg (38%) campuses. Most students (52%) attended lectures at the Howard College campus, followed by the Pietermaritzburg campus (34%); the subject under scrutiny perhaps being more salient to these clusters since the study of Humanities is offered on these campuses.

Most staff (60%) belonged to the academic subdivision when looking at their personnel capacity. By implication, it could be that these academics interact in actual teaching and therefore expressed more interest in the issue at hand. The number of years of experience of staff respondents provided balanced perceptions, spanning those who have worked partly through the apartheid era, transitioning into democracy; and those who have experienced working under a democratic system of government only, more or less within the last decade. Concerning students' duration of study, results indicated that most participants (74%) were in their first three years of study.

Most staff and students (77% and 89% respectively) listed KwaZulu-Natal as their home province, placing both sets of respondents in a credible position to comment on the two predominantly used languages in KZN – English and isiZulu. A possible inference is that these representations of staff and students may demonstrate a greater degree of sensitivity to the most predominant regional languages spoken by the majority in KZN, particularly English and isiZulu.

English featured as First Language amongst most staff (71%), while most spoke Afrikaans as 'other' language (45%). This is likely a direct result of having been compulsorily schooled in these two official languages during

apartheid. The majority of students (44%) indicated isiZulu as their first language, followed closely by those who spoke English as first language (41%). These statistics correlate with student enrolment figures that show isiZulu first language speakers in the majority. Furthermore, the majority of students (38%) spoke English as 'other language', while 31% spoke Afrikaans as 'other language'. It is possible that respondents were compulsorily schooled in English and Afrikaans.

isiZulu Competency

Respondents' self-reported proficiency in isiZulu was charted. The data revealed considerably poor isiZulu overall competency among staff (Appendix B, Table 2). On average, only 9% indicated 'excellent' ability in isiZulu and 3% reported as 'good'. Although the majority of students indicated 'excellent' to 'average' ability in isiZulu (see Table 3), a large proportion also revealed 'poor' or 'non-existent' proficiency.

The majority of staff (80%) responded negatively to the question as to whether they had studied isiZulu. A possible reason for this state of affairs could be that many may have missed the opportunity to study the language at school, when only English and Afrikaans were offered during the apartheid era. As far as student participants were concerned, the majority (69%) responded affirmatively to the question about whether or not they had studied isiZulu. The presumption here is that most schools began offering isiZulu as a subject of learning since the onset of democracy in the country.

For those staff and students who studied isiZulu, the reasons they gave for studying the language were varied. Most wanted to learn about Zulu culture and needed it as a requirement for their studies (see Tables 4 and 5). However, the greater proportion of staff may have missed the opportunity of studying isiZulu at school-level, since it has only recently become part of the national school curriculum.

The question of why staff and students did not undertake isiZulu study at tertiary level was scrutinized. The results (see Table 6) revealed that most staff did not have the time to study isiZulu and a significant proportion pointed to isiZulu not being required as an academic requirement. Only recently have some Faculties included isiZulu (basic or communicative) as a core requirement in some of their programmes of study. Concerning the

reasons why students did not study isiZulu at University, most expressed that it was not an academic requirement (see Table 7). Interestingly, almost all staff and students (99% each) agreed that the language is necessary to know in KZN.

Language Preference for Education

The majority of staff and students indicated that they never used isiZulu for any purpose on campus (see Tables 8 and 9). However, there was some indication that a greater percentage of students used isiZulu for social, religious, cultural and formal events as well as for interaction with peers than staff did.

Although the survey was offered in two versions; isiZulu and English, only two staff members and 4 students chose to use the isiZulu version. The majority of staff and students preferred English as medium for most purposes on campus (see Tables 10 and 11). A small number of staff and around a third of students showed preference for bilingual (isiZulu and English) medium for specific purposes on campus. Nevertheless, there is a slightly higher indication of preference for the bilingual medium for small-group and peer interaction for academic purposes, as well as for non-academic purposes on campus (banking, socializing, and religious/cultural/formal events).

Awareness of Language Policy in Higher Education

The majority of staff and students (77% and 83% respectively) indicated they were either 'not familiar' or 'somewhat familiar' with language policy. The rest conveyed that they were 'sufficiently' to 'very' familiar with current policy. While the majority of staff and students agreed that 'All South Africans must know at least one indigenous African language', more than a third, on average, disagreed on this issue (see Tables 12 and 13). Regarding the notion that 'All official languages of South Africa carry equal status', the majority of staff and students agreed.

In addition, the majority of staff and students claimed that they were 'never' or 'rarely' consulted (91% and 89% respectively), informed (69% and 85% respectively) or involved (98% and 99% respectively) in language

policy issues. Furthermore, the following question was presented to staff and students: Do you think it is necessary for the following University affiliates to be involved in language policy decision-making for the University? The majority supported the notion that all identifiable groups that constitute the University should be involved in negotiation about language policy (see Tables 14 and 15).

Discussion

A distinguishing feature of the findings was the collective notion of unpopularity for isiZulu and a distinct support of an 'English only' status quo expressed by the majority of respondents. The study revealed that the majority of staff and students never, or at best rarely, used isiZulu as medium on campus. Nevertheless, students revealed some isiZulu usage for non-academic purposes on campus, like socializing and religious events. There was a slight hint too, that students who studied the language took initiative to learn about Zulu culture and to make new friends. Of note is that almost all staff and students agreed that it was necessary to know the language although they claimed that they were mostly unaware of Language Policy in Higher Education.

One of many possible reasons for the lack of isiZulu use for academic purposes may be linked to low levels of proficiency in the language among staff, stemming from lack of isiZulu study either at school or university level. Respondents' reasons for not studying the language were largely because it was not an academic requirement and due to insufficient time to study it. There were also indications that isiZulu was not a job requirement for staff members and was therefore not studied.

The study exposes a personnel problem with regard to the level of under-preparedness and unpreparedness to teach in a bilingual system. Regardless of attitudes to and awareness of the policy, there is the very real problem of proficiency. Most existing academics are not proficient in the language, compounded by the fact that they are not pedagogically trained to teach in an African language. Academics may feel stifled by their lack of knowledge of isiZulu and may also feel that it is time-consuming to learn yet another language.

An additional finding was that the majority of staff and students exhibited inadequate awareness of language policy for Higher Education. The majority of staff and students claimed that they were never formally consulted or informed about language policy issues. They supported the notion that all identifiable groups that constitute the University should be involved in negotiation about policy. There is seemingly a lack of formal negotiation between University ‘policy-makers’ and the University community in policy development.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The hegemony of English as a medium of instruction at UKZN cannot simply be overturned, because successful implementation of language shifts is dependent on and entwined with user-preferences. Persuading the University community to actually use a dual medium in a predominantly English-speaking environment may be a real challenge.

First and foremost, developing a cultural ethos on campus could be one way of influencing people – use of bilingual posters, emblems and signage could prove to be useful. In addition, the University could be used as a primary platform to launch motivational talks, workshops, seminars and presentations on the benefits of being isiZulu-literate. The academia could be a leading role-model in this respect, enhancing the use of isiZulu at cultural, religious, social and formal events. Their role-modeling could overtly and repeatedly demonstrate belief in the capacity of isiZulu to fulfill all functions of a language in all domains of life.

Campus and community wide campaigning for isiZulu proficiency could be launched, whereby for example, students and staff could be offered substantial perks in electing isiZulu as a course of study. Otherwise, acquisition and use of isiZulu will continue to be regarded as not worth the effort. Attractive incentives could be provided in the form of grants, scholarships, credit-bearing courses and certification in isiZulu. Incentives should be achievable, tangible, clearly stipulated and widely exposed to the University community. There could be promotion of isiZulu in competitions to produce books, articles, poems, essays etc. Students could be encouraged to pursue careers in isiZulu journalism, translation, interpreting, communication studies, performing arts, entertainment and script-writing for stage, radio and television.

Another recommendation arising from the findings of this study is that legislating on the learning of isiZulu by staff and students from the University senate is critical to fast-tracking language change. In this sense, making the learning of isiZulu compulsory as a course requirement for all students and a compulsory job requirement for staff would go a long way towards implementing and sustaining bilingualism. International studies have underscored the need to pressure change during the implementation phase of educational change. With regard to the underpreparedness of teaching personnel in using isiZulu, a quicker solution to the problem would be to recruit graduate students as teaching assistants and tutors. These could be derived from those who are pursuing or planning to pursue African language teaching as a profession.

Bearing in mind that the University community needs no motivation for retaining English, for they are already convinced of its value, immediate and rigorous campaigns could be launched, motivating for the importance of adding isiZulu literacy to constituents' repertoire. It could be stressed upon the University community that vying for bilingualism does not mean that English should be abandoned; rather a dual medium is more favourable, especially since the majority of its constituents see the need to know the language in KZN. The advantages of bilingualism may need to be spelt out to all constituents if they are to see the individual benefits beyond the broader political ones.

Moreover, the bilingual policy may need to ensure that English proficiency is equally developed. If not, this might give rise to suspicions of a reversion to mother tongue education, which, in South Africa's history, was linked to limited access to economic and academic opportunity for non-English language speakers. Bilingualism needs to have benefits for all groups on campus and they need to be assured of this.

The University community should be kept informed of language policy, especially in terms of Higher Education. Students, as well as staff, could be more widely exposed to language policy, their rights spelled out, and informed about latest trends in policy, before being presented with written versions of it.

It may be crucial that before embarking on any future course of action, the wishes of the University's constituents should be considered by means of a participatory approach to planning. This could lead to a better

understanding of the needs of the constituencies the institution serves. Fair representations of the multiple identities of all sectors of the University should be involved in decision-making so as to ensure that the process is not authoritarian. Otherwise the use of isiZulu as a medium of instruction may divide people instead of uniting them, bearing in mind that the inclusion of dual medium education at UKZN has already been criticized as contradicting the very essence of democracy and reverting to South Africa's old policy of apartheid.

In conclusion, the climate within which the new policy has been introduced is not conducive to the implementation of bilingual usage. If the policy is to be implemented successfully in its current form, the institution will need to address language preferences of students and staff in a meaningfully engaged way. Although the results of this study contribute towards highlighting the preferences of staff and students in respect of bilingual education for UKZN, it would be beneficial to conduct a more in-depth examination of attitudes, beliefs and opinions through a thorough qualitative study involving interviews. Ongoing empirical research must be encouraged, to test updated modifications of the language status quo at UKZN. Policy implementation must then adapt constantly to the changing needs of society.

The bottom line is that the attitudes of UKZN's constituency are at odds with proposed policy, and policy is at odds with popular demand for the language of power (English). Suffice to say, a covert policy of *de facto* monolingualism/ unilingualism is here to stay unless the entire community can be convinced of the benefits of bilingualism. There is very little hope that bilingual policy at UKZN will result in practical implementation in the near future if it does not involve perseverance and a collective commitment from all its stake-holders.

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Appendix A: Excerpt from Staff Questionnaire

8. Home Province?

- 8.1. ___ Eastern Cape
- 8.2. ___ Free-State
- 8.3. ___ Gauteng
- 8.4. ___ KwaZulu-Natal
- 8.5. ___ Limpopo
- 8.6. ___ Mpumalanga
- 8.7. ___ North-West
- 8.8. ___ Northern Cape
- 8.9. ___ Western Cape
- 8.10. ___ Other (Please specify) _____

10. Other languages spoken?

- 10.1. ___ English
- 10.2. ___ Afrikaans
- 10.3. ___ isiZulu
- 10.4. ___ isiXhosa
- 10.5. ___ isiNdebele
- 10.6. ___ Sepedi
- 10.7. ___ Sesotho
- 10.8. ___ Setswana
- 10.9. ___ siSwati
- 10.10. ___ Tshivenda
- 10.11. ___ Xitsonga
- 10.12. ___ Other (Please specify)

9. First language/Home language?

- 9.1. ___ English
- 9.2. ___ Afrikaans
- 9.3. ___ isiZulu
- 9.4. ___ isiXhosa
- 9.5. ___ isiNdebele
- 9.6. ___ Sepedi
- 9.7. ___ Sesotho
- 9.10. ___ Setswana
- 9.11. ___ siSwati
- 9.13. ___ Tshivenda
- 9.14. ___ Xitsonga
- 9.15. ___ Other (Please specify) _____

11. Did you study isiZulu at school?

- 11.1. ___ Yes
- 11.2. ___ No

12. Did/do you study isiZulu at university?

- 12.1. ___ Yes
- 12.2. ___ No

13. Did/do you study isiZulu at another university?

- 13.1. ___ No
- 13.2. ___ Yes (please specify) _____

14. Did/do you study isiZulu mostly by taking:

- 14.1. ___ Full-time classes
- 14.2. ___ Part-time classes
- 14.3. ___ Self-study
- 14.4. ___ Never studied it

15. Rate your SPEAKING ability in:

A. Non-existent B. Poor

C. Average

D. Good

E. Excellent

15.1 English

15.2 isiZulu

15.3 Other

Please specify

16. Rate your READING ability in:

A. Non-existent B. Poor C. Average D. Good E. Excellent

16.1 English

16.2 isiZulu

16.3 Other

Please specify

17. Rate your WRITING ability in:

A. Non-existent B. Poor C. Average D. Good E. Excellent

17.1 English

17.2 isiZulu

17.3 Other

Please specify

18. Rate your UNDERSTANDING of:

A. Non-existent B. Poor C. Average D. Good E. Excellent

18.1 English

18.2 isiZulu

18.3 Other

Please specify

19. If you studied/are studying isiZulu, what were/are your main reasons for doing so?

19.1. ____ Academic/course requirement.

19.2. ____ Enjoyment of learning new languages.

19.3. ____ Necessity of knowing it in KZN.

19.4. ____ IsiZulu necessary for my job.

19.5. ____ IsiZulu necessary for my career.

19.6. ____ To enable me to make new friends.

19.7. ____ IsiZulu needed for day-to-day life.

19.8. ____ To learn more about the Zulu culture.

19.9. ____ Not studying/never studied it.

19.10 ____ Other reason/s (Please specify)

20. If you DID NOT study/are not studying isiZulu what were/are your main reasons for NOT doing so?

20.1. ____ Not part of my academic/course requirement.

20.2. ____ I resent having to learn isiZulu.

20.3. ____ I do not have the time to learn isiZulu.

20.4. ____ I think isiZulu is difficult to study.

20.5. ____ I do not think it is necessary to know isiZulu.

20.6. ____ I do not have the funds to study isiZulu.

20.7. ____ I am studying it presently.

20.8. ____ Other reason/s (Please specify)

Bilingualism at the University of KwaZulu-Natal ...

21. How often do you use isiZulu as a medium on campus:					
	A. Never	B. Rarely	C. Sometimes	D. Often	E. Always
21.1. For lectures?					
21.2. For tutorials?					
21.3. For practicals?					
21.4. For seminars/conferences?					
21.5. For group work?					
21.6. For written work?					
21.7. For tests and examination papers?					
21.8. For learning materials?					
21.9. For consultations with staff/ students?					
21.10. For consultation/interaction with peers?					
21.11. For administrative procedures?					
21.12. For financial matters?					
21.13. For interviews, meetings?					
21.14. For social/ religious/ cultural/ formal events?					
21.15. Other? (Please specify) _____					

22. If you had a choice, which language/s would you prefer as a medium:				
	A. English	B. isiZulu	C. Both English and isiZulu	D. Other (please specify)
22.1. For lectures?				
22.2. For tutorials?				
22.3. For practicals?				
22.4. For seminars, conferences, etc.				

22.5. For group work?				
22.6. For written work?				
22.7. For learning materials?				
22.8. For consultations with staff/students?				
22.9. For consultation/interaction with peers?				
22.10. For administrative procedures?				
22.11. For financial matters?				
22.12. For interviews, meetings?				
22.13. For social/religious/ cultural/formal events?				
22.14. Other? (Please specify) _____				

23. Which language do you use most often for the following situations outside campus:				
	A. English	B. isiZulu	C. Both English and isiZulu	D. Other (please specify)
23.1. For interaction with family?				
23.2. For interaction with friends?				
23.3. For interaction with neighbours?				
23.4. For business transactions?				
23.5. For official transactions?				
23.6. For watching TV programmes?				
23.7. For listening to the radio?				
23.8. For reading the newspaper?				

24. How familiar are you, with present language policies in Higher Education?				
	A. English	B. isiZulu	C. Both English and isiZulu	D. Other (please specify)
24.1. _____ Not familiar				
24.2. _____ Some-what familiar				
24.3. _____ Sufficiently familiar				
24.4. _____ Very familiar				

25. Do you agree with the following statements:		
	A. Yes	B. No
25.1. All South Africans must know English and Afrikaans only.		
25.2. All South Africans must know African languages only.		
25.3. All South Africans must know at least one indigenous African language.		
25.4. All official languages of South Africa carry equal status.		

26. How often are you officially CONSULTED about language policy issues at the University?
26.1. ____ Never
26.2. ____ Rarely
26.3. ____ Sometimes
26.4. ____ Often
26.5. ____ Always

27. How often are you officially INFORMED about language policy issues at the University?
27.1. ____ Never
27.2. ____ Rarely
27.3. ____ Sometimes
27.4. ____ Often
27.5. ____ Always

28. How INVOLVED are you in language policy decision-making at the University?
28.1. ____ Never involved
28.2. ____ Some-what involved
28.3. ____ Sufficiently involved
24.4. ____ Very involved

29. Do you think it is necessary for the following university affiliates to be involved in language policy decision-making at the University?		
	A. Yes	B. No
29.1. Students		
29.2. Parent/s of students		
29.3. Academic staff		
29.4. Support staff		
29.5. Executive staff		
29.6. Administrative staff		
29.7. University unions, organisations, etc.		
29.8. None of the above		

Appendix B: Tables

Table 1: Sample Representation

Staff	Students
Age	Age
Gender	Gender
Highest educational qualification	Highest educational qualification
Faculty working in	Faculty registered at
Position held	Programme of study
Number of years of service at UKZN	Level of study at UKZN
Campus location	Campus location
Home residency	Home residency
Linguistic background	Linguistic background
Linguistic competence	Linguistic competence

Table 2: isiZulu Proficiency (Staff)

RATING	CATEGORIES OF PROFICIENCY			
	SPEAKING	READING	WRITING	UNDERSTANDING
Non-existent	45%	63%	65%	36%
Poor	36%	18%	15%	42%
Average	6%	7%	9%	9%
Good	3%	3%	2%	3%
Excellent	9%	9%	9%	10%
Missing	1%	-	-	-
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 3: isiZulu Proficiency (Students)

RATING	CATEGORIES OF PROFICIENCY			
	SPEAKING	READING	WRITING	UNDERSTANDING
Non-existent	20%	27%	28%	18%
Poor	19%	13%	15%	21%
Average	8%	8%	5%	8%
Good	8%	15%	13%	18%
Excellent	45%	37%	39%	35%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 4: Reasons for studying isiZulu (Staff)

- Necessity of knowing it in KZN	26%
- Academic/course requirement	16%
- Enjoyment of learning new languages	16%
- To learn more about the Zulu culture	11%
- isiZulu is necessary for my job	5%
- isiZulu needed for day-to-day life	5%
- Other reasons	5%
- Missing	5%
TOTAL	100%

Table 5: Reasons for studying isiZulu (Students)

- To learn more about the Zulu culture	21%
- Course/ school requirement	20%
- To enable me to make new friends	12%
- isiZulu needed for my day-to-day life	5%
- isiZulu necessary for my job	4%
- Necessity of knowing it in KZN	3%
- Enjoyment of learning new languages	1%
- Combination of above-listed reasons	34%
TOTAL	100%

Table 6: Reasons for not studying isiZulu (Staff)

- I do not have the time to learn isiZulu	25%
- Not part of my academic/course requirement	14%
- I do not have the funds to study isiZulu	5%
- I think isiZulu is difficult to study	4%
- I do not think it is necessary to know isiZulu	1%
- Combination of above-listed reasons	32%
- Other reasons	19%
TOTAL	100%

Table 7: Reasons for not studying isiZulu (Students)

- Not part of my academic/course requirement	36%
- I think isiZulu is difficult to study	8%
- I resent having to learn isiZulu	7%
- I do not have the time to learn isiZulu	4%
- I do not have the funds to study isiZulu.	3%
- I do not think it is necessary to know in KZN	1%
- My parents do not want me to learn isiZulu	1%
- Combination of above listed reasons	38%
- Missing	2%
TOTAL	100%

Table 8: isiZulu usage on campus (Staff)

PURPOSE	FREQUENCY OF USE						TOTAL
	Never	Rarely	Some-times	Often	Always	Mis-sing	
-lectures	88%	3%	4%	3%	1%	1%	100%
-tutorials	82%	8%	6%	3%	1%	-	100%
-practical work	92%	4%	2%	2%	-	-	100%
-seminars/conferences	92%	5%	3%	-	-	-	100%
-group-work	82%	6%	4%	7%	1%	-	100%
-written work	93%	2%	3%	2%	-	-	100%
-tests and examination papers	98%	-	-	2%	-	-	100%
-learning materials	92%	3%	3%	2%	-	-	100%

-consultations with staff/students	74%	13%	5%	6%	1%	1%	100%
-consultation/interaction with peers	75%	11%	7%	6%	1%	-	100%
-administrative procedures	90%	7%	1%	2%	-	-	100%
-financial matters	95%	3%	1%	1%	-	-	100%
-interviews, meetings	87%	6%	5%	2%	-	-	100%
-social/ religious/ cultural/ formal events	68%	15%	10%	5%	2%	-	100%

Table 9: isiZulu usage on campus (Students)

PURPOSE	FREQUENCY					TOTAL
	Never	Rarely	Some-times	Often	Always	
-lectures	71%	15%	9%	5%	-	100%
-tutorials	73%	15%	5%	7%	-	100%
-practical	70%	16%	5%	7%	2%	100%
-seminars/ conferences/etc.	72%	19%	6%	3%	-	100%
-group-work	52%	9%	18%	21%	-	100%
-written work	89%	8%	1%	2%	-	100%
-tests and examination papers	91%	3%	4%	2%	-	100%
-learning materials	87%	6%	4%	2%	1%	100%
-consultations with staff/students	58%	14%	15%	12%	1%	100%
-consultation/interaction with peers	45%	9%	13%	18%	15%	100%
-administrative procedures	61%	17%	15%	5%	2%	100%
-financial matters	64%	12%	11%	10%	3%	100%
-housing/residential matters	61%	13%	15%	8%	3%	100%
-interviews, meetings	74%	13%	8%	3%	2%	100%
-social/religious/ cultural/formal events	50%	11%	16%	17%	6%	100%

Table 10: Language preference for education (Staff)

PURPOSE	PREFERENCE				TOTAL
	English	isiZulu	Both languages	Missing	
-lectures	84%	1%	14%	1%	100%
-tutorials	75%	4%	20%	1%	100%
-practical work	79%	3%	16%	2%	100%
-seminars, conferences, etc.	85%	2%	13%	-	100%
-group-work	77%	2%	20%	1%	100%
-written work	85%	2%	13%	-	100%
-learning materials	83%	2%	15%	-	100%
-consultation with staff/students	74%	1%	25%	-	100%
-consultation/interaction with peers	75%	1%	24%	-	100%
-administrative procedures	81%	2%	17%	-	100%
-financial matters	81%	2%	17%	-	100%
-interviews, meetings	81%	2%	16%	1%	100%

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-social/religious/cultural/formal events	67%	3%	30%	-	100%
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Table 11: Language preference for education (Students)

PURPOSE	PREFERENCE				
	English	isiZulu	Both	Missing	TOTAL
-lectures	64%	7%	28%	1%	100%
-tutorials	53%	14%	33%	-	100%
-practical work	50%	15%	34%	1%	100%
-seminars, conferences, etc.	56%	13%	29%	2%	100%
-group-work	49%	15%	33%	3%	100%
-written work	66%	9%	23%	2%	100%
-test & examination papers	67%	8%	24%	1%	100%
-learning materials	62%	6%	32%	-	100%
-consultation with staff/students	49%	19%	31%	1%	100%
-consultation/interaction with peers	50%	14%	34%	2%	100%
-administrative procedures	52%	14%	34%	-	100%
-financial matters	49%	17%	33%	1%	100%
- housing/residential matters	49%	18%	32%	1%	100%
-interviews, meetings	55%	15%	29%	15	100%

Table 12: Views on issues within Language Policy (Staff)

Do you agree with the following statements:	Yes	No	TOTAL
All South Africans must know English and Afrikaans only?	2%	98%	100%
All South Africans must know African languages only?	-	99%	100%
All South Africans must know at least one indigenous African language?	65%	35%	100%
All official languages of South Africa carry equal status?	47%	53%	100%

Table 13: Views on issues within Language Policy (Students)

Do you agree with the following statements:	Yes	No	TOTAL
All South Africans must know English and Afrikaans only?	2%	98%	100%
All South Africans must know African languages only?	6%	94%	100%
All South Africans must know at least one indigenous African language?	72%	28%	100%
All official languages of South Africa carry equal status?	65%	35%	100%

Table 14: Necessary Involvement in Language Policy Decision-Making (Staff)

UNIVERSITY AFFILIATES	Yes	No	TOTAL
Students	86%	14%	100%
Parent/s of students	62%	38%	100%
Academic staff	99%	1%	100%
Support staff	88%	12%	100%
Executive staff	92%	8%	100%
Administrative staff	90%	10%	100%
University unions, organisations, etc.	88%	12%	100%

Table 15: Necessary Involvement in Language Policy Decision-Making (Students)

UNIVERSITY AFFILIATES	Yes	No	TOTAL
Students	96%	4%	100%
Parents of students	64%	36%	100%
Academic staff	98%	2%	100%
Support staff	73%	27%	100%
Executive staff	90%	10%	100%
Administrative staff	89%	11%	100%
University unions, organisations, etc.	79%	21%	100%

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Afrikaans¹ in Higher Education in S.A.²

Vic Webb

Abstract

The main issue dealt with in the article is the case for the retention of Afrikaans as a language of higher education. Given its association with apartheid, the attempts to impose it on black learners in the 1970s, its continuing stigmatisation in many communities and the total loss of political of its white speakers, the question to be asked is whether it should be retained as medium of instruction in higher education in post-1994 democratic South Africa, and, if there are valid reasons in support of its retention in this capacity, what its role should be and how its revitalisation

¹ Given that the focus of this edition of *Alternation* is on ‘South African indigenous languages’, which is usually taken to refer to what is internationally called ‘Bantu languages’, it could possibly be argued that Afrikaans ought to be excluded from consideration. However, besides the fact that the overall theme of the edition does not exclude any language from consideration, a reasonably strong claim can be made for Afrikaans to be regarded as ‘an indigenous (African) language’ (but not, of course, a Bantu language): Afrikaans came about in (south) Africa; it is significantly spoken only in Africa; many of its lexical items are African in origin—also in the sense that their meanings reflect the African environment; and some of its structural features are also of African origin (and are not merely the products of the structural simplification/over-generalisation of 17th century Dutch features).

² I wish to express my gratitude to the reviewers for their comments, which enabled me to improve this contribution.

should be handled. Six arguments are presented in support of the maintenance of Afrikaans as an academic language

Keywords: Afrikaans, higher education, language and culture, educational development, educational access and success, equity and parity of esteem, pluralism, community support, language policies for higher education and public debate

1. Introduction

Given Afrikaner nationalism and the appropriation of Afrikaans by the white community as an instrument to obtain and exercise control over its own interests; given the association of Afrikaans with apartheid; and given the attempts by the former Nationalist Party government to impose Afrikaans on black learners in the mid-1970's, Afrikaans is often described as the language of the oppressor and of white discrimination, domination and exclusion. Today, despite the fact that Afrikaner nationalism is no longer a major force in the country, that Apartheid has been abolished, and that white Afrikaans-speaking South Africans (sometimes called 'Afrikaners') have lost their political power, Afrikaans still retains its generally negative social meaning in the broader South African society. Additionally, Afrikaans has lost its privileged position as one of two official languages in the country and now has to compete with ten other languages for a role in public life. A consequence of these negative scenarios is the political demise of the Afrikaans language.

Given, now, the demise of Afrikaans in public life, the question is whether Afrikaans can be expected to retain / regain any meaningful role in the public domain. Should it, for example, be maintained as a medium of instruction in higher education in post-1994 South Africa?

This article argues that Afrikaans should, indeed, be retained in a significant way in higher education. In order to present this argument, the demise of the language is first discussed, followed by an overview of the arguments in favour of retaining it as a university language; the role it should have in this context; and what should happen for it to retain and then maintain this role.

2. The Demise of Afrikaans as Public Language

Although the demise of Afrikaans since 1994 has not yet been systematically researched, there are clear indicators of the decline of its role in public life. Generally speaking, Afrikaans is no longer used to any significant extent in parliament, courts of law, state administration at all three levels of government, the public media or the business sector in general. The same trend is evident in formal education. Giliomee and Schlemmer (2006: 242-243, quoting du Plessis, 2001), for example, list the reduction in single-medium Afrikaans schools from 1993 to 2003 in selected provinces as follows:

Table 1: Reduction in the number of Single-medium Afrikaans Schools in Selected Provinces

Province	1993	2003	% Reduction
Gauteng	274	155	43.0
Free State	153	97	36.6
Limpopo	38	12	68.0
Mpumalanga	90	3	96.6

Source: Giliomee and Schlemmer (2006)

The reduction of single-medium Afrikaans schools means, of course, that the schools concerned have all become dual- or parallel-medium schools, with English being used alongside Afrikaans as medium of instruction (MoI), and possibly even becoming the main MoI.

In higher education, the same trend is apparent: Whereas there were formerly five universities using Afrikaans as sole or main MoI, and three formally and functionally bilingual universities (Afrikaans and English), there are currently only two universities in which Afrikaans is used to a significant degree as medium of instruction: the University of Stellenbosch and North-West University, on its Potchefstroom campus³. The University of

³ The University of the Free State is a parallel medium institution and the Universities of Johannesburg and Pretoria are currently practically English universities. (The University of Pretoria is, however, in the process of revising its (existing, ineffective) policy of bilingualism.) See du Plessis 2003, 2005 and 2006 for fuller discussions of language political changes in higher education.

Pretoria, on the other hand, serves as an example of the gradual shift towards English: in the period between 1995 and 2007, students' MoI preference changed quite radically, as indicated in Table 2:

Table 2: Change in the ratio of students electing for instruction in Afrikaans as opposed to English, 1995 to 2007, as percentages

	'95	'96	'97	'98	'99	'01	'04	'05	'06	'07
Afrikaans	70.8	65.5	62	59.1	57.3	53	42.8	43.3	36.8	34.8
English	29.2	34.5	38	40.9	42.7	47	57.2	56.7	63.2	65.2

Source: Bureau for institutional research and planning (Birap), University of Pretoria

According to Webb (2008) 72.2% of the training programmes of the University were probably taught in English in that year⁴.

The same situation applies regarding Afrikaans as a subject of study: both student and staff numbers in departments of Afrikaans have decreased quite radically, and formerly autonomous departments of Afrikaans have either been scaled down (e.g. at the Pietermaritzburg campus of the UKZN) or have been merged with other language departments (e.g. at the University of Cape Town)⁵. Similarly, Afrikaans has almost vanished altogether as a language of research publications. Mouton (2005) reports that only 5% of the

⁴ According to the official University brochure, 10.4% of the 152 undergraduate programmes were to be taught only in English and 61.8% in both Afrikaans and English in dual medium format. However, given that a number of students in dual-medium courses (often even a minority) are unlikely to be proficient in Afrikaans, that practically all Afrikaans-speaking students are reasonably proficient in English, and that lecturers are understandably loathe to duplicate courses, the language used in such (dual medium) classes was probably predominantly or only English. Added together, a percentage of 72.2% is obtained.

⁵ There are autonomous Departments of Afrikaans at 8 SA universities (where it is taught as a separate discipline); at 3 it is taught within a larger department, and at 7 SA universities it is not taught at all. (Internet search on 23 April, 2009.)

research articles which were published in 2002 were written in Afrikaans (as opposed to 14% in 1990). As a language of university management at the historically Afrikaans universities [HAUs] (e.g. as a language of meetings at senior levels), Afrikaans also seems to have declined quite markedly, as at the University of Pretoria (personal observation).

Finally, the demise of Afrikaans as a public language is, arguably, also clear from the diminished status of its standard variety, as reflected by the increasing incidence of code-switching and code-mixing in the direction of English (in newspaper letters and radio interviews)—see Webb (in press).

Given these language political developments one must obviously ask what the reasons for the demise of Afrikaans in public domains (and specifically in higher education) could be.

There are obviously several factors involved. *Primary factors*, of course, are globalisation and the domination of a market-driven economy, both of which function largely through English, thus strengthening the economic, social and political dominance of English and impacting negatively on the use of minority languages in public contexts⁶.

Secondly, there are also the large-scale political changes in 1994, as a result of which, firstly, the Afrikaans-speaking community lost all political (and even much of their economic) power. This loss of power led to what Louw calls the loss of ‘political patronage’ or ‘state patronage’ for the Afrikaner and her/his language, which meant that it became a marginalised, minority group, without the ‘spaces’ and the ‘resources’ it had before 1994 (Louw 2004: 51)⁷. The political transformation of South Africa meant that

⁶ The threat posed by dominant (hegemonic) languages is, of course, very real, as illustrated in the case of the KhoiSan languages in South Africa, Irish, Welsh and Scots in the UK, and Catalan in Spain. At the moment Spanish in the USA is also under threat, despite the fact that Spanish is a powerful international language and that there were 41 million Hispanics in the USA in 2004 (Fernández 2005).

⁷ The SA constitution does, of course, make provision for safeguarding group rights, and has even created institutions for this purpose (including PanSALB). In practice these institutions have made no meaningful impact on the issue of cultural and linguistic rights. Stronger protests by communities in this regard are obviously necessary.

black South Africans obtained the political power, for whom the interests of the white Afrikaans-speaking community, including the use of their language as medium of instruction, were obviously not priorities.

Thirdly, the emphasis on access and equity (in higher education) led to striking changes in the demographic character of staff and student populations of, especially, the former HAUs. Significant numbers of black students registered at these universities for study (for example 25160 in 2006 as opposed to 10729 in 2002 at the University of Pretoria—University of Pretoria, 2009) and, given their preference for English as medium of instruction, contributed towards the demand for English and the decline in the use of Afrikaans⁸.

Finally, in the case of universities, there was also the strong drive towards internationalisation and becoming globally competitive, which led to the recruitment of academic staff and students from outside South Africa, who obviously do not know Afrikaans⁹.

These factors, together with the negative social connotations of Afrikaans mentioned above and the continued lack of internal unity in the broader Afrikaans-speaking community¹⁰, have all contributed to the recent rather sudden decline in the role of Afrikaans in tertiary education.

⁸ Pro-Afrikaans activists perceive state action regarding Afrikaans as medium of instruction in (secondary) schools and universities as a directed strategy of the government to establish racial equality and to enforce racial integration.

⁹ One can probably also list other factors, such as the increasing commodification of university training (as a response to market demands) and financial constraints, in the demise of Afrikaans as tertiary language.

¹⁰ A comment by a former vice-chancellor of the University of the Western Cape in this regard is revealing and instructive: ‘The challenge to Afrikaans is to tackle its destructive internal discord and to overcome the racial and ethnic exclusivity in its own ranks whilst simultaneously respecting and honouring its own rich diversity. And to position (itself) dynamically as part of the rich diversity in South Africa’ (transl. VNW). See also Webb (2008).

One can argue, of course, that the increasing Anglicisation¹¹ of HAUs is a ‘natural’ development, unavoidable, and should therefore be accepted. It is also possible, however, to argue that it is important to retain Afrikaans as a tertiary language. The question would then be: for what reason(s)?

3. Arguments in Favour of Retaining Afrikaans as Language of HE

Before presenting what I regard as the major arguments for the retention of Afrikaans as language of tertiary education, I wish to present a critical assessment of an argument often put forward by intellectual leaders in the Afrikaans community in this regard (see Giliomee 2001, 2003a and b; Giliomee & Schlemmer, 2001 and 2006)¹²: that Afrikaans should be retained in order to preserve the cultural integrity of the Afrikaner¹³. Giliomee and Schlemmer (2006) provide a clear exposition of this view. Their argument can be summarised as follows¹⁴:

¹¹ Brink (2006) prefers the term ‘englishification’ on the basis of the argument that an institution which uses English as language of learning and teaching has not necessarily adopted the values, beliefs, views, norms, attitudes, etc. usually associated with ‘the English’. Whether his assumption is correct must obviously be investigated.

¹² For other discussions of the role of Afrikaans (and the African languages) in tertiary education, see Brink (2006), Gerwel (2002), and the report by the rectors of HAUs (2005).

¹³ Support for the advocacy on behalf of Afrikaans also comes from academic and cultural bodies, such as the Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns (the SA academy for science and art); the Stigting vir bemagtiging deur Afrikaans (foundation for empowerment through Afrikaans), the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurliggame (the federation of Afrikaans cultural bodies), the Afrikaanse Taal- en Kultuurverenigings (the Afrikaans language and cultural societies) and AfriForum.

¹⁴ All quotations from Giliomee & Schlemmer are presented in translated form—by the author.

- a) There is a close relationship between language and culture: a language is the vehicle and expression of a community's patterns of thought, values and intellectual traditions (p. 176);
- b) The non-use of Afrikaans in universities and in the courts, business, finance, technology and so forth, its subsequent public regression and the shift away from it, will, eventually lead to the attenuation of the (associated) language-linked values and cultures (p. 26);
- c) The linguistic and cultural dominance of English may lead to cultural minorities (including black 'minorities'¹⁵) losing their self-confidence and solidarity (p. 28) as well as their ethnic and cultural identities (p. 26), thus undergoing cultural decay (p. 198); and
- d) A university must provide an intellectual and spiritual home for a language group and the HAUs have a social, historical and cultural responsibility towards Afrikaans (p. 169); in fact, a university belongs to a cultural group (p. 207).

A culture-based argument is, in my view, problematic if it is presented as the only (or even as the main) argument in support of retaining minority languages as academic languages, for reasons discussed below.

Such an argument assumes, in the *first* place, that language and culture are co-determinant, which is not quite the case. There is, obviously, a link between language and the cultural character of a language community: norms, values, patterns of behaviour, and so forth are acquired and constructed through linguistic interaction, whilst a language and its use (linguistic behaviour) is in many ways a reflection of the history of a community and its social norms (as implied in footnote 1). But this does not mean that language and culture are mutually deterministic, with changes in the one necessarily reflected in a direct way by the other. To claim, therefore, that the loss of a language will lead to the loss of a particular cultural 'identity' is too strong.

¹⁵ The major African language communities are not, of course, minorities in a numerical sense, but have become minoritised in terms of the power dimension.

Secondly, to talk about the/an ‘Afrikaner culture’ is also problematic. Such a view seems to assume that a cultural character is a clearly defined, distinct, fixed and internally homogenous entity. This is arguably not the case. For example, in what way does ‘Afrikaner culture’ differ from, say, ‘English culture’? How do these two language communities differ with respect to values, norms, attitudes and patterns of behaviour? Are the differences between them concerning their origin (e.g. Britain as opposed to the Netherlands, France and Germany), their history (different perceptions of the Anglo-Boer war of 1899-1902) or the food or sport they typically prefer, sufficient to regard them as being culturally distinctive groups? Furthermore, a community’s values, norms, patterns of behaviour and attitudes are not inherited or somehow fixed and unchanging, but are continually being reconstructed by each generation with reference to new environments and new needs and priorities. Besides, all speakers of Afrikaans do not hold the same beliefs, attitudes, values, and so forth. The ‘culture of Afrikaans-speaking communities’ is quite a diverse phenomenon, with young, Afrikaans-speaking urbanites differing quite markedly from other social groups in the broader language community. So, if universities are to remain ‘Afrikaans’ on the basis of the notion ‘cultural character’, one could ask: what cultural features? And whose?

A *third* reason is that a culture-based approach, like a rights approach, can be perceived as confrontational, especially in South Africa, where language has been (and still is) an ethno-political issue, having been used as a divisionary and mobilising instrument. Language and culture are sites of struggle and are conflict-generating instruments. In this context, the pro-Afrikaans lobby can easily be suspected of thinking and operating within an ideology of separatism and of wanting to continue Afrikaner nationalism¹⁶.

¹⁶ This is essentially Brink’s criticism of the cultural approach to the preservation of Afrikaans as a university language (2006). An argument on the basis of the cultural concerns of the Afrikaner, he says, is a return to apartheid thinking, is separatist, and will necessarily prevent transformation (p. 17); it is an argument for ensuring an Afrikaner enclave; it is part of a neo-Afrikaner agenda, an instrument for polarisation, for linguistic apartheid, and it will lead to isolation and parochialism (p. 145).

Finally, I would agree with Brink's view (2006: 207) that it is not primarily the business of a university to safeguard a particular ethnicity, culture or language, but that its main task is to disseminate and construct knowledge and pursue truth (p. 207). Furthermore, as he points out, a university certainly does not 'belong to any particular cultural community'.

Thus, while I agree that the non-use of Afrikaans in higher education will have negative consequences, also culturally, I do not think that the issue should be addressed *solely* (or even mainly) on the basis of the need to protect 'the Afrikaans culture'¹⁷. Other factors possibly constitute more important arguments for the retention of Afrikaans as a university language.

The *first*, and clearly most important, reason is that its use as MoI will contribute to more effective educational development. A large proportion of Afrikaans-speaking students, especially from disadvantaged communities (by far still the majority in South Africa) do not have the English language proficiency required for academic development (more specifically CALP in English, as argued by Cummins 1984) and are therefore excluded from effective access to information, participation in class discussions and the opportunity of demonstrating their knowledge, understanding and subject skills effectively in assessment situations. The importance of mother tongue education (or, at least, education in a well-known language as well as the home language) in cognitive, affective and social development and, by implication, the economic advantages which such education brings – higher success rates and, thus, lower failure rates and lower repetition rates, better employment prospects later on, etc.) – has been demonstrated empirically in research work across the continent of Africa¹⁸. Similar findings however abound in other parts of the world. See for example

¹⁷ This stance must obviously not be interpreted as implying that the cultural dimension must be removed from the debate about Afrikaans as MoI in higher education (and in schools). On the contrary, as argued below, in the context of an ideology of multilingualism and multiculturalism, universities should make explicit provision for communities on their campuses to exercise their cultural rights.

¹⁸ For Nigeria, Malawi and Tanzania, see for example Bamgbose (1991); Webb (2005; 2006); Webb, Lepota & Ramagoshi (2003); and the contributors to Brock-Utne and Skattum (2009).

studies from Helsinki, Toronto, and Cambridge¹⁹.

Secondly, and directly linked to the previous argument is the question of access to higher education. Of the 370 489 full-time contact students in South Africa (DoE 2008), only 12% were black Africans and 12% were coloured (as against 43% who were Indian/Asian, and 54% who were white) (HESA, 2010: slide 8). Of concern here, from the perspective of the role of Afrikaans in (higher) education, is the coloured community, particularly in the Western Cape, where it is the largest population group (Webb, 2002). Giliomee (2010: 12) puts the participation rate of people in this community at 4.5 per 1000 Afrikaans-speaking students (as opposed to 10/1000 for black students in general and just under 50/1000 for Afrikaans-speaking white students). Without wanting to suggest that language is the only or even the main factor in affecting access to tertiary education, it certainly plays a role and can function in an exclusionary manner.

A *third* reason in support of the retention of Afrikaans as MoI in higher education is the contribution it will make towards the promotion of the African languages. With the increasing dominance (many observers prefer the term 'hegemony') of English, South Africa is becoming more and more monolingual in its language use in public life, which is a direct denial of a variety of constitutional stipulations. Given that Afrikaans has the same linguistic capacity as English (albeit not the same social capacity), it can, to some extent, stand up to English, and can challenge its total dominance and maybe even limit its hegemony. It is unlikely that support for Afrikaans alone will have any really significant effect in this regard, especially given the asymmetric power relationship between the two languages²⁰, but the

¹⁹ Note the views expressed by Dr. Thomas Wilhelmsson, vice-rector of the University of Helsinki, Dr. Stacy Churchill, University of Toronto and Dr. Suzanne Romaine, University of Oxford on the centrality of people's first languages to their social and psychological development, at the Helsinki conference on bi- and multilingual universities, in 2005.

²⁰ Asymmetric power relations in a particular country is not the only factor involved in language maintenance, as is illustrated in the case of French in Canada, Dutch in Belgium and Swedish in Finland, where these languages (though nationally minority languages) can depend on their stature internationally.

retention and maintenance of Afrikaans as a language of higher education could, conceivably, contribute to some degree to the development and promotion of the African languages through the support it gives to multilingualism; the example it sets for language maintenance and promotion and, hopefully, through some future decision by language activists on both sides to co-operate in language promotion. If this happens, and the associated century-old minoritisation of these languages (including that of their speakers) can be reversed, it can be of fundamental importance to the people of South Africa²¹. Not only will it contribute to an increase in self-esteem and a sense of socio-psychological security among the members of these communities, but, given the expected increase in the use of the African languages in high level critical discourse and abstract reasoning, it will also contribute to the increasing intellectualisation of African communities. In this regard Afrikaans can play an important role as a language political example: whereas it was a communicatively restricted and socially stigmatised language at the beginning of the 20th century, it became, by the middle of that century, a language used for performing high functions, such as being used as MoI in higher education, with fully developed academic registers and the associated technical terminology. Its development in this regard is a striking success story and can, conceivably, function as a good example for the promotion of the African languages.

Linked to the preceding argument is the issue of the constitutional stipulation that the national official languages should be characterised by equity and parity of esteem. Were this to happen, with all these languages becoming instruments of access, even if only at local levels, to educational, social, political and economic opportunities, an important step will have been taken in the advancement of national social integration, the effectuation of

²¹ This is especially important, given the limited proficiency of many black learners (and students) in English (the preferred MoI in secondary schools and universities), which contributes to the restricted academic development of many of them, as was mentioned above (and see also Webb 2005). (A comment by one of the reviewers is also relevant in this regard: given the negative status and prestige of the African languages their teaching and study as home languages is also problematic, which probably means that learners' skills in these languages are also not effectively developed.)

the constitution and its founding principles, and in the struggle against discrimination and exclusion. At the moment, with the dominance of English, it is only the interests of the ruling elite which are served, not that of the majority of citizens. Equally negatively: social classification, which seems to have become based on proficiency in English (the closer one's English is to the UK norm, the higher one's status and prestige), can be corrected. If this skewed social reality can be changed, South Africa will become more democratic. The argument here is thus that the retention (or re-instatement) of Afrikaans as a significant language of higher education (and thus also of public use) will, through contributing to the development of the African languages and thus the establishment of multilingualism, facilitate access to public opportunities (education, political participation and access to the economic life of the country) across language divisions and contribute towards combating inequities, discrimination, marginalisation and exploitation. Linguistic equity and parity of esteem will have been established.

A fifth consideration, also directly linked to the former point, is that by giving Afrikaans (and, by implication, the African languages) a meaningful role in higher education and by promoting public multilingualism, a mind-set, an ideology (in a positive sense) of pluralism will be established, with all the benefits that come hand-in-hand with such a development. A regime of pluralism²², of course, consists by definition in the recognition of diversity—religious, cultural and linguistic, the development of respect for difference and the promotion of the particular interests of the members of the different communities. It is generally accepted that linguistic diversity (and multilingualism) is, as such, a common good, a valuable national resource. From a socio-psychological perspective it facilitates inter-group communication, mutual understanding, tolerance and co-operation, contributing to (national) integration, and, as Giliomee and Schlemmer (2006: 27f) argue,

²² The SA constitution in essence rejects the alternative philosophies for dealing with diversity / minority groups: viz. assimilation (absorption by the dominant group), integration (the development of a new cultural character based on the cultural characteristics of the major constituent groups) and separatism (as in the time of apartheid). (See South African Constitution, 1996.)

the development of a community's sense of solidarity and self-confidence. Additionally, as is pointed out in the literature on bilingualism, there is a positive correlation between bi-/multilingualism and creativity, lateral thinking, innovativeness, cognitive flexibility, and adaptability (see also Brink, 2006: 126/7)²³. In more practical terms, the value of proficiency in different languages is also that it provides work seekers with a wider scope of opportunities and enables business persons to obtain contracts across linguistic boundaries. As regards government, multilingualism is important in effective service delivery by the state, as the former SA Department of Provincial and Local Government have realised²⁴. In Europe, multilingualism is regarded as a core value and as a feature which gives Europe its uniqueness.

In a complexly multilingual society such as South Africa, a pluralist approach to the management of public affairs is clearly more beneficial to the citizenry than an assimilationist approach, as is currently being followed in South Africa. As Giliomee and Schlemmer point out (2006: 172, and 21, quoting the Indian sociolinguist Pattanayak), a regime of assimilation generally benefits mainly the elite, not the majority: access to material benefits in South Africa is currently being (co-) determined by proficiency levels in English. South Africans who are not adequately proficient in English remain poor, and are excluded from access to opportunities across the spectrum.

²³ The value of diversity is nicely formulated by a character in a recent novel by the Brazilian author, Paulo Coelho (*The witch of Portobello*): Deidre O'Neill (a British medical doctor working in Transylvania, Romania, in the Gipsy community) says: '(My protector—a gipsy) threw my world off balance—even though he was only a gipsy blacksmith. I used to go at least once a year to his village and we would talk about how, when we dare to see things differently, life opens up to our eyes (allowing us to discover a wisdom that is beyond each of us, and to go forward)' (2008: 267).

²⁴ In 2008, the former Department of Provincial and Local Government launched an extensive development programme aimed at promoting multilingualism in local government in order to speed up service delivery through facilitating community participation and empowerment. Several workshops were held and a national conference took place in Cape Town in June, 2008. All 283 municipalities in South Africa participated in the conference (dplg, n.d.).

The argument for multilingualism at South African universities links up directly with views expressed in HESA's response to the Ministerial Report on transformation (HESA, slides 9 and 34²⁵); namely that universities should:

- Strengthen curriculum reform initiatives to *include other forms and hierarchies of knowledge and worldviews* (italicisation VNW) to advance disciplinary knowledge and scholarship and challenge existing stereotypes about racial groups (and) the African continent;
- (Promote) ... new values (to be) shared and assimilated so as to provide inspiration and guidance for the change process;
- (Contribute to) changing the culture of a university as a perceived ivory tower serving the elite towards engagement with all our communities and being responsive to their needs;
- (N)urture and value social, epistemological and intellectual diversity. Diversity is central to the achievement of (universities') goals. The creation of an affirming environment promotes effective teaching and learning (slide 34).

A final (and sixth) argument in support of the retention of Afrikaans as a language of universities (incorporating, as argued above, the gradual promotion of the African languages in this capacity), relates specifically to the issue of community service and community involvement.

As Giliomee and Schlemmer (201: 109) note, the scientific enterprise is part of a community's culture. Universities cannot restrict the distribution of knowledge and research findings to their colleagues in the global research community. They need to distribute their knowledge and research findings in their own communities as well. This 'indigenisation' of science ideally takes place in the languages of the communities. In this way universities participate in the intellectualisation of their societies, developing a body of informed citizens who have the ability to reflect critically on issues of importance, thus promoting a knowledge culture. Similarly, it is also important for universities to have access to local knowledge, points of view

²⁵ This source is available only in a power point presentation, and the quoted material is contained on slides 9 and 34.

and perceptions. This is only effectively possible if universities and their researchers can communicate with the members of local communities in languages well-known in the communities.

As regards the development and promotion of the plural state, universities also have a responsibility. In addition to giving the languages of the communities the necessary recognition in their policies and practices, they also need to recognise the presence of different communities on their campuses, respect the cultural integrity of these groups and provide the necessary space for their members to engage in their own cultural practices.

To illustrate the importance of universities' social responsibility in more practical terms, one can take note, once again, of some of the realities in the coloured community of the Western Cape, a community plagued by alcohol, drugs and gangsterism in the lower socio-economic levels:

- of the learners who started in Grade 1 in 1995, only 5.4% passed Grade 12;
- the percentage of coloured students at the 4 Western Cape universities in 2006 comprised only 26% of their populations (whereas they formed 54% of the total provincial population)²⁶; and, finally
- of all people in the coloured community in the age group 5-24, only 36% were enrolled in an educational facility.

Universities in this province clearly have an enormous community task to perform, in particular the University of Stellenbosch, the only university which still teaches in Afrikaans.

4. The Role of Afrikaans in Higher Education in South Africa

Assuming, now, that Afrikaans can be restored or maintained as a university language, several questions need to be dealt with: At which universities

²⁶ Of these students only just over 13% were enrolled at the University of Stellenbosch, the only tertiary institution in the Western Cape which provides courses in Afrikaans.

should it be used as institutional language? What roles should it perform at the different universities? At what levels should it function? In cases where it is used as language of learning and teaching, what MoI model should be followed (i.e. single medium, dual medium or parallel-medium²⁷)?

Obviously, the response to all these questions will depend upon the institution concerned, with decisions based upon the vision and the mission of the university, the sociolinguistic character of its (primary) community/ies, the needs and preferences of the students and staff and the human and financial resources it has available.

As regards the first consideration above (vision of the university), the question would be: Does the university wish to be a comprehensive bi- or multilingual institution and produce bi- or multilingual graduates?²⁸ In such a case the university would need to ensure that students receive their training in two (or more) languages, some courses being taken in language A and the remaining in language B (and C). Alternatively, of course, a university can ensure that (all) courses are available in two or more languages, with students free to study in the language of their choice (thus not necessarily producing graduates who are bi-/multilingual).

As regards the role of the sociolinguistic realities in the university, the case of the MoI policy at the University of Pretoria can be considered. As indicated above (and see Webb 2008), the university formerly served an almost wholly Afrikaans-speaking community and thus presented training only in Afrikaans. However, as also mentioned earlier, political and social

²⁷ From the point of view of the protection of a language against a strongly dominant language, all three of these models are in some or other way problematic: single medium for the reasons mentioned at the beginning of this contribution; dual medium because of the likelihood of the marginalization of the minor languages in the context of the more powerful language; and parallel medium because of the cost factor. A dual medium approach could be positive in an institution in which learners/students and teachers/academic staff are fully bilingual and in which the language policy is effectively implemented (or strictly enforced).

²⁸ This is the policy of the University of Freiburg in Switzerland: it requires its students to undertake and complete their studies in two languages—French as well as German (see Langner 2005).

changes over the past twenty years have led to an increasingly non-Afrikaans student population and this has meant that English has become the dominant MoI. The University, however, accepted its commitment to retaining Afrikaans as academic language but, given the real constraints of human, financial and physical resources, it has accepted that it cannot meaningfully retain Afrikaans within a dual- or a fully parallel-medium MoI model. Instead it is now considering committing itself to presenting a set of core training programmes in Afrikaans (as well as, of course, in English), thus reflecting its commitment to the establishment and promotion of multilingualism (personal communication, the registrar, UP).

The University of Stellenbosch, again, provides a good illustration of the possible negative role of the linguistic demands of the community in which a university is situated. This university, situated in a predominantly Afrikaans environment, but aiming to be internationally competitive, has to cater for an increasing number of students who want to be trained in English. The university has thus developed a complicated set of LoL/T models, providing for courses taught only in Afrikaans, only in English, in both Afrikaans and English in separate classes (the parallel-medium option) and in both languages in the same classes (the dual-medium option). This language policy, however, has led to serious differences between the university and leaders in the community it serves: Several community leaders have developed serious doubts about the sustainability of the use of Afrikaans (the dominant language in the community) at the university, especially with reference to the so-called ‘T option’—‘tweetalige opsie’/dual-medium option), arguing (probably rightly so, see Webb 2010b), that dual-medium instruction in the context of the asymmetric power relations between Afrikaans and English will inevitably lead to the decreasing use of Afrikaans as LoL/T. These differences have generated considerable conflict in the university community, which could have negative effects on the university.

The North-West University provides an interesting illustration of the use of institutional resources: human, financial and physical. Given the potential conflict between the use of Afrikaans as LoL/T and the principle of free access to students, the university’s commitment to the retention of Afrikaans as an academic language, and the costs (human, financial and physical) of the parallel-medium option, the university has developed a system of simultaneous interpreting in classes, with lecturers teaching in

either Afrikaans or English, and with interpreters providing translation to students in the other language. According to Verhoef (director, Institutional Language Directorate, NWU), the costs involved in their interpreting service is not prohibitive (unpublished seminar presentation 2010).

Finally, an important condition in the context of SA's pluralist political philosophy and political character (specifically the unequal division of linguistic power and the inequality in South Africans' proficiency in the official languages of the country as languages of academic work) is that university language policies need to be designed to achieve set aims in a progressive way. Some SA universities (such as the University of Pretoria, see University of Pretoria, 2009) have designated an African language as an official language of the university, but, in light of the current developmental status of the African languages, restrict it to being a 'language of university communication', meaning that it will be used on university letterheads, the names of campus buildings, the university website and public notices. Whilst such a policy decision is a positive development it is in itself clearly not an adequate policy decision. It is essential that provision also be made to develop the elected African language(s) as a language of academic use through, for example, requiring staff to contribute to technical term development and, even, to use it for academic development purposes in small working groups. The same arrangement could apply in the case of Afrikaans at universities where Afrikaans is not a major consideration.

5. How should the Revitalisation of Afrikaans in the Tertiary Sector be Managed?²⁹

Given the demise of Afrikaans and the need to re-instate it as a university language, it is necessary to devise strategies to achieve this re-instatement. To do so, it may first be helpful to take note of some of the challenges facing a programme directed at reviving Afrikaans as tertiary language. These

²⁹ As one reviewer pointed out: it is necessary to take note of the 'apparent inability of the South African government to honour constitutional rights, particularly where language rights are concerned'. This is indeed a serious (but complicated) matter.

challenges include the overwhelming strength of English supported by the market-driven economy of the country and globalisation; the large demand for English following the radical demographic transformation of South African universities; the negative social meaning of Afrikaans nationally; the loss of coherence in the white Afrikaans community (see Giliomee & Schlemmer 2006: 33) and the absence of an *inclusive* Afrikaans-speaking community (Webb 2010a); the low status of African languages and the lack of meaningful support for their promotion among their own speakers; the lack of interest in the public promotion of multilingualism and a lack of understanding among academic staff of the fundamental role of language in education. Each of these challenges needs to be addressed in any strategy directed at restoring Afrikaans in higher education (and, ultimately, developing the African languages as university languages).

In devising strategies for the revitalisation of Afrikaans in the tertiary sector it is essential that the fact be accepted that the Afrikaans-speaking community is a minority, with very little economic, social or political power; that their interests are not a priority in the country and that they cannot, in reality, expect any meaningful support from government. Despite the state's responsibility to protect the rights and interests of its citizens, including those of the Afrikaans community, *in practice* they cannot rely on existing official stipulations, regulations, or even official structures for meaningful support. An example of the ineffectiveness of official stipulations with reference to language promotion in the tertiary sector is the issue of language rights. Although the constitution explicitly recognises the rights of linguistic communities (in addition to religious and cultural communities), that is, group rights, the constitution gives priority to individual rights. Whilst individuals can exercise their linguistic rights through complaints to PanSALB, linguistic rights cannot play any significant role in promoting Afrikaans as a university language.

With this point of departure in mind, it is clear that the *first* strategy for university management teams is to formulate appropriate language policies (as required by government prescription), describing in clear terms what the role of Afrikaans (and the African languages) will be in the university. Language policies alone, however, are of no value at all, without being accompanied by an implementation plan and a clear prescription of procedures and mechanisms for managing and monitoring the language plan

of implementation³⁰. In addition, universities also need to have the necessary infra-structural capacity available, such as a language planning manager, a language centre, a language ombudsman and language practitioners such as translators, interpreters and editors. University language policies can vary of course, from rather vague statements of intent to quite specific prescriptions about language choice and language use. The Universities of Helsinki and Ottawa, for example, prescribe the MoI to be used in the university by statute (or policy regulations), whilst in Belgium the use of Dutch, French and German in the designated territories is prescribed by (a 1963) law.

A *second* strategy is that universities must be in constant (and preferably public) debate with the government. In a situation where public universities are largely dependent on government funding it is quite clearly the responsibility of the government to provide the financial resources for developing multilingual universities. Given South Africa's constitutional commitment to pluralism and thus multilingualism, the government has no option but to provide the required support, albeit initially on a small scale³¹.

A *third* strategy, specifically directed at the re-instatement of Afrikaans, is that Afrikaans activists (such as persons involved in the newly established Afrikaanse Taalraad—Afrikaans Language Council, and the numerous associated institutions) need to consider establishing collaborative links with activists in other language communities. To do this, of course, it will be necessary to convince potential collaborators that a pro-Afrikaans movement is not directed at serving the exclusive interests of a minority group and that it is, in effect, also directed at contributing to the promotion of

³⁰ A former language policy of the University of Pretoria directed specifically at safeguarding the role of Afrikaans (in a policy of bilingualism, alongside English), failed because the University underestimated the power of market forces (see Webb 2008).

³¹ One of the reviewers of this article quite rightly made the following comment: 'The dilemma that all universities have to face is that the state and the various political parties do not actively participate in providing adequate legislation or leadership in protecting the different South African languages in higher education. Universities are expected to take sole responsibility for devising fair language policies and the politicians remain silent' (about the rights of communities to receive higher education in their home languages).

the African languages; that it is furthermore committed to multilingualism, and is therefore geared towards contributing to the realisation of the country's national ideals, development and social transformation.

A *fourth* strategy is to give explicit support to and acceptance of the importance of English in public life, that is, to avoid conveying the impression that a pro-Afrikaans (and pro-African language) programme is in any way an anti-English action. This implies that the role of Afrikaans (and the African languages) in tertiary education will be determined within the context of bilingual education (generally English and a language other than English).

Fifthly, the top-down approach to policy implementation usually followed in language planning must necessarily be complemented by a bottom-up approach³². This means essentially that the support of students and staff must be obtained³³. This implies, on one hand, that members of the teaching staff need to understand the fundamental role of language in educational development³⁴, and, on the other, that the use of Afrikaans (and/or an African language) as MoI should not detract from academics' right to do research. Important, also, is that staff and students be helped to

³² It is true, as one reviewer commented: 'It was only once the UK government passed the Welsh language act that universities in Wales (e.g. Cardiff, Bangor and Aberystwyth) started to make significant progress in introducing Welsh as a medium of instruction.' On the other hand, the Welsh Language Act was probably only passed by the UK government due to considerable pressure from Welsh activists (with community support).

³³ In the case of African languages it will be a major challenge to obtain the support of students, as Pare showed with reference to Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho, Tswana, Venda and Zulu (the home languages of the students) in a first-year Physics test: no student found the use of his/her home language alone in a (monolingual) test in Physics useful, whereas less than half of the students found the use of their languages in a bilingual test paper useful (Pare, 2008: 106).

³⁴ And that the approach called 'Content and Language Integrated Learning' (CLIL)—where all lecturers explicitly give attention to the development of students' discipline-related language skills along with their acquisition of course content, be adopted as university policy.

understand that the language debate is not primarily concerned with language as such, but deals with the interests and well-being of people and communities, institutionally, locally, regionally and nationally.

6. Conclusion

The demise of Afrikaans as a university language is the consequence of deep, underlying social, economic and political forces, and can therefore not be turned around through a series of policy decisions and strategies (at whatever level). To re-instate Afrikaans (as well as promoting the African languages) at tertiary level will be a long-term process, requiring, firstly, establishing an ideology of multilingualism and increasing people's respect for difference, and secondly, requiring an increase in the social, economic and political value of Afrikaans and the African languages, which would then lead to the necessary changed language attitudes.

It is certain, also, that such a revitalisation programme will be a costly affair. However, if one considers,

- the unambiguous constitutional imperatives (and the stipulations in the government's language policy for higher education);
- the (invisible) costs of *not* implementing multilingual policies, that is, the costs of providing training only in a second or even a 'foreign' language (which has demonstrably led to poor educational development—limited knowledge and underdeveloped cognitive skills in the workplace); and
- the (economic) benefits of a multilingual dispensation (more effective training, higher productivity and increased self-esteem and self-confidence),

universities have little choice in the matter.

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A Critical Comparison of Legal Interventions Regarding the Officiality of Languages in Israel and South Africa

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Abstract

Language legislation is increasingly being accorded a central role in managing language contact, addressing language inequality and language conflict, and legitimising recognised official languages within multilingual settings. In many cases language legislation takes the form of a central language act, such as the *Welsh Language Act* (1993), while in other cases, primary and secondary language legislation become important legal instruments in regulating official languages. Primary language legislation can take the form of constitutional provisions on language or language provisions in ordinary legislation passed by legislatures. Secondary language legislation can be found in regulations and other measures on language guiding governmental treatment of official languages. However, a further aspect of legal intervention that is not always considered in discussions about language legislation is case law on language. Case law has proved to play a prominent role in correcting tendencies towards the non-implementation of measures to ensure language equality, such as in the instance of Arabic in Israel. A similar situation is found in South Africa where case law complements language legislation in different domains of official language use. This article provides a comparative perspective on language legislation and case law on language as two forms of legal intervention in language officialisation.

Keywords: Language legalisation, case law on language, language policy,

language officialisation, language planning, language rights.

Introduction

Larrivée (2003:188) considers Israel to be ‘one of the success stories of language planning’ alongside of two others, Catalonia and Quebec. A notable feature of language planning in regions such as Catalonia and Quebec, as well as the Baltic States, Finland, Ireland, Wales and Scotland (Hogan-Brun *et al.* 2008; Williams 2008) is the central role that language legislation plays, particularly in the form of a central language act. The *Welsh Language Act* (Welsh Language Act 1993) is a typical example of a central language act and in fact serves as a model for the language acts of other countries (Dunbar 2006). By comparison, however, language planning in Israel is not underpinned by a similar language act. Other forms of legal intervention seem to be contributing to the ‘success’ of language planning in this relatively young state. In similar vein, South Africa, another young democratic state, is often seen as the language planning success story of Africa. Smitherman (2000:87) for instance writes: ‘I applaud South Africa’s national language policy and see it as a major step forward in the decolonisation of the minds of Black South Africans’. Attempts at promulgating the *South African Languages Bill* (DAC 2000) as a language act have failed. As in the case of Israel, the status, function and use of the official languages of South Africa are regulated through other forms of legal intervention. Whether one agrees or disagrees with such appraisals and whether they are well founded or not, the fact is that some form of legal intervention undeniably played a role in establishing the official language regimes after the ‘rebirth’ of the states of Israel and South Africa. As the legal treatment of (official) languages differs according to circumstances (Gibbons 1999:163) a comparative study can reveal useful insights into the different forms of legal intervention regarding language in these two states. Such insights could shed more light on the commonly held perceptions above about the ‘successes’ of language planning, given the central role that language legislation has been accorded in managing language contact, addressing language inequality and resolving language conflict (Turi 1993:6), and in legitimising recognised official languages (Williams 2008:172).

The study that follows, attempts to offer a comparative perspective on legal intervention¹ as mechanism of language policy (Deutch 2005; Foucher 2007) in two post World War II states without a central language act. Both Israel and South Africa are multilingual states where the official language dispensation has undergone significant changes during the 20th and 21st centuries. The official language regime of Israel changed from a predominantly trilingual one (English/Arabic/Hebrew) at the start of the 20th century to a predominantly monolingual Hebrew regime after 1948, despite the fact that an indigenous language (Arabic) had been awarded official status. In the case of South Africa the official language regime changed from a predominantly monolingual English one at the start of the 20th century, to a predominantly English/Afrikaans bilingual one during the apartheid era (in the period after 1948), to a predominantly monolingual one since 1994, despite the fact that more than one language (including indigenous ones) have been declared official. A striking similarity can be found towards the latter part of the 20th century where both states overtly opted for more official languages, including indigenous languages, but covertly were seen to be promoting essentially one language. In the case of Israel this language is Hebrew and in the case of South Africa it has become English.

Legal Intervention as Mechanism of Language Policy

Legal intervention in language policy is usually associated with language legislation, defined by Turi (1993:6) as ‘legal language obligations and language rights’ (Ruíz 1988) drawn up to protect, defend or promote one or several designated languages. Besides distinguishing between legislation that deals with the official or non-official usage of languages, Turi (1993:7) also identifies four types of language legislation: officialising, normalising, standardising or liberalising language legislation.

Officialising language legislation is intended to make one or more designated languages official in the domains of legislation, the judiciary, public administration and education, what Williams (2003:45) describes as ‘key domains’ or Williams (2008:162) as ‘key strategic areas’. According to Turi (1993:8), officialising language legislation is usually organised in terms

¹ Williams (2008:172) prefers the concept ‘legal system’.

of two principles, linguistic territoriality (legal rules regarding the use of one or more designated languages within a given territory) or linguistic personality (legal rules about the use of one's own language). Normalising language legislation is intended to establish one or more designated languages as 'normal, usual or common languages' in the unofficial domains of labour, communications, culture, commerce and business. Standardising language legislation is intended to make one or more designated languages adhere to certain language standards in very specific domains, usually official or highly technical. Liberalising language legislation is intended to enshrine legal recognition of language rights implicitly or explicitly, 'in one way or another' (Turi 1993:8).

Williams (2008:162) similarly distinguishes between institutionalising language legislation (ensuring the representation of languages in the key domains or strategic areas) and normalising language legislation (extending the use of the designated languages 'into the optimum range of social situations', including the domains mentioned above).

Officialising or institutionalising language legislation can also refer to what Saban and Amara (2004:17) understand as the 'officiality' of languages, in other words legal arrangements regarding the official status of one or more languages. Shohamy (2006:61-63) treats officiality in a wider sense as a language policy device used to grant preference to certain languages in given territories and to remove power from the use of other languages. According to her, officiality can be determined by language legislation, but can also materialise through sanctioning a particular language in the public domain using a variety of agents, not only governmental authorities.

Turi (1993:7) discusses three ways of attaining 'officiality' that relate to Shohamy's view:

- formally designating specific languages as official languages (or 'national' languages) by means of a country's constitution or another form of legal text of national importance;
- designating specific languages as 'the languages' in certain official domains such as allowing a non-official language within education, as in the case of Spanish in the USA and South African Sign Language in South Africa; and

- granting languages superior status in comparison to other languages, for example accepting only one language version of a legal text as authentic, or limiting language requirements for obtaining citizenship (requiring for instance competency in only one of the official languages of a country).

So far we have largely dealt with what can be referred to as ‘primary language legislation’, usually understood as language legislation made by the legislative branch of government (the legislature). As Deutch (2005:264) remarks, this would refer primarily to laws, some dealing with the use of designated languages *per se*, such as Quebec’s *Charter of the French Language* (Q.C.L.F. 1978), and others dealing with language in passing, such as South Africa’s *Broadcasting Act* (RSA 1999). ‘Additional primary language legislation’ covers legal provisions that expound upon basic primary language legislation and includes constitutional provisions on language. ‘Secondary language legislation’ would then refer to language legislation made by the executive branch of government that incorporates rules, regulations and ordinances pertaining to the use of designated languages published in notices and other legal documents (Deutch 2005:264).

Turi (1993:7-8) stresses that the designation of official languages ‘does not necessarily or automatically entail major legal consequences’. Officiality will largely depend on the ‘effective legal treatment’ of designated official languages. Shohamy (2006:61-63) concurs. The mere declaration of official languages does not guarantee officiality in practice; more often than not it mostly reflects intentions. As a legal arrangement or ‘language policy mechanism’ officiality does offer legal recourse in a court of law and can strengthen rights pertaining to ‘weaker’ languages. The legal system remains the ‘bulwark for the defence of justice’ and a major ‘instrument for the articulation of language rights and services’, writes Williams (2008:172). Canada has shown that the courts can become ‘a major bastion’ for the protection and promotion of language rights, a position that is supported by the careful analysis of Dor and Hofnung (2006). Williams (2008:172) argues that ‘language-related legislation is a *sine qua non* for the establishment of a binding commitment by the state to honour the putative rights of speakers of officially recognised languages’ and states that language

legislation becomes ‘the basis by which the growth of deliberative democracy is enabled’.

Legal intervention in language policy should thus not conclude with legislation. Following Deutch (2005:264) we can broaden our understanding by taking into consideration case law. Case law reflects the interpretation of laws by the courts of a country and deals with current issues not regulated by law (Walker 1980:190). Deutch demonstrates how case law in Israel is contributing to language policy-making and how the concept of officiality is being articulated in the process. Dor and Hofnung (2006) discuss litigation as another form of ‘language policy-making’ or legal intervention. However, language litigation is possibly also the most successful instrument of language activism (Martel 1999; Lubbe 2004; Du Plessis 2006). In terms hereof litigation is not a legislative process, but a process one step removed which, if successful, could result in language legislation. For the purposes of the discussion below we shall maintain this distinction.

The means to change the status of a language can also refer to what Shohamy (2006:54) calls mechanisms of language policy, ‘overt and covert devices that are used as the means for affecting, creating and perpetuating de facto language policies’. Rules and regulations are the most commonly used language policy mechanisms and include policy devices such as language laws and officiality. To these we can add case law. Deutch (2005:283-284) states that the combination of language legislation and case law can deepen our understanding of language policy and how the legislature and judiciary deal with the language rights of individuals and minority groups.

Given the growing interest in the legal system as an instrument of language rights, it has become important to measure the effectiveness of language legislation. Dunbar (in Williams, 2008:173) has developed a framework for evaluating the level of implementation. Williams (2008:389) mentions the European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages (EBLUL) monitoring project, ‘From Act to Action’, as an example of the evaluation of the instruments of language legislation in the public sector. His study investigates the level of coherence between the legislative and administrative systems in three countries, Finland, Ireland and Wales. All three countries have a central language act that legislates language use in the official language domains. The project analyses the relation between rights granted (through legislation), public services rendered and the monitoring or

regulatory mechanisms in place in each country. One of the central findings from this project is that each country has adopted different mechanisms. However, the overall challenges remain similar, namely the quest for language equality.

Legal Intervention in the Language Situation of Israel and South Africa

The approach of this article is to focus on the role and nature of legal instruments as mechanisms of language policy in Israel and South Africa. As mentioned earlier neither country has a central language act as legal instrument. A comparison will be made of the effect of institutionalising and normalising legislation on language policy in the key strategic domains of legislation, the judiciary, public administration and education. Since the two states are in transition, the focus will be on officialising language legislation and similar legal interventions in terms of primary and secondary language legislation. Case law will also be considered. The objective is to establish the role of different types of legal intervention in officialising the languages of the two countries.

Two major questions that will be asked is what legislative directives were provided for the treatment of the official languages in each of the key language domains and whether this intervention contributed to promoting and ensuring language equality.

The comparison below draws largely on current studies in the field regarding legal intervention and the officialisation of languages in Israel and South Africa.

Legal Intervention and the Officialisation of Languages in Israel

Deutch (2005) serves as point of departure for the overview on legal instruments regarding language in Israel². He in turn draws on the work of

² As the author is not fluent in reading Hebrew, it was necessary to rely on secondary sources such as the one referred to.

Tabory (1981), Amara (2002), Amara and Mar'i (2002), Saban (2004), Saban and Amara (2004), but his study is the first publication that provides a comprehensive overview of both Israeli language legislation and case law on language. Deutch (2005:284) concludes that language legislation and case law in Israel 'demonstrate the sensitivity of the legislature and the courts to language rights of individuals', an issue that is not pertinently covered in Israeli primary language legislation discussed below. More recent studies build on the preceding work, but present a different perspective. For instance, Harel-Shalev (2006:46) argues that despite the sensitivity to the rights of individuals, Jews enjoy 'more numerous collective rights' and 'despite the formal rights granted to the Arab minority by law, the latter's share in national centers of power remains limited'. The official status of Arabic is therefore effectively 'downplayed' by the Israeli state. By implication, legal intervention has not really contributed to ensuring equality in the status of Hebrew and Arabic. Yitzhaki (2008:6-10) aptly summarises this as follows:

In summary, Arabic's public role in Israel is marginal. Legislation aimed at preserving or promoting its status exists in parallel to a monolingual type of legislation that seeks to strengthen the role of Hebrew. Moreover, pro-Arabic legislation and arrangements are in many cases not put into practice and the authorities' failure to implement pro-Arabic policies is often not viewed by the court as a violation of the law.

Israeli Language Legislation

As far as primary language legislation is concerned, authors distinguish between 'founding' legislation (such as a language act) and 'ordinary' legislation (not essentially legislation dealing with language but where some central language provisions can be found).

Since Israel does not have a constitution determining the status of its official languages, the officiality of Hebrew and Arabic is considered by some to be a legacy from the British Mandate period. Before the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, three languages enjoyed official status in Palestine—an area including contemporary Israel i.e. English,

Arabic and Hebrew (in that order). This arrangement was done in terms of Article 22 of the *Palestine Mandate* of 1922³ which provided for the equal treatment of Arabic and Hebrew within specified domains. The *Palestine Order-in-Council* of 1922 condoned this status and extended its provisions on language treatment in Article 82. In their appraisal Saban and Amara (2004:7) find that the extension in this article does three things:

- 1) It defines the obligations regarding the languages in which the *Central Government* must carry out central functions.
- 2) It sets down the languages in which official notices must be issued by the *local authorities*.
- 3) It names the languages in which an individual can access the *public service* of the central government including the law courts.

Consequently, Saban and Amara (2004:7) argue that any discussion on the legal status of the languages of Israel should start with Article 82 of the *Palestine Order-in-Council* of 1922⁴, one of the founding documents of the state of Israel. However, Deutch (2005:269) argues that Article 82 also established a language hierarchy where English remained the dominant official language. When legal disputes arose during the Mandate period, the English text was authoritative. According to Deutch this tradition continued after 1948 in the case of Hebrew, with Hebrew replacing English as the dominant language.

³ Article 22. English, Arabic and Hebrew shall be the official languages of Palestine. Any statement or inscription in Arabic on stamps or money in Palestine shall be repeated in Hebrew and any statement or inscription in Hebrew shall be repeated in Arabic.

⁴ 82. All ordinances, official notices and official forms of the Government and all official notices of local authorities and municipalities in areas to be prescribed by order of the High Commissioner, shall be published in English, Arabic and Hebrew. The three languages may be used in debates and discussions in the Legislative Council, and, subject to any regulations to be made from time to time, in the Government offices and the Law Courts.

Other overviews of language legislation in Israel seem to concur with the view held by Saban and Amara (Tabory 1981; Amara & Mar'i 2002; Deutch 2005; Harel-Shalev 2006).

The *Israeli Declaration of Independence* (1948) which defines the character of the new state as a Jewish state is another example of founding legislation (Deutch 2005:264). Although it makes no explicit reference to official languages, Hebrew is mentioned in relation to its revival, implying its centrality within the Jewish state.

There are questions about the validity of using the 'founding' documents as legal grounds for the co-officiality of Hebrew and Arabic. For instance, authors such as Saban and Amara (2004), Deutch (2005) and Harel-Shalev (2006) point out that in case law on language and language litigation, the Supreme Court is hesitant to grant language rights on the basis of officiality. Deutch (2005:266) argues that the two 'founding' documents mentioned here lack legal authority, implying that they cannot support claims about co-official status. Saban and Amara (2004:17) ascribe this to the fact that Article 82 forms part of a mere statute and not of a constitution. Following Deutch (2005:266) we may group additional primary language legislation in Israel after 1948 into two categories, legislation confirming Hebrew supremacy and legislation determining Arabic minority status.

Hebrew supremacy is confirmed by three pieces of language legislation which Tabory (1981:276) refers to as 'basic' acts that 'regulate the use of languages as a legal and practical matter in Israel'. The first is *The Law and Administration Ordinance* of 1948 (Deutch 2005:265), which effectively repeals English as the third official language of Israel. The second is the *Interpretation Law* (1981), which rules that the binding text of any law is the text in the language in which it was enacted. The third piece of legislation is the *Nationality Law* (1952), which explicitly requires 'some knowledge of the Hebrew language' as a condition for naturalisation.

The minority status of Arabic can be deduced from a variety of further acts. The peculiarity of these acts is that they contain provisions requiring the explicit public use of Arabic in addition to Hebrew, effectively determining the minority status of Arabic. These are acts that deal with matters such as the publication of official notices, permits and orders which must also be done in Arabic as can be found in provisions of the *Planning and Building Law* (1965), *Banking (Service to Customers) Law* (1981) and

the *Control of Prices of Products and Services Law* (1996), etc. Some acts also deal with the use of Arabic on ballot slips, such as the *Knesset Election Law (Consolidated Text)* (1964) and the *Local Authorities Law* (1975), that require ballot slips to be in Hebrew or Arabic only. The fact that special legal arrangements are required for Arabic confirms its subsidiary official status, although in principle these arrangements do ensure the equal treatment of Arabic. Deutch (2005:275) argues that the additional language legislation discussed above gives an indication of 'positive group differentiated language rights granted to the Arab minority in a wide range of areas'. These laws substantiate a language policy which accommodates the language needs of the Arab minority, 'while strictly avoiding the national aspect'. The 'national aspect' is a reference to the recognition of Arabic as fully-fledged co-official language of the state of Israel. Arabic legally enjoys 'limited' official status, whilst Hebrew effectively enjoys status as 'national language' (Amara & Mar'i 2002:141). For the latter authors, 'Arabic is an official language, but mainly at the declarative level', in other words its officiality is limited to specific functions.

Secondary language legislation seems to be continuing the above trends. Saban and Amara (2004:25) and Deutch (2005:274) refer to regulations regarding official language use in notices and other official communiqués, such as the *Notary Regulation* (1977), which requires confirmation on a notary in Hebrew or in Arabic, the *Tenders Requirement Regulations* (1993), which obligates authorities to publish notices of governmental tenders in Arabic as well as Hebrew and the *Consumer Protection Regulations* (2002) which require cellular phone companies to disclose information on radiation hazards in a leaflet also in Arabic. A letter of the Attorney General to the legal counsels of the government ministries dated November 17, 1999, instructs government offices to publish notices inviting civil bodies to apply for state funding in Arabic, as well as Hebrew.

The language legislation discussed above deals with the use of the official languages in the domains of legislation, the judiciary and public administration. No primary legislation pertinently regulates the use of official languages in education. This is done through secondary language legislation in the form of a language-in-education policy document which was first issued in 1995 and re-issued in revised form in 1996 (Spolsky & Shohamy 1999:27). Hebrew and Arabic are to be used as official media of

instruction in single-medium schools. Both official languages are to be taught as second languages, but not at the same levels — Hebrew is compulsory until the end of secondary education, an arrangement that again confirms the supremacy of this language.

The above overview points to a kind of sanctioned inequality of official languages. Primary language legislation serves to confirm Hebrew supremacy on the one hand, and to confirm the subordinate official status of Arabic on the other hand. Secondary language legislation serves to entrench further the latter position. As Spolsky and Shohamy (1999:118) aptly put it, ‘the legal situation of languages in Israel is far from straightforward’.

Israeli Case Law on Language

Authors such as Saban and Amara (2004), Deutch (2005) and Harel-Shalev (2006) point out that in case law on language, the Supreme Court is hesitant to grant language rights on the basis of officiality.

According to Deutch (2005:276ff) Israeli case law provides further evidence on the official language hierarchy of Israel. Three Supreme Court cases are usually cited as containing important decisions on and implications for (official) language use in Israel (Saban & Amara 2004:24). Two of these cases, *Re'em Engineers and Contractors Ltd. v. Upper Nazareth Municipality* (C.A. 105/92, P.D. 47(5) 189) and *Adallah Legal Center for the Rights of the Israeli Arab Minority v. the Tel Aviv-Jaffa Council* (H.C.4112/99, P.D. 56(5) 393), deal with the regulation of language visibility on municipal bill boards and street signs in both official languages, and one case, *Meri v. Sabac* (M.C.A. 12/99, P.D. 53(2) 128), with the use of official languages on the ballot slip. In the cases dealing with language visibility the Supreme Court granted the right to use Arabic on billboards and street name signs in mixed cities with a minority of Arab residents. In the case of Arabic on a ballot slip, Court recognized the legitimacy of an Arab voter to write the letter on the ballot slip solely in Arabic. Deutch (2005:279) emphasises that the rationale for the ruling was not the official status of Arabic but the use of Arabic as minority language. In fact, when the Court mentioned the status of Arabic as an official language, it claimed that this status was not unanimously accepted.

Discussion

The overall impression gained by this overview of developments in the Israeli legal domain is an ambiguity regarding the official status of Arabic. Does the language enjoy full status as co-official language alongside of Hebrew (as national language), or does it enjoy limited official status (as minority official language)? This uncertainty can partly be ascribed to the relative absence of primary language legislation on the official languages of Israel. The selected language legislation mentioned in this overview points to a disparity in status between the languages which can also be ascribed to a hesitancy to recognise the legitimacy of Arabic as official language. Yitzhaki (2008:100) provides an illuminating discussion on this ambiguity.

Perhaps the strongest evidence about the subsidiary status of Arabic is the complete absence of laws and rules regarding official bilingualism. In countries with two official languages, such as Canada and Belgium (and apartheid South Africa), laws and rules constitute the cornerstone of legal arrangements regarding official languages. Overviews on language-in-education policy (Amara 2002; Amara & Mar'i 2002; Shohamy 2006: 84) allude to this weakness in the case of Israel. There is no overt language policy that obligates all Israeli citizens to learn the two official languages at the same level at school (Yitzhaki 2008:8; Spolsky & Shohamy 1999:138-152). In practice, the policy is a failure. In fact, the dominance of Hebrew in Israeli society has contributed to asymmetrical and incongruent bilingualism — Arabic children learn Hebrew as second language, while a large portion of Hebrew children rather learn French as second language.

Most striking about this overview of legal arrangements regarding the official languages of Israel is the prominent role of language litigation in defining the official status of Arabic. Saban and Amara (2004:24) appraise this aspect as follows:

It is a pattern to be remembered: the promise inherent in Law (here, the legal status of Arabic) will only be realized if the minority will insist upon its materialization. Left to its own devices the State has taken no positive steps, initiated no policy to actively close the gap that has evolved over the years between the legal and the sociopolitical status of Arabic.

Legal Intervention and the Officialisation of Languages in South Africa

South African studies similar to the work of Deutch (2005), which deal with both language legislation and case law on language, are less prominent and quite specific. Malherbe (1997) provides an early overview on language legislation and case law on language in education. A more comprehensive overview on the same topic is provided in the recent study of Woolman and Fleisch (2009). The overview by Cowling (2007) deals with legal intervention regarding language in court, as does the one by Malan (2009b). At this stage no study presents a general overview and analysis. Some further studies deal primarily with case law on language, again focusing primarily on specific domains. Authors such as Visser (1997), Kriel (1997) and Lubbe (2004) deal with case law on language in education, whilst Matela (1999) and Hlophe (2000) deal with case law on language in court. The findings of these studies indicate that legal intervention in language in South Africa is not contributing to equitability in status as far as the official languages are concerned.

South African Language Legislation

South Africa has a constitution which contains several provisions on the official languages. Central to these is a so-called language clause, Section 6 (RSA 1996) which declares 11 languages official. Although there is uncertainty about the exact implications of this declaration (Rautenbach & Malherbe 2004:103), it indicates which languages are to be used for official purposes. Previous constitutions (going back to the foundation of the South African state in 1910) recognised two official languages at national level (English and Afrikaans)⁵ and nine Bantu languages at regional level (Du Plessis 2000). The official languages at national level were treated on an equal basis. However, the new language clause has moved away from this principle of language equality and introduced two new sets of norms, equitable treatment and parity of esteem. Rautenbach and Malherbe

⁵ Only since 1925. Until that stage Dutch was recognised as co-official language.

(2004:103-104) point out that in terms of these norms, the official languages must receive recognition in government activities. Further, no one language may dominate at the expense of the others and no language is to be neglected. They go on to argue why the notion of an ‘anchor’ language used in conjunction with some other languages (on a rotational basis) would be wrong and emphasise the constitutional requirement for government to function in an equitable multilingual way.

Section 6(4) of the Constitution is especially important as it requires national and provincial government to regulate and monitor its use of official languages by legislation and other measures. This clause effectively recognises the limitations of the language clause in regulating the day-to-day language matters, hence the need for further language legislation. The *South African Languages Bill* (DAC 2000) is an example of such an attempt. However, it has never been promulgated into law.

Section 6 of the South African constitution provides for language use in the four key language domains. Further clauses deal with specific aspects. The use of language in the court is covered in Section 35(3)(k) which grants the right to a trial in a language that the accused understands and the use of interpreting services where this is not possible. The use of language in education is addressed in Section 29(2) which grants the right to education in the official language of choice and the establishment of single-medium schools.

One of the prominent features of Section 6 and the other language clauses is the shift away from the principle of language equality (the basis of the language clauses of the previous constitutions since 1909). Other notable features are the level of ambiguity and lack of legal force contained in the language provisions (Pretorius 1999; Rautenbach & Malherbe 2004; Currie 2006). Seemingly, great care has been taken to avoid prescriptive language.

We shall now consider South Africa’s equivalent to Israel’s two cardinal laws regarding language use, the *Interpretation Law* (1981) and the *Nationality Law* (1952). These acts played a central role in establishing Hebrew as the dominant and *de facto* singular official language of Israel.

South Africa does not have a law to equal the former Israeli law. The equivalent provision regarding the equal treatment of English and Afrikaans from the 1983 constitution, the basis for ‘statutory bilingualism’ (Devenish 1990), has not been taken up in the 1996 constitution. The same principle

with regard to the recognition of a legal text in a particular language does apply, i.e. that only the legal text in a language specified for that purpose is taken as authoritative in the case of disputes that may arise. The current convention in South Africa is that the language of a bill is determined by the state department that is introducing it⁶.

According to Malan (2009a) the time-honoured convention of alternating in legislation between the two erstwhile official languages, English and Afrikaans (Devenish 1990:441) has been discontinued and it has become customary to sign primarily the English version of new laws.

South Africa's equivalent of Israel's *Nationality Law* (1952) is the *South African Citizenship Act* (RSA 1995). (Interestingly, on 28 September 1995 the President signed the Afrikaans text of the act). A provision of this act under the section that deals with naturalisation requires a new citizen to have a command of only one official language:

Section 5. (1) The Minister may, upon application in the prescribed form, grant a certificate of naturalisation as a South African citizen to any alien who satisfies the Minister that-... (f) he or she is able to communicate in any one of the official languages of the Republic to the satisfaction of the Minister; and ...

The notable aspect of this provision is the lack of specification of language. This is in contradiction to the naturalisation requirements of some other African states. Harrington (2008:9) points out that these states usually specify that the required language be an indigenous language. Another

⁶ 'Joint Rule 220 of the South African Parliament provides that any bill must be in one of the official languages. The language in which a bill is introduced is the official text for the purposes of parliamentary proceedings. The official text of the bill must be translated into at least one of the other official languages before the official text is sent to the President for assent, and the official translation/s must accompany the official text. The department that submits the bill decides on the languages in which the bills are submitted and is responsible for translating and submitting the documents' (Correspondence to the author from the Information Services of the South African Parliament provided per e-mail on 2009/03/26.)

problem is that the provision effectively undermines South Africa's language-in-education policy which requires additive bilingualism, albeit without prescribing in which two languages. The current provision in the South African act thus opens the door for a market-driven approach to language choice which could favour dominant languages, given the strong link between 'destination (dominant) language proficiency, employment status and earnings' (Deumert 2006:78-79). According to the latter author, in the South African case English is becoming that language. On the other hand, the requirement of knowledge of one official language could also be ascribed to the difference between 'language right' and 'language status' as discussed by Davis, Cheadle and Haysom (1997:280), with the first-mentioned aspect relating to the legal position of the individual and the latter to the legal position of an official language.

Both Israel and South Africa do not specify any particular official language as medium for the purposes of sanctioning laws. In principle the choice is left open, implying that none of the official languages of these two countries are being advantaged. South Africa has adopted the same non-prescriptive approach regarding the language requirements for naturalisation. Israel, on the other hand, does specify knowledge of Hebrew and by implication thus favours this language as the preferential official language of the state. In the end South Africa's non-specification could lead to a market-driven approach that would favour the dominant official language, English.

As it would not be possible to find exact equivalents for all the examples of secondary language legislation from Israel discussed above, we shall rather look at some of the more prominent South African examples and identify tendencies regarding the treatment of the official languages that will correspond to the Israeli case.

Education is one of the more prominent areas in which South Africa has passed language legislation since 1994. This has also been a domain of ongoing language conflict since the days of so-called Bantu Education, an education system that enforced mother tongue tuition in primary education for black South Africans, and the two erstwhile official languages as sole media of instruction in secondary and tertiary education (Du Plessis 2003).

Four South African education acts contain provisions on language,

i.e. the *National Education Policy Act* (RSA 1996), the *South African Schools Act* (RSA 1996), the *Higher Education Act* (RSA 1997) and the *Further Education and Training Act* (RSA 2006). These acts complement the provisions on language and education contained in Section 29 of the South African constitution.

Section 3 of the *National Education Policy Act* (RSA 1996) deals with the principle of governance regarding language-in-education policy and grants core language rights in education. The act makes provision for the Minister to determine national education policy. One of the areas of determination is listed under Section 3(4)(m) as national policy on 'language in education'. Section 4 deals with rights in education. Particularly Section 4(a)(v) determines that the policy contemplated in Section 3 shall ensure among others, the right 'of every student to be instructed in the language of his or her choice where this is reasonably practicable'. Section 4(a)(vii) furthermore ensures the right 'of every person to establish, where practicable, education institutions based on a common language, culture or religion, as long as there is no discrimination on the ground of race'; whilst Section 4(a)(viii) ensures the right 'of every person to use the language and participate in the cultural life of his or her choice within an education institution'.

The *South African Schools Act* (RSA 1996) expounds upon governance issues. Section 6 of this act, entitled 'Language policy of public schools', provides for the actual procedure the Minister should follow to 'determine norms and standards for language policy in public schools' (Section 6(1)) and determines the role of the governing body of the school to 'determine the language policy of the school' (6(2)). It also grants further rights by prohibiting any form of racial discrimination 'in implementing policy determined under this section' (6(3)) and by declaring South African Sign Language to be considered an official language for the 'purposes of learning at a public school' (6(4)).

Issues of governance of language-in-education policy are also addressed in the *Higher Education Act* (RSA 1997). Section 5 of this act provides for the establishment of a Council on Higher Education (CHE) which may advise the Minister on language policy (Section 5(2)(i)). Section 27(2) provides that the Minister will determine language policy for higher education and once this has been done, the council of the higher education

institution, ‘with the concurrence of the senate, must determine the language policy of a public higher education institution and must publish and make it available on request’⁷.

The provisions discussed here reflect a tendency of avoiding a prescriptive approach to language rights. Emphasis is placed on the right of choice and on avoiding discrimination on the basis of language and using language as a barrier to access. One of the consequences of this hesitancy is the failure to promote official bilingualism. Another feature relates to the governance of language-in-education policy where a mixture between a top-down and bottom-up approach is envisaged.

The striking feature of the examples of South African language legislation discussed is that no particular language is advanced as official language of preference. Instead, a rather open-ended approach is followed. Since such an approach lacks prescription, it almost amounts to a *laissez-faire* approach where the door is left open for market forces to determine language policy. This is not in keeping with the requirement of government to function in at least two official languages, a requirement that suggests a bilingual approach is to be followed (involving two official languages).

Secondary language legislation regarding education is found in government notices published to regulate language media in schools, as well as in language policy drafted to regulate language in higher education milieu.

In accordance with the *South African Schools Act* (RSA 1996), the Minister published the *Language-in-education policy 14 July 1997* as a notice in the *Government Gazette* (DoE 1997)⁸. This notice contains two subsections, one on the language-in-education policy (Section IV) and one on the norms and standards regarding language policy (Section V).

The stated objective of the first section is ‘to establish additive multilingualism as an approach to language in education’ (Section IV.C.2)⁹.

⁷ Department of Education 2002. Language Policy for Higher Education. November 2002.

⁸ A correction notice was published on 4 August 1997 (Notice 1700, *Government Gazette* No. 18546 of 1997).

⁹ The Department understands by ‘additive multilingualism’, ‘that learners reach high levels of proficiency in at least two languages, and that they are able to communicate in other languages’ (DoE 2002:20).

What is envisaged is essentially a system of bilingual education that will deliver a multilingual South African. The Department of Education wants to achieve this through the maintenance of the mother tongue ‘while providing access to and the effective acquisition of additional language(s)’ (DoE 1997:Section IV.A.5). The language-in-education policy provides for various options for the promotion of multilingualism.

The objective to achieve additive multilingualism is supported by two further sets of policy provisions, i.e. provisions on language of learning and teaching (medium of instruction) and provisions on language as a subject. It is obvious that these two sets of provisions should be interrelated. The policy regarding language of learning and teaching (LoLT) determines that this language must be an official language in public schools (Section IV.E). It further provides that parents are responsible for the choice of medium (Section V.B.1) and that the parent body is to determine the language policy of the school (Section V.C.1). (This policy must specifically stipulate how the school will promote multilingualism). The policy also sets minimum requirements in terms of student numbers which are to be used as a guide when dealing with requests from learners for another medium of instruction where that language is not offered by a school. The policy regarding language as subject (LaS) determines that all learners shall offer at least one approved language as a subject in Grade 1 and Grade 2 (Section IV.D.2) and that from Grade 3 they shall offer their language of learning and teaching and at least one additional approved language (Section IV.D.3). Two languages must be passed from Grade 10 to Grade 12, one at first language level and the second at least at second language level, and at least one of these must be an official language.

The languages to be offered in the final grades are not specified. What is also notable is that only one official language is required for the final grades. This is a serious shortcoming in terms of the stated objective of delivering multilingual South Africans. It is unclear how the Department of Education envisages achieving this objective through the current minimum requirement. A South African who leaves school qualified in only one South African language is surely not what the Department has in mind with its ideal of ‘being multilingual should be a defining characteristic of being South African’ (DoE 1997: Section IV.A.4). In fact, the LaS policy as a whole is actually more geared to promoting individual and not necessarily official

bilingualism (bilingualism in two official languages).

The *Language Policy for Higher Education* (DoE 2002) recognises English and Afrikaans as the only languages of instruction in higher education (par. 15.1), but rejects the continuation of monolingual Afrikaans-medium institutions (par. 15.4.3) and envisages a programme for the development of other South African languages as languages of instruction at this level (par. 15.2). Nevertheless, the *Language Policy for Higher Education* does not specifically prescribe bilingual higher education, but allows for Afrikaans to be retained ‘through a range of strategies, including the adoption of parallel and dual language medium options’ (par. 15.4.4). The historically Afrikaans-medium universities are furthermore required to submit plans indicating strategies and time-frames to ensure that the language of instruction does not hinder access to these institutions (par. 15.4.5). Universities are also required to develop strategies to promote efficiency in the designated language(s) of instruction (par. 15.3) and to offer programmes in South African languages and literature (par. 16), as well as in foreign languages (par. 17). The *Language Policy for Higher Education* also requires higher education to play a role in promoting multilingualism in institutional policies and practices (par. 18). Strategies to promote multilingualism are to be included in the three-year rolling plans that higher education institutions have to submit to the Minister of Education (par. 18.3). All such institutions are required to submit their language policies to the Minister (par. 20).

The examples of secondary language legislation discussed further confirm South Africa’s hesitancy to adopt a prescriptive approach to language management. Although no particular official language is favoured through this legislation, there is a suggestion that the established languages (English and Afrikaans) will be implicitly favoured; this is definitely the case in education (more specifically in higher education).

South African Case Law on Language

South African case law after 1994 deals primarily with two language rights issues, the use of language in court and the issue of single-medium schools. Case law regarding the use of language in court deals with the constitutional right in Section 35(3)(k) to be tried in a language which an accused person

understands or, where not practicable, to have the proceedings interpreted in that language. Case law regarding single-medium schools deals with the constitutional right in Section 29(2) obliging the state to consider all reasonable educational alternatives, including single-medium institutions, in order to realise the right to education in the official language or languages of choice in public educational institutions, given a set of conditions.

The use of language in court is dealt with in four cases, *Mthethwa v De Bruyn NO and another* (1998 (3) BCLR 336 (N)), *S v Matomela* (1998 (3) BCLR 339 (Ck)), *S v Pienaar* (2000 (7) BCLR 800 (NC)) and *S v Damoyi* (2004 (2) SA 564 (C)). These cases raise two cardinal questions. The first is whether it is permissible to conduct a court case in an official language other than Afrikaans and English, in other words a practice which is contrary to the language provisions of the *Magistrates' Courts Act* (RSA 1944). This act, which has not been repealed, provides for the two former official languages as languages of the South African court. The second question is to what extent an accused has the right to insist on a trial in a language he/she understands and whether such right includes the right to a trial in an official language which is the mother tongue of the accused.

The first case, *Mthethwa v De Bruyn NO and another* (1998 (3) BCLR 336 (N)), came before the High Court of KwaZulu/Natal (a predominantly Zulu-speaking province). The applicant, a mother tongue speaker of Zulu, requested a trial in Zulu, one of South Africa's official languages. The regional magistrate declined the request and directed that the case continue in Afrikaans and English. The applicant approached the High Court seeking an order declaring the refusal of the magistrate unlawful and unconstitutional. An order was also requested for him to be tried in the official language of his choice on the basis of Section 35(3)(k) of the RSA constitution. The application was dismissed with costs. The High Court pointed out that Section 35(3)(k) did not grant the right to be tried in a language of choice, but rather the right to be tried in a language that the accused understands and where not practicable, to have the proceedings interpreted into that language. In this case the accused could understand English. However, from the facts before the Court it can be gleaned that a trial in Zulu was not practicable in the area of the provincial division in question. The Court based its case on 'the dictates of practicability' provided for by Section 35(3)(k). As Malan (2009b:150-151) points out, the ruling

therefore did not actually have a bearing on the right of the accused to testify in Zulu. According to Hlophe (2000:694) an opportunity was missed to promote the use of Zulu as additional language of the court.

Section 35(3)(k) also featured in the second case, *S v Matomela* (1998 (3) BCLR 339 (Ck)), a criminal review case. Here an entire trial was conducted in Xhosa and the proceedings recorded in Xhosa, another official language of South Africa. No interpreter was available on the day of the trial and instead of postponing the trial a decision was taken to proceed in Xhosa as all parties concerned could follow the proceedings in this language. This criminal case originated in the Eastern Cape, a predominantly Xhosa-speaking area, and the proceedings were considered to be in accordance with the spirit of the provisions of both Sections 6 (official languages) and 35(3)(k) of the constitution. When the Court on review considered the reasons provided for the decision to proceed in Xhosa, it confirmed the conviction and sentence. However, it observed that nothing prevented the repetition of such an occurrence which could result in inconvenience, delay and additional expense (because of the need for translation) when such cases came up for review. It foresaw this as a problem that deserved the urgent attention of the Department of Justice in terms of Section 171 of the constitution regulating the rules and procedures of courts. The Court proposed the adoption of one official language to be used for the purpose of court proceedings, irrespective of the mother tongue of court officials involved and directed that the matter be referred to the Minister of Justice for his urgent consideration. Malan (2009b:152) argues that this decision is unacceptable as it pays lip-service to the requirement in Section 6(4) of the constitution that official languages should be treated equitably and should enjoy parity of esteem. It also disavows the injunction of Section 6(2) that the state must advance the use and elevate the status of the historically marginalised indigenous languages.

The view that consideration be given only to one official language as the language of court proceedings was found unacceptable in *S v Pienaar* (2000 (7) BCLR 800 (NC)), a criminal review of a trial in the Northern Cape province (a predominantly Afrikaans speaking region). If the towel were to be thrown in every time a practical difficulty arose when trying to give effect to the spirit and letter of the constitutional provisions on language, the review judges argued, the constitution 'would become a useless piece of

paper'. Instead, it could be expected of the Department of Justice to manage language use in South African courts with understanding. The review judges found that the conduct of the magistrate in this particular case amounted to a denial of the accused's right to legal representation which resulted in a denial of a fair trial including the right to be tried in Afrikaans. Legal representation had been provided to the accused in the form of a public defender who could not speak Afrikaans. Leave was granted for this representative to withdraw. The accused then undertook his own defence ultimately resulting in his conviction and sentencing. Given the practical denial of the accused's right to a fair trial, the review judges instructed that the conviction and sentence be set aside.

In the last case, *S v Damoyi* (2004 (2) SA 564 (C)), the judge found the basis for the opinion expressed in the previous case problematic and argued that the *Magistrates' Courts Act* (RSA 1944), which provided for two court languages (English and Afrikaans), could not be used as a basis for rulings regarding language use in courts since Section 6 of the 1996 constitution (proclaiming eleven official languages) had superseded this earlier provision. The *Damoyi* review case dealt with another trial in the Bishop Lavis Magistrate's court in Cape Town where only Xhosa was used since all parties could follow and as in the Bishop Lavis Magistrate court in Cape Town not to unduly delay proceedings because of the non-availability of an interpreter. It is recorded that problems were also experienced with the transcription of the proceedings in the language of the trial. The review judge was of the opinion that the recommendation made in *S v Matomela* (1998 (3) BCLR 339 (Ck)) regarding the use of English as the only language of court was to be upheld and expressed the hope that the 'issue of a language of record in court proceedings will be resolved sooner than later'. The review judge nevertheless confirmed the conviction and sentence.

The rulings in the four cases provide more insight into the language rights accorded by Section 35(3)(k) of the constitution (RSA 1996). Regarding the question as to what extent an accused has the right to insist on a trial in a language he/she understands, and whether such right includes the right to a trial in an official language which is the mother tongue of the accused, the relevant case law is clear. The accused can insist on the right to a trial in one of the official languages where he/she cannot understand another language and would consequently not be guaranteed a fair trial.

Regarding the second question, whether it is permissible to conduct a court case in an official language other than Afrikaans and English, the relevant case law seems too ambiguous. Existing cases point to the dilemma caused by the misalignment between the language provisions of the *Magistrates' Courts Act* (RSA 1944) pertaining to the former official languages dispensation, and Section 6 of the constitution (RSA 1996) which provides for a new language dispensation requiring government to function in at least two (non-specified) official languages. The learned review judge in *S v Damoyi* (2004 (2) SA 564 (C)) chose not to refer to this minimum constitutional requirement which theoretically provides the legal grounds for some form of continuation of the language arrangement from the previous era in South African courts (Davis et al. 1997:280). However, it has been argued that the state is also required to move beyond such continuation and to address the inequalities in the previous language dispensation by introducing further official languages. The latter obligation has not been given attention to. From the four cases it has become clear that the Department of Justice is currently not prepared to proceed with the appropriate alignment of language provisions from the previous era and those of the 1996 constitution (RSA 1996).

The single-medium issue is dealt with in five cases, *Matukane & Others v Laerskool Potgietersrus* (1996 (3) SA 223 (T)), *Laerskool Middelburg en 'n Ander Departementshoof v Mpumalanga Departement van Onderwys* (2003 (4) SA 160 (T)), *Western Cape Minister of Education & Others v The Governing Body of Mikro Primary School* (2006 (1) SA 1 (SCA)), *Seodin Primary School v MEC Education, Northern Cape* (2006 (1) All SA 154 (NC)) and *Hoërskool Ermelo v The Head of Department of Education: Mpumalanga* (2009 (219/08) ZASCA 22). Again, there are two questions to be answered. On the one hand, the cases question the legal scope of the right to single-medium public schools, and on the other hand they question the scope of the state's obligation in providing this schooling option.

In *Matukane & Others v Laerskool Potgietersrus* (1996 (3) SA 223 (T)) a group of black parents (including a Mr Matukane) approached the High Court for an order requiring an Afrikaans-medium primary school in Potgietersrus — a town in South Africa's northern most province, Limpopo — to accept their children who had been refused access on the grounds of

language. However, some white English-speaking learners had been accommodated. The court held that the school had intentionally discriminated against the black children on the grounds of race and issued an order in favour of the black children.

The second case, *Laerskool Middelburg en 'n Ander Departementshoof v Mpumalanga Departement van Onderwys* (2003 (4) SA 160 (T)), dealt with a High Court challenge by an Afrikaans-speaking primary school from a neighbouring province, Mpumalanga, against the provincial education department's attempts to force the school to accept black learners into an English stream. This step changed the school from single medium to parallel medium. Since room was available in the school (whereas neighbouring schools were filled to capacity), the court ruled against the claimant and concluded that under certain circumstances a single-medium school was obliged to become a parallel-medium institution, given the need for equity and historical redress.

The state's obligations regarding single-medium schools came under further scrutiny in a similar case, *Western Cape Minister of Education & Others v The Governing Body of Mikro Primary School* (2006 (1) SA 1 (SCA)). In this instance another Afrikaans-medium school from the Western Cape Province refused to accede to a request by the provincial department of education to change the language policy of the school to allow for parallel-medium education and to give access to English-speaking learners. After the school obtained an order from the Cape High Court which set aside the departmental directives, the department appealed to the Supreme Court of Appeal. The Court ruled against the applicant and upheld the ruling by the Cape High Court. Essentially it based its decision on the right of a school to decide its own language policy and the obligation of the state to provide for single-medium schools where practicable. The ruling prohibited education departments in South Africa from determining the language policies of schools.

In *Seodin Primary School v MEC Education, Northern Cape* (2006 (1) All SA 154 (NC)) the Northern Cape High Court shed more light on the circumstances that would allow a school to remain single medium. Six schools from the Northern Cape were instructed to change from single medium to parallel and dual medium, thus granting English-speaking learners access. Three of the schools (including Seodin) approached the High Court

to set aside these directives. Their application was turned down on the basis that they had no language policy in place to substantiate their case for a single-medium school. These particular schools were undersubscribed and the court ruled that the right of the learners to receive an education trumped the right of the schools to remain single-medium institutions.

The question of the right to education versus the right to a single-medium school also became an issue in the fifth case, *Hoërskool Ermelo v The Head of Department of Education: Mpumalanga* (2009 (219/08) ZASCA 22). When this school resisted directives from the Mpumalanga provincial education department, the school governing body was dissolved and replaced with a departmentally appointed committee. This allowed the department to alter the school's language policy so that it would cater for an English-speaking stream, thus effectively changing the school to a parallel-medium institution. The school requested the Pretoria High Court to set the directives aside, which it did. However, on appeal the same court actually set aside this decision and upheld the decision by the department to change the language policy of the school. The case was taken to the Supreme Court of Appeal where the court ruled against the department and reaffirmed the 'exclusive' right of school governing bodies to determine a school's language policy. The school thus retained its right to remain single medium. However, Ermelo Hoërskool (High School) was instructed to enable English-speaking learners in the system to complete their schooling. On further appeal the Constitutional Court affirmed this ruling but for different reasons. The school was nevertheless required to alter its language policy voluntarily in order to address the shortage of classrooms in the area (*Head of Department: Mpumalanga Department of Education and Another v Hoërskool Ermelo & Others* (Case CCT 40/09 [2009] ZACC 32).

South African case law on language in education provides some perspectives on the first question regarding the legal scope of the right to single-medium public schools. Although the right is confirmed, the cases above show that it is not an absolute, guaranteed right (Woolman & Fleisch 2009:80). An important limitation to the right is the availability of adequate access to schooling for speakers of another language than that of the school in question. The need to provide schooling for the majority takes precedence over the right to provide single-medium schooling for a minority. Regarding the second question about the scope of the state's obligation in providing this

schooling option, the cases above confirm the right of school governing bodies to determine a language policy for a school. However, this right is subject to the general norms and conditions regarding such policy determined by the Minister of Education. Where no such policy exists, a state department of education may determine such policy, it seems.

Discussion

This cursory comparison with regard to the official language dispensations of Israel and South Africa reveals interesting perspectives on the matter of legal intervention as mechanism of language policy. The comparison indicates some significant differences, but also reveals a few startling similarities.

First, we particularly note a difference in primary language legislation. The basis for language officiality in Israel is not determined by a constitution such as in the case of South Africa, but by legislation that essentially stems from the British Mandate period. An important feature of this language legislation is its inherited language hierarchy which has been modified to suit the interests of the Israeli state founded in 1948 making Hebrew the dominant language rather than English. The primary South African language legislation, on the other hand, seems to achieve quite the contrary, namely the demolition of the language hierarchy from the apartheid era and the replacement thereof with a new one similarly reflecting the interests of the new South African state established in 1994. This was done through an egalitarian approach which advocated official multilingualism, but elevated English as the primary official language in the place of Afrikaans as previously 'advantaged' language.

A striking similarity with regard to primary language legislation relates to the concept official language. Both states overtly declare languages official, but seem to be avoiding the principle of equality as the basis for language treatment. Some legislative measures in Israel elevate Hebrew to the level of primary official language, whereas South African legislation emphasises equitability and parity of esteem as core principles. Flowing from this, both states are cautious in using overly prescriptive language to determine the levels of officiality. Although Israel has declared two languages official and South Africa requires the state to use a minimum of two official languages, both states refrain from instituting, or continuing in

the case of South Africa, the notion of statutory bilingualism. At least in the latter case, this principle was the backbone of the language dispensation under apartheid and a remnant of this legal arrangement can still be seen in the *Magistrates' Courts Act* (RSA 1944) which provides for two court languages, English and Afrikaans, and their equal treatment.

We also note a difference between the two states regarding secondary language legislation. A notable feature of Israeli secondary legislation is the entrenchment of the official languages hierarchy with Hebrew as the 'national' official language and Arabic as the 'minority' official language. Much care is taken in secondary language legislation to define the role of Arabic in domains such as legislation, the judiciary and public administration. In the case of South Africa, secondary language legislation purposely does not define the official languages hierarchy. In fact, where Israeli language legislation still defines a role for Arabic, South African language legislation is silent with regard to the role of both the 'primary' official language (English) and the 'secondary' official languages (Afrikaans and the other languages). However, this avoidance of defining the roles of the official languages is contributing to a system of language treatment that could eventually be informed by market-driven language demands.

Another difference between the two states is the more extensive secondary language legislation in the domain of education in the case of South Africa. Notable with regard to this legislation is the avoidance of the principle of compulsory mother tongue education in South Africa. Much emphasis is placed on legislation regarding language choice in terms of the official languages. Education in Israel, to the contrary, is organised wholly on exactly the principle of mother tongue education within two education systems, a Hebrew education system and an Arab education system (Amara & Mar'i 2002:4-15). There is a similarity between the two states relating to the notion of statutory bilingualism, but this time in the crucial domain of education. Amara and Mar'i (2002:141) lament the lack of symmetrical bilingualism in Israel, a feature that primarily relates to the absence of statutory bilingualism. Du Plessis (2003:112-114) similarly points out the negative impact on national unity emanating from the lack of a clear bilingual policy in education in South Africa.

Conclusion

Both Israel and South Africa utilise a variety of legal instruments to intervene in their respective language dispensations. The role and nature of the different types of instruments differ according to circumstances. However, they play an important part in shaping the role of the official languages, whether more directly as in the case of Israel, or more indirectly as in the case of South Africa. Whether explicitly or implicitly, current legal interventions in these two states seem to be contributing to enhancing official monolingualism, a condition definitely not foreseen in the founding documents.

However, the question one needs to pose is whether this outcome is really unexpected, considering the strong underlying ideals in both instances of establishing a single new indivisible state. As in the case of the French Republic, one official language can become a crucial element in the process of centralising power and control (see Adamson 2007). In the case of Israel, Hebrew has become this language and in the case of South Africa, English. Whether this trend can be turned around remains to be seen and whether further intervention by means of a central language act can halt the trends in each case, remains doubtful. In other polities where language dominance has had to be challenged the institution of a language act has been relatively successful in establishing a more just language dispensation.

Of course the related aspect of legal intervention that was not discussed in this article, namely language litigation, can also become an important instrument of change towards achieving language justice. If anything, the case law on language in Israel discussed above resulted from successful language litigation by representatives from the aggrieved minority. The outcome of this litigation is significant. In the case of Arabic it has resulted in increased visibility, a very powerful mechanism of language policy.

The quest for language equality thus remains a challenge in multilingual societies where language serves as a marker of socio-political inequality or stratification. However, what also remains a challenge is the exploration of all avenues of legal intervention in order to effect change, the civilised option for disempowered or marginalised communities.

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Promoting Social *cum* Racial Integration in South Africa by Making an African Language a National Senior Certificate Pass Requirement¹

Michel Lafon

Sibe simunye at last!

Abstract

While schooling or formal education has become the main locus of education and training in South Africa, little recognition is given to local African languages in the curriculum. The trend is the so-called former Model C schools, which use English as Language of Learning and Teaching (LoLT), teach English and Afrikaans as subjects and usually give no significant recognition to the mother tongues of African learners. It is only in township and rural schools, widely considered as dysfunctional, that African languages may be used as LoLT during the first three years and are taught at

¹ The core argument developed here was triggered by discussions, sometimes heated, over the years, with friends and colleagues, too many to acknowledge here. The idea was presented at a seminar organised by the Anthropology Department of Wits University under Prof. Coplan in October 2009. Philip Pare, Lily Pretorius and Vic Webb were kind enough to comment on an early draft. Their contribution is willingly acknowledged.

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meaningful levels for native speakers. Thus, the education system maintains, albeit in a subdued manner, the apartheid-era partition of the society and creates a context prone to the continued exclusion of the marginalised.

I argue that making African languages compulsory at the school-end exam would help level the playing fields between black learners and their white counterparts. Furthermore, township and rural schools would be recognised as having some currency to trade, which would contribute in turn to improving their own image. Banking on the linguistic capital of black learners in 'black' schools could lead to the phasing-in of symmetrical exchanges between learners from both ends of the educational divide, through bussing and school pairing.

Such initiatives would not only contribute to bridging the educational gap and fighting social exclusion, but would also go a long way towards promoting reciprocal knowledge and mutual understanding between youth across racial and social barriers, thus paving the way for a more caring and united society.

Keywords: education, South Africa, language, language in education policy, language policy, transformation

Introduction

This paper is a call to the education authorities to use their prerogative in setting the school curriculum to place African languages firmly on the education map, *for all learners*, by making one of the official African languages compulsory for the 'National Senior Certificate' (NSC), viz. 'matric'. Let us clarify immediately that by African languages is meant here exclusively an indigenous language, or a formerly disadvantaged one, from among the eleven South African official languages².

² This definition of African languages is meant to exclude Afrikaans, regardless of the sociolinguistic position one ascribes to it. South Africa's official languages include 9 African languages as well as English and Afrikaans.

This suggestion is, by no means, original. As early as 1997 it was the object of a jointly written paper (Granville *et al.* 1997) which followed closely and critically the arguments in the then recently released Langtag report, which, however, stopped short of such a recommendation (Alexander 1996). The three main reasons invoked by Granville *et al.* were i) redress, ii) development and iii) reconciliation (Granville *et al.* 1997:14). The argumentation remains wholly valid. As South Africa, more than a decade later, remains confronted with inequality in education, I argue further for the social necessity of bridging the educational gap still reflecting apartheid-era racial categories³, in order to end the social exclusion it entails.

Bringing African languages and hence tenets of African culture into the education framework would acknowledge the linguistic capital of black pupils who would then be seen as commanding a valuable expertise. This long overdue recognition would enhance the status of township and rural schools (henceforward 'black' schools) in society at large, as well as trigger a gain in self-confidence among black learners and black teachers and reverse the negative attitude of many towards their own languages (see for instance Govender 2008:5), which is probably a precondition for any significant improvement in school practices. Such a requirement could trigger the systematic phasing in of 'bidirectional skills' exchange programmes across schools belonging to different universes which in turn would go some way towards mitigating the impact of the huge gap between schools and thus redress imbalances drawn from the past.

Rather than the usual view which seeks to facilitate the movement of more 'black' children into former Model C schools I suggest ways of facilitating learners' mobility across social *cum* racial boundaries.

Besides contributing to a levelling of study conditions, as all learners would experience the hugely different contexts of South African education, such exchanges would create space for meaningful interaction between youth

³ Apartheid-era racial categories are definitely enduring, particularly when one considers education, and reference to them is, one has to admit, often enlightening regarding the dynamics at play. The 2003 South African Social Attitudes Survey confirmed that '*race and ethnicity are the key markers of identity*' (Dinga Sikwebu, accessed January 2010). However, resorting to them should not be taken as a recognition of any scientific validity.

across the whole social and racial spectrum, leading to reciprocal knowledge and mutual understanding. This is a condition if the inclusive transformation of South African society is to ever take shape. It would strike at the heart of the ignorance, or even denial, of the past that many white students still harbour as a result of growing up in insulated institutions, the school being one of them, powerfully depicted among the mostly Afrikaner community by Jansen (2009). Such a truly revolutionary move might, in turn, usher in a more inclusive and united South African society.

To support my view I shall first briefly describe the school system in present-day South Africa and offer some insights into the role of public policy in language planning with South Africa in mind, which I feel vindicate my point. I shall then stress the centrality of education for the creation of common ground between different cultural and linguistic groups who share the same geographical and political space. To this end, I shall draw in particular from Gundara (2008) who, in an enlightening paper on the legacy of ‘*separate faith-based schools*’ in Northern Ireland, questions the acceptability of separate curricula and separate schools as claimed by some parents in democratic states in the name of freedom of choice. Is not granting of such claims eventually inimical to the fostering of a common society, which requires that children from all walks of life share opportunities to interact freely? Is this not, eventually, entrenching inequalities? Along those lines, I will characterise the current South African education system as maintaining *de facto* social *cum* racial discrimination.

I then look at how the obligation of obtaining a pass in an African language for the Grade 12 examination could significantly help change the practices, perspective and, hopefully, final outcome of the education system in terms of individual and social attitudes, by stimulating interaction across boundaries.

At the Root of the Problem: Partial Transformation of the School System

One of the priorities formulated during the democratic transition in South Africa was the transformation of education. This policy was enacted at an institutional level. All stipulations upholding racial segregation with regard

to access to education were scrapped by 1992. In an ‘upward’ move, learners from all formerly disadvantaged ‘racial’ categories, i.e, non-whites, were able to register in schools where they had been prevented from doing so before: black learners moved into coloured, Indian and white schools, coloured learners into Indian and white ones, Indian into white ones⁴.

After a somewhat protracted process it can probably be safely stated that hardly any school in the country, among the public or state-aided sector at least, is now purely white in terms of its learner complement, even if the number of black learners may remain low.

However this has been a one-way process. White learners have not moved to township schools. ‘*In township this morning*’ never became a popular motto, to paraphrase Coplan’s (1985) famous book. The taxis that ferry black children from the townships to city schools return empty to fetch a new load.

This situation is a sombre reflection on the enduring duality of the education system fifteen years after its legal and regulatory unification⁵. Schools are broadly divided according to resources and what we could call operationality—their perceived quality and efficiency—which still largely reflects the former separate education departments: township and rural schools, i.e., schools that, under apartheid, depended on the Department of Education & Training (DET)⁶ and the various homelands administrations, as

⁴ One could argue that whites too were disadvantaged by a segregationist system that limited their opportunities for interacting beyond their own ‘racial’ group, a perception that under-girds this paper as will become obvious later, but the focus here is on material factors. For decades if not centuries, whites in South Africa clearly received more than their fair share of public funding, notably education, and in that sense they were undoubtedly favoured. The cumulative effect of this factor allowed for the entrenchment of their socio-economic privileges, whether or not they agreed to the system.

⁵ For the history of education in South Africa, see *inter alia* Behr (1978); Hartshorne (1992); Heugh (1995); Malherbe (1977); Macdonald (1990); Bloch (2009).

⁶ The DET was the last label of the administration in charge of education for Black people during apartheid.

well as a good number of schools formerly under the House of Representatives (i.e., for the 'coloured' population) contrast with a few schools formerly under the House of Assembly (i.e. for the white population), and under the House of Delegates (i.e. for the Indian population), which are now loosely labelled together as 'ex (or former)-Model C'. Since 1994, a number of schools with no root in that history have opened. But, due to the influence of their surroundings, they appear to continue the same trend. This enduring duality is confirmed by the 2007 report of the South African Institute of Race Relations (Botsis & Cronje 2007:50) which states: '*dysfunctional and impoverished schools, used by the majority of South African children*', contrast with '*a small number of well-resourced schools used by the privileged minority*'⁷.

Resources appear to be a key to understanding this persisting inequality. It is well known that State spending per learner was grossly unequal according to racial categories during apartheid, even if the gap was reduced towards the end of the regime. From 1969 to 1976, the heyday of *Bantu Education*, the State was spending 15 times more on white learners than on black ones; in 1989 the gap was reduced to 4,4 (Carpentier 2005: 48) and in 1993 expenditure, still unequal, amounted to R5500 per white learner against R1700 per black learner (Motala *et al.* 2007a:3). Still, one must keep in mind that post-1976 figures omit Bantustan whose schools were by far the most neglected ones (Bloch 2009:45). Since 1994, in order to redress past inequalities, State funding has been increasingly directed to public schools in the lower quintiles whilst the upper ones receive proportionally less and less⁸. By 2002, disregarding teachers' salaries, State equalisation had been achieved (Taylor *et al.* 2008:23; cf. Motala 2006). But this effort is seriously mitigated, if not reduced to naught, by the free rein (if not encouragement) given to schools from 1994 onwards to collect fees from parents. This move

⁷ Estimates on the proportion of dysfunctional schools out of the approximately 26000 public schools vary, from around 85% (*Mail & Guardian* 22/05/09 p23) to a more palatable 60% (Motshekga 2010).

⁸ Since 1996, schools are distributed in socio-economically defined quintiles which serve to regulate state funding. From 2007, the lowest two quintiles have been made non-fee paying, an acknowledgment of the overall poor socio-economic backgrounds of the learners.

was meant to try and retain wealthy white families in the public school system, rather than seeing them opt out altogether in favour of independent institutions, for which the Constitution makes provision in the name of freedom of association. The fees parents contribute help maintain and modernise the schools while allowing the state to redirect public financial flows towards needy establishments. For schools already well-endowed, the financial burden shifted from State coffers to private purses. This move fostered what Woolman and Fleisch (2009: 13) have called ‘*a quasi-market in education*’ as, by remaining public schools, they would have to admit learners from disadvantaged backgrounds and exempt them from paying fees⁹. Thus a minority of disadvantaged children would benefit from a considerably better education than they otherwise would have access to. This measure, implemented fairly by a large number of former Model C schools, has been dubbed ‘cross-subsidization’.

A major drawback of this policy, however, is, as observed by Taylor *et al.* (2008:23) ‘*the continuation of older patterns of financial inequality, albeit that the advantaged schools now serve both the black and the white middle-class*’. And further, even more to the point, the authors insist:

the combined effect of the school funding norms and the school fee policies is to reproduce existing patterns of inequality, with children who attend historically privileged schools de facto having substantially more resources devoted to their educational experience. When the existing physical infrastructure and equipment is added to the annual difference between advantaged and disadvantaged per learner expenditure, the full magnitude of the inequality is striking.

Carpentier (2005), comparing two schools belonging to the opposite extremes, shows that fees dwarf the impact of public funding (illustrated also in Lafon 2008). Pampallis (2008:25) concludes: ‘*This structural inequality in the school system is inherited from apartheid, and South Africa has not*

⁹ Exemption can be total or partial, according to the financial situation of the learner’s care giver. Pampallis (2008) details the regulations governing exemptions.

succeeded in overcoming it, despite the stated will of government and of policy aims which seek greater equality'.

Blame however cannot be ascribed merely to the democratic government's alleged lack of commitment to redressing inequalities. The gap between schools in terms of infrastructure and qualification of teachers as well as staff, and the proportion of needy schools are such that a real levelling of all schools, including infrastructure, would have required a significant increase in taxes, a decision which was politically inappropriate at a time when economic liberalism was the order of the day. It would also have required the prioritising of education over other social needs for a long period (see Woolman & Fleisch 2009:24). White schools, one should recall, have not only benefited from the fifty odd years of the apartheid period: they have benefited from State support from the very beginning of the colonial era, to the detriment of the indigenous population¹⁰.

One has to accept that, given the socio-political and economical context, the upward levelling of the whole spectrum of deprived schools, from infrastructure to teachers' qualifications and skills through resources for classroom as well as extra-curricular activities, is not within reach in the short term at least, especially when one factors in the constant need for investment in schools to keep up with modern trends. However, funding might not be the only problem. Habits that are not conducive to a healthy learning environment, such as '*corruption, maladministration, defiance of authority*' to quote Msimang (1992:36) referring to De Villiers' interesting narration of her own teaching experience in a Soweto school in the 1980s, have taken root in some schools, creating '*all-time low morale*' among teachers, a situation that still prevails to this day as many commentators have observed. Jansen (2007:2) thus considers that '*there is a powerful [teachers] union structure and culture that resists change*'.

In response to this unfortunate situation and with the interests of their children at heart, black families, seeking to escape what they feel are

¹⁰ In colonial Natal, for instance, white schools were erected from the proceeds of taxes extracted from the black population whose education was left to a few fee-paying mission schools. '*While Africans suffered taxation without representation, white settlers enjoyed representation without taxation*' crudely observes Etherington (1989:175).

essentially dysfunctional schools whilst still residing in the townships, took to enrolling their children *en masse* in former Model C schools. This movement started immediately after 1994 and has continued unabated to this day (see Lafon 2008) and some township schools are now much below capacity (Botsis & Cronje 2007:52)¹¹. It has extended to rural areas as well¹². This has given rise to a new type of school that we can tentatively label 'intermediate' or 'grey', viz. former Model C schools in terms of their location and infrastructure as well as their staff and management, but increasingly black in terms of the learner population. Indeed, many are now a long way from being multiracial. When they feel the proportion of black learners exceeds what they consider is manageable, white parents tend to move their offspring to schools that are located further away and charge higher fees and are hence more racially exclusive, or even opt out of the public system altogether¹³. Although most of these 'grey' schools are certainly functional, some of them, especially in poverty-ridden town centres, may well be on a downward course as fees, pegged by the parents, are not adequate to meet escalating costs, a situation worsened by the presence of a growing number of learners whose parents cannot, or just do not, pay fees. Indeed, from 2008, as government took stock of this new situation, quintiles were defined according to the socio-economic status of the learners' families, regardless of the school's physical infrastructure (Mario Pillay Wits EPU senior researcher, personal com, April 2008). One could argue that some of

¹¹ In Gauteng alone, in 2008, about 40 schools were empty (Mario Pillay Wits EPU researcher, personal communication). At the start of the 2010 school-year, an estimated 2000 classrooms in Soweto had no pupils (see Serrao 2010:4).

¹² In July 2009 the press reported on youth from the Eastern Cape surviving in appalling conditions in neighbouring Natal, particularly in Pietermaritzburg, where they had moved with the hope of obtaining in urban, former Model C schools the decent education that rural schools in their areas could not offer them (see Gower 2009:12-13).

¹³ In 2002, in 40 schools that belonged to the former Transvaal Education Department (*id est* previously reserved for the white population), over 80% of the learners were black while over 90% of the educators were white (quoted in Motala *et al.* 2003:19).

the very same features from which parents tried to escape in the townships are, slowly but surely, recreating themselves in urban settings (see Govender & Van Rooyen 2009:5).

Thus, township and rural schools are the option for those who have no other, that is, whose parents cannot afford school fees and transport costs involved in having their children attend urban schools, usually distant from their homes. Learners who attend such schools constitute a large majority - probably close to 80%¹⁴- of the African and, especially in the Western Cape, the Coloured school-age population.

The school landscape is therefore truly multiracial in a minority of schools only, i.e. those catering for the middle and upper strata of society. For the vast majority of black learners, it is still very much as before: black co-learners and black teachers in black locations, with some 'grey' schools in city centres having white teachers and a dwindling proportion of white learners. In black schools situated in townships and rural areas, and even in most of those in city centres, racial integration is definitely not happening in the school-yard. It is important at this stage to note that, contrary to the attitudes of some Afrikaans-speaking white parents prone to use the School Governing Body's prerogative to set the language of instruction as a deterrent to black learners (see severe comment in Jansen 2009:35)¹⁵, the majority of black parents in South Africa do not want separate education facilities for their children: they are forced, or abandoned, into them.

Can transformation then be said to have been fully achieved when a majority of 'black' learners sit in mono-racial schools, where no white face, be it that of a learner or a teacher, is seen on a regular basis? What I advocate here is a drastic departure from this context¹⁶, to create conditions for

¹⁴ The oft quoted figure of 80% is extrapolated from other data such as tests on learners' achievements—see Fleisch (2007:6). It might need to be corrected downwards slightly due to the change in school population.

¹⁵ This had led to numerous litigations since 1994 (see Woolman & Fleisch 2009 for a detailed study of major cases).

¹⁶ White people visiting black schools are usually involved in NGOs or charities. These interventions, however well intended they may be are typically asymmetrical and could possibly even reinforce preconceptions of racially-set roles (the needy African, the well-meaning European).

symmetrical exchanges between equal partners. This presupposes structural changes that can only be initiated by the administrative authorities.

Formal Education as a Tool for Fostering Feelings of Togetherness in Ethnically Complex States

In ‘modern’ countries, formal education has become the main vehicle through which youngsters are socialised. For better or worse, formal or school education has taken over many functions formerly carried out by the family and/or the community. Traditional forms of education which had evolved over centuries are now marginal, when and where they exist. In South Africa, even though grandmothers may still look after their grandchildren, the era of tales told at the fireplace or under the moonlight is, for most children, long gone, as is the era of clergymen’s sermons resonating through the walls of farm kitchens in the remote interior. So-called initiation schools that served as rituals to mark adulthood still occur in some communities but they are now somehow subservient to the school system—they are scheduled to take place during holidays, so as not to hamper school attendance, and, due to the shorter period of time and, possibly, the influence of the media, they seem to be focussed on the physical trial rather than knowledge transmission.

South Africa has indeed become a wholly modern country, or rather a country given to western ways in many domains, not least education¹⁷. With the passing of the 1996 constitution, schooling became compulsory for all (Motala *et al.* 2007b:16). By the beginning of the 21st century, formal western education was near universal, as is extensively documented in the education section of the Fifteen Year Review commissioned by the Presidency and issued in 2008 (Taylor et al, 2008): gross enrolment ratio for 2005 is pegged at 103% of the total age group for primary and 89% for secondary; in 2007, more than 90% of the school age population was in school, making South Africa compare favourably with European countries

¹⁷ Modernisation of a country is often measured as the degree of its westernisation. We follow this trend for convenience whilst remaining aware of its cultural and political bias.

(Taylor *et al.* 2008:27 table 30¹⁸). Formal education has undoubtedly become the main form of education across all groups and plays a central role in shaping the society. Still it is important to keep in mind its alien origin. ‘*we are dealing with an institution that does not grow out of the local societies*’ observed Hanf *et al.* (1975:68).

In sharp contrast to many historical precedents, democratic South Africa is avowedly and proudly a multicultural and multilingual country. The South African Constitution does not make assimilation to a dominant culture or language a goal of the state. Quite the contrary, it sees in the diversity of the communities inhabiting the country a source of cultural and human enrichment. ‘(T)he promotion of linguistic pluralism and national unity [is seen] as being complementary rather than antagonistic’ comments Orman in his study on post-apartheid South Africa (2008:92). In doing so, the South African Constitution tries, arguably, to wed universal human rights to rights based on different histories and cultures. This is premised on the hope of a harmonious and peaceful cohabitation of people practising different languages and cultures, and it explicitly tasks schools to achieve this. Thus, the 1996 Language in Education Policy ‘*is meant to facilitate communication across the barriers of colour, language and region (...) and create an environment in which respect for languages other than one’s own would be encouraged*’ (p1).

This role being devolved to schools is not unique to South Africa. Many states, in the multilingual and multicultural world of today, having to integrate significant minorities from very different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, sometimes with a history of conflict between them, have turned to schools to foster the common grounds that can ensure social stability. Sharing benches at school is seen as a key to nurture a culture of tolerance and to stimulate mutual understanding and respect for one another. ‘*Many societies purposefully use schools to develop shared and common value systems, especially to strengthen democratic engagement and to provide higher educational outcomes*’ points out Gundara (2008:339).

However current realities in South Africa raise questions about the ability of the education system to fulfil this duty, especially as regards the

¹⁸ A rate over 100% is obtained due to the inclusion of underage and overage children that attend a given grade (Taylor *et al.* 2008:27).

view raised by Gundara (2008:340f) that *'simply co-existing in the same geographical area does not constitute 'living together'. Intercultural education implies action: hence key processes of interaction, conversation, engagement, meeting, listening, debate, dialogue and the like'*; and further, *'separate schools, even those sharing a common written curriculum, would institutionalize and perpetuate these communal divides in the realm of the public domains and institutions'*. In that sense, it can be argued that, one way or another, a great majority of South African schools fail to prepare the youth for the building of a common nation (or a shared feeling of nationhood) among groups that emerge from a history of enforced separation and conflict, and may not necessarily share common goals and references. When one contrasts the lofty objectives of post 1994 education and actual practices, which still perpetuate separate schools (*id est, de facto* discriminatory) for a majority of black learners, the South Africa education system appears largely schizophrenic¹⁹.

The Crucial Role of Public Policy in Shaping Language Status: The Case of South Africa

Bourdieu established that the status of languages at any given moment is not a chance result of circumstances or of features of the language itself: it is the product of history and it expresses power relations. *'[...] a language does not impose itself by its own force but derives its geographical limits from a political act of institution, an arbitrary act misrecognized as such'* (Bourdieu 1991:257). A particular instance is the spread of European languages in the wake of colonial expansion. In this respect, the history of English in South Africa is a case in point.

English was brought to South Africa from the time the British took over the former Dutch colony at the Cape in 1806. Through contact, trade, exchange as well as the dire necessities of survival when Africans were

¹⁹ Schizophrenia refers to *'a disease marked by a breakdown between thoughts, feelings and actions'* (Thomson, *Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, 3rd revised ed. 1998). We apply it by extension to a system whose stated policy remains largely divorced from its real practices.

forced into wage employment on settlers' farms or in their homes, the language reached into African communities²⁰. The burgeoning mission schools that dispensed education played a central role. Meanwhile, its imposition on the Dutch/ Afrikaans-speaking settlers from the early days, as it was proclaimed the official language in the Cape colony in 1822 (Behr 1978:4), as well as the pursuit of an assimilationist policy in the wake of the Boer defeat in the South African war from 1902 onwards, triggered a defensive response that translated into ideological and political action. Afrikaans was developed as a language separate from Dutch and gained official status in 1925. When elections brought the National Party to government in 1948, the further development and spread of Afrikaans, which shaped the identity of its mainly Afrikaner constituency, was high on its agenda.

By order of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, as government took over African education from the missions, Africans, who were to receive primary education in their own language, were forcefully made to study Afrikaans and use it as a medium of instruction on a par with English beyond the primary phase. This, paradoxically, gave an immense boost to English as Black people in general opposed apartheid policies which they associated with the Afrikaner establishment. The imposition of Afrikaans was felt as a political ploy to keep them under control while English was purported to be a powerful instrument of liberation (N. Crawhall quoted in Bekker 1999:108).

This chapter of South African history demonstrates that political events and public policies may have a huge and often decisive impact on language status and hence on language attitudes one way or another. Some analysts, reflecting on this history, consider that the choice of languages in South African education should lie solely with parents and/or learners and that the government should refrain from making any regulation regarding which languages ought to be present at one level or another in the education

²⁰ Like conversion to Christianity, the spread of English generally followed the trail of the gradual submission of African polities. Natal remained a partial exception as, due to the peculiar Shepstonian policy of indirect rule, Zulu was the medium used between the colonial administration and its subjects as well as in dealings with the Zulu kingdom and its sequels until the annexion (see Hamilton 1998).

system, lest this imposition be rejected and, possibly, nurture resentment. If the stakeholders themselves show no interest in African languages, then so be it! Any change of attitude, desirable as it may seem, should come from them. In the South African context however, the *laisser-faire* option is a convenient way of disregarding the way the present situation came about and the need for redress. Contrary to lessons of history, it denies the state any agency in informing the symbolic level where attitudes are shaped. Drawing from Bourdieu (1991:51) who observes that language attitudes do not change by government fiat but are rooted in ‘*symbolic domination*’, the acceptance by speakers of the validity of a given language for various purposes, such a position is often supported by those who have a vested interest in the continuation of the *status quo*. As it brings about ‘*the internalization of bourgeois European values*’ (Higgs 2008:447), it fits well the objectives of the new ruling African elite despite its oft-repeated claims to revisiting its heritage²¹. Granville *et al.* (1997:16) dispose nicely of this counter-argument: ‘*it [is] ironic that African languages which once suffered underdevelopment through Afrikaans and English domination should now suffer another round of underdevelopment on the noble but mistaken sensitivities over perpetuating our legacy of imposition*’. Given this legacy, in fact, ‘*(E)ducational and other state institutions should emphasize the multicultural and multilingual nature of the South African nation*’ states Benjamin (1994:107), as a way of levelling the field and that should be reflected in the curriculum if equality of opportunities among all learners is to be realised. Indeed, as Hulmes (1989:8) reminds us, ‘*Intellectual discrimination, predicated on an unquestioned assumption of the supremacy of western analytical thought, may be one of the more difficult kinds of discrimination with which teachers have to cope in the long term*’.

African Languages at National Senior Certificate Level for All Learners

I contend that, if South Africa’s future is to be based on reciprocal know-

²¹ Due to the personality of President Jacob Zuma, who took charge in mid-2009, this may be less true for his government than it was for the preceding Mbeki administration.

ledge and mutual understanding across racial boundaries, i.e. among the various groups that make up the country, and if education is about preparing the next generation for such a future, a shared experience initiated on school benches is a requirement. For *all* learners in South Africa to experience multiracialism – i.e. the presence of co-learners from other ethnic backgrounds in the same classroom- given the demography of the country and its distribution, proactive ways have to be explored. To enrol all black learners in so-called multiracial or multicultural schools is just not possible. It would only result in displacing the problem as the multiracial character of such schools would in most cases fade away.

A Trigger for Integration: African Languages at NSC

There might be an alternative way of ensuring integration and reducing the impact of the gap between schools: that learners share all facilities through bidirectional exchange programmes. In the South African context, I argue that such an outcome could be initiated with a proactive change of approach to African languages by making an African language a National Senior Certificate pass requirement.

In 2008 the new National Senior Certificate examination was introduced. Much attention has been given to the wording of language stipulations to ensure equality among all eleven official languages. The text refrains from mentioning any language explicitly, that is, by name or even by language family: they are captured by acronyms apt to fit for diverse situations (Home Language (HL), First Additional Language (FAL), Second Additional Language (SAL), Language of Learning and Teaching (LoLT)).

Leaving aside specific cases warranting exemptions, a learner has to offer two of the 11 official languages, with one at least at ‘HL level’, i.e. first position, the other being at FAL level, i.e. second position—although it can be at HL level as well. Contrary to the previous dispensation, where *per force* the LoLT was to be offered in first position (then called first language), the LoLT can now be either first or second position, that is, at HL or FAL level (DoE 2005:6 & 25).

In the same document, ‘Home-language’ is defined as the language ‘*first acquired by children through immersion at home*’. A comment on FAL is found in the Revised Curriculum statement which reads ‘(T)he *first additional language assumes that learners do not necessarily have any*

knowledge of the language when they arrive at school' (DoE 2002:5). However, a later document specifies that FAL 'provides for levels of language proficiency that meet the threshold levels necessary for effective learning across the curriculum' (DoE 2005:21). Indeed, the difference between the levels expected in HL and FAL has become, to say the least, minimal, as a brief look at the related documents shows: same weekly time allocation, almost identical exam stipulations, etc (DoE 2005:16; DoE 2008:3).

These new stipulations were obviously worded with learners of African linguistic background in mind, who use English as their LoLT and presumably study their own mother tongue at FAL (or HL) level. They are now allowed to offer their mother tongue at HL level and their LoLT as FAL. This places them on a somewhat comparable footing with their European-language counterparts, for whom the language taken in the first position is usually their home language. Moreover, since both HL and FAL require native or near-native competence, it is pushing African learners towards offering their own mother tongue as the other language, rather than Afrikaans.

A drawback of the present stipulation is that it is discouraging for non-native speakers who would want to offer an African language as they normally stand no chance of passing at either HL or FAL level (B Muller, UKZN Zulu 2nd language lecturer, personal communication, 2009). They have to go for second additional, which refers to a language learnt in the school context but which falls outside the compulsory subjects and therefore can contribute only marginally to pass the NSC. This has resulted in the reduction in numbers of interested learners, which in turn has led schools to abandon the teaching of African languages as second languages especially since, after a resounding court case, they may have to organise it at either HL or FAL for African-language speakers²². The teaching of African languages

²² Mrs Nkosi, whose Zulu-speaking son was attending Durban High School (a former Model C school) at Grade 8 in 2007 and was taught Zulu as a third language whereas Afrikaans was offered as a second language, challenged the school practice on the grounds of unfair discrimination. The court concurred. This sent a strong message to former Model C schools and many pledged – as did Durban High School from 2008 – to offer African languages at HL or FAL level, often discontinuing as a consequence the SAL option (Sanders, Durban Magistrate Court, case 77/2007, adjudicated: 30/09/2008).

to non-native speakers has thus been dealt, probably inadvertently, another blow²³.

What we suggest is to alter the NSC language stipulation so as to make one of the two compulsory languages an African language. This could be achieved through a stipulation requesting that a language other than the LoLT be a language which is not available as LoLT²⁴. Another way to attain the same result could be to require that ‘two non-related languages’ be offered²⁵. This would exclude the combination of English and Afrikaans, both belonging to the Germanic family. It would follow the rule that forbids a candidate to offer two Nguni languages or two Sotho languages (DoE 2005:7). Either of the wordings above keeps to the anonymity of languages cherished in Department of Education parlance and they do not go against the revered policy according to which a given language should not be imposed. For non-native speakers it might be appropriate to consider, temporarily at least, the possibility that the African language offered be at SAL instead of HL or FAL level.

Such a measure would seem to fall within the existing purview of laws and regulations governing education. The 1996 South African Schools Act and Norms and Standards for Language Policy in Public Schools do give each school a degree of autonomy in deciding its ‘languages areas’, i.e. languages selected as LoLT and as subjects, but this is exercised within certain limits and, decisively, the design of the NSC curriculum lies firmly within the prerogative of the DoE.

Furthermore the said measure could probably claim to be an implementation of Chapter 1, Section 6, Article 2 of the Constitution that reads ‘*the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the*

²³ It was common practice in former Model C schools to group in the same class beginners and native speakers of an African language. Unless the teaching is done with a lot of acumen, and using a carefully adapted strategy, this may be pedagogically unsound as the teacher will prioritise either group and create frustration among the other one.

²⁴ Even though the LoLT may be in theory any of the 11 official languages, with a proviso for German at primary level, only English and Afrikaans are so far available as LoLT beyond grade 4.

²⁵ Thanks to Umalusi Researcher E Burroughs for the suggestion.

status and advance the use of [the indigenous languages of the South Africa people]' (quoted in Orman 2008:91). Reference to the status book would add considerable weight to this measure, especially in case it is challenged. One could also argue on the inherent political nature of the curriculum, in particular language learning, as Chetty and Mwepu reveal (2008:332). Interestingly, '*making the learning of an African indigenous language compulsory*' was part of the intentions that the then Minister of Education, Naledi Pandor, spelt out in her 2005 budget speech, according to the extracts in www.southafrica.info (accessed 7/02/08).

Social cum Racial Integration through Language Learning?

A compulsory pass in an African language to obtain the NSC would place all learners on a more equal footing and counteract '*the sacralisation of English*' (Louw 2004). This would also necessitate decisive changes to common practices. Non-native speakers of African languages would have to be exposed to African languages. It is common wisdom that there is no better way to learn a language than to interact with its speakers. The '*linguistic capital*' (Gundara 2008:350) commanded by the black learners would be valorised in the eyes of their more socially privileged colleagues now challenged to add an African language to their repertoire. Black schools would be seen in a positive light, as holding the key to a crucial resource regarding a significant and indispensable part of the curriculum. Black schools, even in their present condition, have also much to offer if the rich and powerful potential of black culture, urban and rural, is unlocked and made part and parcel of a (truly) South African multilingual (and multicultural) curriculum, in a determined departure from its present western orientation.

As former Model C schools would have to prepare learners for the new language requirement, school authorities might want to consider pairing with several corresponding township and/ or rural schools²⁶.

²⁶ It seems logical to expect the former Model C schools to solicit the agreement as they would be the ones requesting the skills, and also because they are normally in a better position to organise.

Such a strategy can be seen as a broad extension of the specialist secondary schools programme, whereby learners follow classes across schools in their district in order to study the discipline of their choice on which a given secondary school focuses (see speech by Minister N Pandor on education budget, National Assembly, 19 May 2005, <http://www.kzn.education.gov.za/news/2006/19-05-2006.pdf>).

Obviously there are different ways to implement this scheme and the following are mere practical suggestions. It could start immediately after the Foundation Phase (Grade 4). In order to avoid duplication of administrative structures, the existing clustering of schools could be used. Clusters normally comprise around 10 schools located in the same area and, more often than not, belonging to the same social category. They offer member schools opportunities for sharing experience and discussing standards, among other things. Clusters made up of former Model C schools could be systematically dismantled, each school being reallocated to the closest cluster containing black schools so that, in as much as feasible, all clusters country-wide would include a mixed array of schools, with at least one former Model C in each.

What I anticipate are bi-directional skills exchanges involving movements of pupils whereby, say, a quarter of the learners of a given grade in a former Model C school would study during a period of time in one of the associated black schools, with the reverse happening simultaneously or at separate times—either for a full week or a fortnight, or on a daily basis, with each pair of schools freely deciding on the more convenient strategy, the only obligation being to act in one way or another.

For white pupils in black schools, the focus would be on language teaching, making full use of available language teachers as well as local pupils through some type of mentoring (or peer teaching), leading to an interesting blend of formal and informal learning²⁷. That would give long overdue impetus to the teaching of African languages as second languages which, in spite of its dire need, appears to be lagging behind. Mostly, it will place African language teachers in black schools in a good position to

²⁷ Ellis (1990:2) considers that second language learning implies two different activities, formal and informal. Formal occurs mostly in school, informal in 'naturalistic' circumstances. The strategy proposed would mobilize both in schools.

innovate and improve on African language teaching methodology. Other subjects could be included, with Life Orientation probably coming top of the list.

The same naturally would happen the other way round when black learners would go for furlough study in the former Model Cs schools. Subjects could be per choice, with Mathematics, English, Sports (allowing them to enjoy better facilities), etc, probably most in demand²⁸.

Such exchanges would challenge teachers in many ways: for example, black teachers of African languages and other subjects as they would be compared to their counterparts by their temporary white learners used to a certain professional behaviour; former Model C teachers confronted with learners having difficulties with the LoLT but without the possibility of code-switching to another medium It would create a dynamics for multilingual teaching and constitute a first step towards a truly multicultural education, which, albeit on the official agenda, has so far never been really implemented (see Marais & Meier 2008). It would also vindicate the intentions of Higher Education Institutions to promote indigenous languages as incoming students would all have a degree of command in one of them at least.

Once the initial distrust is removed and mutual respect installed through a monitored programme, many friendships will undoubtedly ensue, as happens normally between youth. Whilst in the township school-yards, white learners would befriend some of their black colleagues, who would look after them and, again, the same would happen in white schools. Both

²⁸ Since the writing of this paper, I was privy to an experience which goes some way along those lines. Through an agreement with a couple of private schools in Johannesburg, notably the French school in Bryanston, pupils from Winnie Ngwekazi primary school in Pimville Soweto go and attend classes there for one or two week sessions during the breaks, taking advantage that the French school follows the French school calendar. Pupils from the French school are regularly invited to events at Winnie Ngwekazi. The programme, supported by the French cultural department, has been endorsed by both school communities (Thanks to Winnie Ngwekazi's principal Pumla Mabilo for sharing this information with me).

groups have so much to discover and share!²⁹

Interestingly, such a programme would be no novelty in South Africa. When, at the beginning of the 20th century, the Afrikaners developed the first model of Christian National Education, a significant number of schools were attended by children from *both* language-communities, i.e. English *and* Dutch, later Afrikaans, that a bitter war had just pitted against each other. Malherbe, who was very positive on this educational strategy for mutual understanding, recalls its appreciation in the words of J.H. Hofmeyr ('Onze Jan'), for a long-time the authorized voice of the Cape Afrikaners: '*I would like the English boy to learn Dutch from the Dutch boy, and the Dutch boy to learn English from his English comrade in the school and with whom he is going to mix in after life*' (in Malherbe 1977:7)³⁰. Once we substitute learner for 'boy' and black and white for English and Dutch, what I advocate here is not more than an all-inclusive version of this plea.

Conclusion: The Myth of the Gariieb River

It is high time that South Africa effectively promotes a more socially and racially integrated society, if only for the interest of social stability in the medium term. I believe that the systematic valorisation of black languages and culture would make short excursions in township and rural schools attractive for white learners, encouraging bidirectional exchanges to make multilingualism—including an African language—real. This could lead to lasting interaction across the entire racial and social spectrum, thereby paving the way for the advent in South Africa of the long overdue 'politics of

²⁹ Of course, skills transfers between teachers have been organized over the years. Van Huyssteen (2002) mentions the Ilwimi project of mutual mentoring of teachers in dual medium schools. There are many other initiatives, like Alison Kitto's intervention on Mathematics in township schools. What we suggest here is a systemic and mandatory programme.

³⁰ At the time, a frequent system was that of dual- or parallel medium schools, where, after an initial mother tongue instruction period, the 'other language' was used as secondary MoI. For more on this see Malherbe (1977).

becoming' (as opposed to 'the politics of being'), that Connolly defines as 'that paradoxical politics by which new cultural identities are formed out of unexpected energies and institutionally congealed injuries ...' (in Maclure 2003:7). This process would represent a drastic change to inherited attitudes that bonded identities.

The youth of tomorrow would thus at long last make a reality of Neville Alexander's allegory of the nation as a river, the Garieb, strengthened by the converging of diverse streams³¹. South Africa does not take full measure of the wealth represented by the diversity of languages and cultures it contains. It is high time it builds on it rather than let it remain a dead weight in the education system.

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³¹ The image of the nation as a powerful river—*Garieb* is the original name for the river christened *Orange* by the European settlers—was advocated by Neville Alexander (2001), instead of the *rainbow nation*, on the grounds that it suggests the merging of streams rather than their mere juxtaposition.

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Book Reviews

Ukuhlelwa Kolimi

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Ndimande-Hlongwa's recent book is a must read for everyone interested in language planning and policy. Translated as *IsiZulu Language Planning, Ukuhlelwa Kolimi* is a major achievement in a field that is full of books on this topic. These, however, are written in English and other Indo-European languages and not a South African language. The author has challenged the hegemonic status quo as she grappled with the painful process of trying to find suitable Zulu terms to describe the phenomena that have been the exclusive preserve of English. Yet, the author has shown that she is a master in communication – someone with experience in teaching isiZulu, who has the ability to put the ideas across in a so-called underdeveloped language. The reading is, therefore, pleasant and instructive, both in terms of content and form.

The book is an in-depth 181 page scholarly study, organised in 13 chapters, plus acknowledgements (*Amazwi Okubonga*), a preface (*Isandulelo*) and a list of abbreviations (*Izifinyezo*). Ndimande-Hlongwa's book covers the crucial aspects of language planning comprehensively. It also provides case studies to represent and distil, proximal and immediate circumstances in language planning (Boudreau 2005). By drawing examples from various situations in the world, the theory and practice are put in

perspective. In particular she demonstrates how the South African language policy, in many diverse ways, impacts on nation-building. Issues related to language are discussed systematically, taking into consideration their relations to other domains of social life. The 10 page bibliography testifies to the wide range of scholarship consulted.

Ndimande-Hlongwa is well-known for her involvement in various language planning committees in higher education. In the preface, she explains how she was influenced by Nonhlanhla Mkhulisi in 1999, who strongly promoted the idea that the teaching of language should focus on new areas of language learning that are still underdeveloped including training the learners in various skills such as interpreting, translation, language planning and language technology rather than ending up focusing on morphology, phonetics and phonology only (p. v). Ndimande-Hlongwa argues that we need to reflect on the relevant work that has been accomplished as far as promoting multilingualism in South Africa is concerned. We must focus on what has been done by government, provinces, different departments and the universities. The book is therefore written for learners who study language planning and for the interested individuals who deal with language issues or with language planning in their respective institutions. It can be of great help to those who are planning language policies.

In the first chapter Ndimande-Hlongwa emphasises the importance of language planning and gives definitions of the key concepts in the field. She revisits the concept of 'language' (*ulimi*) and refers to publications on language (Radebe & Mchunu 1986) that indicate that language can be explained as utterance of audible sounds, which contain thoughts and the way the human mind works. Additional concepts, such as 'linguistics' and 'language planning', amongst others, are also defined in this chapter. She goes into detail in explaining the concept of language planning (p. 3). She defines language planning as the authorised efforts by government over a period of time to change the way languages are used in society in order to solve communication problems (cf. Weinstein 1980). Language planning also deals with the selection and development of the official languages. She argues that it is important to realise that language planning refers in essence to the efforts to change the way the language is used in a community. She elaborates on different types of language planning including status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning. What is noticeable in this process

of defining the concepts is that Ndimande-Hlongwa uses a combination of various methods in creating the relevant terms. For example, she uses the method of direct translation for ‘multilingualism’ – *ubuliminingi*. Sometimes she reverts to using adoptives for words such as ‘jargon’ – *ijagoni*.

Chapter 2 is an historical overview of language planning in South Africa. The chapter begins by presenting the outcomes of negotiations between the African National Congress (ANC) and other stakeholders in Harare in 1990. While the ANC and the National Party (NP) could not agree on the issue of languages, the National Language Project (NLP) proposed a multilingual language policy. The idea of multilingualism came as a solution and the emphasis on equitable use also helped Afrikaans to be chosen as one of the official languages alongside English and the indigenous languages (Heugh 2003). Ndimande-Hlongwa sketches the sociolinguistic environment of South Africa and shows how the South African indigenous languages originate from their well-known language families. It is in this chapter where she defines the concept of ‘official language’. She presents the fact that the South African language policy has eleven official languages and among these are the two Indo-European languages (English and Afrikaans). She also presents early language policies in the history of South Africa and how they had an impact on the Bantu Education Act of 1953. She shows how the latter was a blessing in disguise as it led to the standardisation of the nine indigenous languages which are now part of the eleven official languages. She then focuses on the development of the Zulu language and of Afrikaans.

In Chapter 3, Ndimande-Hlongwa discusses language policy at different levels in South Africa. She begins with language policy at a national level and then presents the legislative framework upon which the South African language policy is built. She explains in detail the goals of the former Department of Arts, Culture Science and Technology (now Department of Arts and Culture) as far as the development of languages is concerned. She then provides detailed reviews of the language policies of the eThekweni Municipality and the University of KwaZulu-Natal respectively. These policies represent language planning at a local level, which must be aligned with the national language policy framework of the country.

Chapter 4 presents various orientations of language planning, including language as a problem, language as a right and language as a resource. When language is viewed as a problem some languages are usually

treated as inferior to others. Ndimande-Hlongwa argues that in South Africa, this continues to happen despite the fact that we have a multilingual language policy. But language may be viewed as a right, and this is in line with the constitutional provisions (Ruiz 1984). However, Ndimande-Hlongwa argues that sometimes this right may be abused, for example, where a community demands rights that will not necessarily serve the purpose of language development. When the language is perceived as important, it can be used as a resource, for example in translation, information and communication. Besides these orientations, Ndimande-Hlongwa discusses four models of language planning. These include the assimilationist model, the integrationist model, the vernacularisation model and the pluralist model. South Africa has used almost all of these models at various stages of language policy development. It is interesting to note that the author has decided to present these models in English here before explaining them in Zulu. This is a feature that is followed in all related instances in the book. In that way it makes it easier for a learner to remember the defined and explained concepts.

Chapter 5 deals with scientific theories used in sociolinguistics. These include speech accommodation, cognitive uncertainty, affective reinforcement, intergroup distinctiveness, gain-loss and hegemony. These theories are well summarised and they provide a learner with general understanding of what these concepts entail. Besides these theories, Ndimande-Hlongwa presents in detail the Strategic Planning Framework as discussed by Webb (2002). This framework ensures the implementation of a language policy. It is also observable in this chapter that some concepts pose a serious problem when they are translated into Zulu. For example, the word “code” has been translated as “*ikhowudi*”. However, “code”, “register” and “language” may be treated as related concepts. As code, register and language are closely related concepts they should ideally be translated in such a way that this relationship is transparent.

Chapter 6 discusses the goals of language planning. The chapter begins with a list of eleven goals as presented by Nahir (1984) in Kaplan and Baldauf (1997). These include language purification, language revival, language reform, language standardisation, language spread, lexical modernisation, terminology unification, stylistic simplification, interlingual communication, language maintenance and auxiliary code standardisation. These goals are presented with their Zulu translation. Ndimande-Hlongwa

ends this chapter by explaining that this list of goals is crucial and she highlights the situation in South Africa where nine of the official languages still need terminology development and lexical modernisation.

Chapter 7 deals with the institutions created by the South African government to promote multilingualism. The chapter presents in detail the role of each institution and these include the South African Language Board (PanSALB), the Department of Arts, Culture and Tourism, National Language Services and Language Research and Development Centres. PanSALB is a statutory body established by Act of Parliament to oversee the promotion and development of multilingualism in South Africa.

Chapter 8 provides details on the types of language planning. These include status language planning, corpus language planning and acquisition planning as presented by Cooper (1989). These three types of language planning are very important. Status planning deals with the selection of the official languages. There are various criteria that are followed in this process. Ndimande-Hlongwa compares this with the South African situation and she argues that it will take a while for the South African indigenous languages to develop to the same level as the exogenous languages. Corpus planning focuses on the written form of a language whereas acquisition planning refers to how the language is planned for education and for acceptance by a wider community.

Chapter 9 provides the historical development of language planning on the African continent. Ndimande-Hlongwa uses countries such as Tanzania, Namibia, Malawi and Zimbabwe as ideal examples to highlight language planning problems on the continent. The discussions show that the journey in language planning has not been easy in Africa. Each country has decided on the model that is considered suitable for its own community but, in most cases, such a model is influenced by its political ideologies. Tanzania solved the problem of language planning by adopting Kiswahili. Other countries resorted to English as a national language. This has caused major problems in education.

Chapters 10 and 11 provide details of case studies. In Chapter 10 Ndimande-Hlongwa focuses on language planning in Algeria. While historically this country used French, Arabic emerged as a strongly preferred official language after the wars of liberation. This, however, disadvantaged other languages that are spoken by the indigenous people of Algeria. Chapter

11 provides language planning by the University of KwaZulu-Natal. This university's language policy puts strong emphasis on the use of the Zulu language as a medium of instruction. Although the policy looks good, the outcome of its successful implementation is yet to be seen.

In Chapter 12 Ndimande-Hlongwa addresses the question of the role of the indigenous languages in education in the African continent. This comes as a result of the underdevelopment that is prominent in most of the African languages (Wolff 2000). There is a great need to explain the role of the African languages in education. This means that we must avoid using exogenous languages such as English and French as languages of education. However, the indigenous languages must be developed and the emphasis should be placed on the fact that children's cognitive development can improve if they were taught in their home languages. In South Africa this is still a problem and there is still a debate surrounding the issue of mother-tongue education. Ndimande-Hlongwa advocates a need for continuing in-depth research as far as the medium of instruction is concerned in South Africa. She suggests that learners, teachers and school governing bodies must be sensitised to the importance of using their home languages in education.

The final Chapter 13 discusses the role of the United Nations in developing languages. This world organisation has announced certain calendar dates to be observed in order to raise awareness on matters related to language. Most languages are spoken by the minorities and as a result these languages are in danger of extinction. Ndimande-Hlongwa levels a strong criticism against black parents who choose to use English when they are speaking to their children. However, the efforts of the United Nations in creating other organisations such as the African Academy of Languages (ACALAN) are highly commended. Ndimande-Hlongwa also commends all other initiatives that are geared towards publishing in the African languages. The problems of languages planning in Africa continue at the present time. Governments find it difficult to implement language policies they have approved for their respective countries. There is, therefore, a need to pull all the stakeholders or role players together, including government, schools, and communities.

For anyone who wishes to understand the dynamics of language planning, this is a splendid book. Indeed it would be of great value for all who study language planning and policy.

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Bushman Letters: Interpreting /Xam Narratives

Michael Wessels

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2010, 330 pp.

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Bushman Letters may not be the most important monograph yet written about the Bleek-Lloyd archive of /Xam testimonies, but it is certainly the most important study of *other* studies concerned with the Bleek-Lloyd archive. As Anne Solomon has recently pointed out, literary readings of these now outrageously popular sources of /Xam ‘Bushman’ memories, stories, narratives, performances – collectively, *kukummi* – are highlighting ‘common ground for debate amongst researchers who, despite diverse disciplinary interests, face the same hermeneutical task’ (2009: 26). The hermeneutical task is ultimately to discern, or decide, just what these testimonies of a vanished people *mean* to ‘us’ in contemporary South Africa. Wessels’ purpose is not so much to understand /Xam society, as this is, in his view, to fall into the old anthropological trap of essentialising some static, folkloric, pre-colonial society. His aim is rather to understand why his predecessor commentators, from Wilhelm Bleek himself through to (particularly) Roger Hewitt and anthropologist Matthias Guenther, have read the archive the way they have, and what an analysis of their work tells us about how meaning is generated at all. *Bushman Letters* is, in short, a deconstruction of the main reconstructions of the /Xam presence in contemporary scholarly culture.

Many such reconstructions have been fielded. They started with Dorothea Bleek’s own *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, migrated through Laurens van der Post (bypassed by Wessels) and Gideon von Weilligh, and have recently exploded into numerous narrative and poetic ‘versions’ by, amongst others, Jack Cope, David Lewis-Williams, Alan James, Stephen

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Watson and Antjie Krog (the ‘plagiarism’ spat between the last two is the subject of Wessels’ last chapter). In addition there have been two collections of excellent essays edited by Pippa Skotnes, historical and intellectual studies by Nigel Pennington, Neil Bennun, Andrew Banks and Shane Moran, applications of the archive to rock-art studies by Lewis-Williams and other archaeologists, and various popularised productions such as Craig Foster’s coffee-table *My Heart Stands in the Hill*. In sum, the Bleek-Lloyd material has rapidly become the site of almost frenzied attention from (unavoidably, white) scholars, presumably eager to forge some recharged sense of what it means to *belong* in South Africa. It is apposite, then, that attention should be drawn to the ways in which such senses of understanding and belonging have been textually constructed, with what consequences – and we are fortunate to have Wessels’ study in thoroughness, intelligence and judiciousness.

The character and range of Wessels’ approach is perhaps most succinctly expressed in an endnote:

This debate [over interpretation] has taken several forms over the centuries, including the mediaeval battle between nominalists and scholastics and the ‘nineteenth-century controversies about idealism and realism’ (Hynes and Doty 1993:5). Historically, they argue, the natural sciences have been associated with the particular and the humanities with the general approach to knowledge. I locate the premises of the debate differently I believe that the difference emerges from the contrast between an approach embedded in a metaphysics of presence and one that concedes to narrative its textuality and to language its materiality. (118)

The phrase ‘metaphysics of presence’ is from Jacques Derrida, whose critique of Rousseau and Levi-Strauss in *Of Grammatology* is one of Wessels’ primary tools (along with touches of Foucault, Spivak and Bourdieu). The Western intellectual tradition (there is only one?), Derrida and Wessels argue, fundamentally denigrates or idealises the ‘other’ only in order to delineate and bolster its own ethnocentric identity. Bleek’s adherence to Darwinist principles and contemporary ethnographic hierarchies; Roger Hewitt’s pursuit, in his influential *Structure, Meaning and Ritual*, of Vladimir Propp-like structural patterns in the *kukummi*; Guenther’s

comparative approach to so-called ‘trickster’ archetypes; and Lewis-Williams’ interpretation of rock art as manifestations of a neurologically-based shamanism, all manifest in various ways this Western, ethnocentric, but falsely universalising ‘metaphysics of presence’, with, in Wessels’ view, variously skewed consequences for our understanding of the /Xam narratives. All such approaches have value (Wessels is unfailingly even-handed and polite towards his predecessors), but tend to ‘impose a meaning on the text in order to illustrate a theory ... rather than allow the narrative to signify on its own terms’ (86).

After chapters exploring the substantial contributions and problems of the publications by Banks, Hewitt, and Guenther, then, Wessels embarks on extensive readings of a small selection of the /Xam narratives. The technique is Derridean in nature: it denies any severe division between oral and written (a premise of Guenther’s); it eschews comparisons with similar stories, such as ‘origin myths’, from other cultures (a foundational principle of Hewitt’s structuralism); it avoids any sharp distinction between the present and the so-called ‘First Order’ of some allegedly mythic past; and it denies any ‘hidden truth’ behind the narratives, ‘riddles to be deciphered’ (146). Rather, the narratives are all surface; it is in the signifying power of the surface details (so far almost ignored by commentators) that *meaning* is generated. Wessels thus looks for an ‘intertextual’ manner of reading, by assessing relationships between elements within a narrative, and by pursuing references across the assembled *kukummi* to, say, ‘shoe’, or ‘lion’.

Here I think Wessels runs into some trouble. On one hand he wants to avoid the (impossible) cultural exclusivity of reading purely from a /Xam ‘frame of reference’ (149); but he has to admit that his reading is hamstrung by ‘distance’ from the impenetrable ‘logic’ of a /Xam worldview (206). Further, such a frame is ‘known’ only through the very materials he is exploring, and the materials are already fragmented by Bleek and Lloyd’s selectivity, translation issues, and manner of collecting them. Wessels correctly notes all this, and therefore asserts that the ‘narratives themselves produce ambiguity and openness and invite interpretations; these are properties of their discursiveness’ (206). This may be true in practice; but it also means that a certain circularity is introduced, and that the ‘Derridean’ glosses, themselves rhetorically essentialising, ‘mean’ no more to me than the bizarre stories themselves. The ‘openness’ of the texts means simply that

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our best cross-cultural efforts notwithstanding, ‘we’ still don’t know what’s ‘going on’ in them; but if we are to escape *all* controlling or communal paradigms and liberate ourselves into the sheer relativity of individual readers’ interpretations, we would have nothing to discuss: and Wessels therefore can’t help sneaking in a little idealism here and there.

Never mind: the mysteriousness is essential to our fascination with /Xam culture and the Bleek-Lloyd archive itself, and Wessels has done scholarship a huge service with this measured, subtle, and penetrating study.



The Imagination of Freedom: Critical Texts and Times in Liberal Literature

Andrew Foley

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Andrew Foley's book offers impressive testimony to his passionate involvement with the values of liberalism. His declared purpose is "to explore the work of a number of writers who have responded, from a liberal viewpoint" to particular "critical moments in recent political history". Accordingly, in the nine chapters following his introduction to "Liberal politics and liberal literature", he has assembled a study of six novelists, one poet, one dramatist and one theorist, all of whom, in his view, exemplify liberal concerns and aims.

The introductory chapter offers a rigorously expounded account of the development of liberal political thought. Foley's extensive knowledge of all the relevant thinkers in his chosen field, and his particular interest in the tension between the issues of liberty and equality, enable him to provide a persuasive defence of the liberal approach to literature. His account would be especially useful for literary students because of the way each literary theory is considered with regard to its political implications – usually this is done only in relation to Marxism. On the other hand, amongst Foley's many helpful clarifications are the essential distinctions he makes between aspects of poststructuralism and Derrida's deconstructive practice, and his insights into the serious contradictions in Foucault's political standpoint. Wisely too, while firmly rejecting the "foundational assumptions and assertions of

Marxism, poststructuralism and postmodernism”, he acknowledges the gains from these theories for a liberal approach to literature.

The discussion of Alan Paton’s novel, *Cry, the Beloved Country*, reveals Foley’s profound engagement with the author’s concerns, and the way in which Paton positions the reader to share the protagonist’s momentous journey. Effective ripostes are made to the main criticisms of the novel, most notably Stephen Watson’s objection to the writer’s use of a love-hate antithesis resolution. Foley also makes an important elucidation of the significance of Paton’s use of Biblical passages, showing how these are underpinned by his sense of a profound alliance between his Christianity and his liberalism. Foley does not shirk from confronting the problems created by Paton’s portrayal of John Khumalo, Msimangu and Napoleon Letsitsi in the novel.

Foley’s third chapter, on Chinua Achebe’s *Things Fall Apart*, seems to me rather less convincing or adequately in touch with what the introduction proposes. While Foley deals helpfully with the Achebe-Conrad debate, his lengthy examination of possible reasons for Okwonko’s downfall seems more suited to a lecture-type of general exposition. One has to wait till the very end of the chapter to be informed that the conceptual and narratological ambiguity in Achebe’s portrayal of Okwonko is what gives his perspective its liberal flavour. Chapter 4 on Ken Kesey’s *One Flew Over the Cuckoo’s Nest* is much more consistently in touch with Foley’s declared aims. To begin with, he offers a concise contextual account of the gap between America’s democratic ideals and practice post World War 2, and helpfully identifies four main allegorical strands of freedom in the novel. In relation to the character, Chief Bromden, Foley makes an important point about the link between cultural integrity and the attaining of individual liberty, and he is persuasive in his handling of the other main male character, McMurphy, as an exemplar of the “true spirit of both liberal democracy and humanistic psychology” (p. 107). The discussion of McMurphy as a Christ-like figure also proves illuminating, yet some qualification would have been appropriate. The implications of what Kesey seems to affirm as the value of the “free, uninhibited, joyful assertion of human sexuality” (p. 109), also surely merits further consideration in relation to liberal aims more generally.

Foley’s chapter on Seamus Heaney’s “Bog Poems” shows a sound grasp of the problem confronting the poet in terms of finding a fittingly

poetic means to address the political conflict. While carefully noting the tension between Heaney's humanist impulses and his cultural identity, Foley rightly emphasises Heaney's insistence on a "liberal perspective". A sound case is made for regarding *Wintering Out* as a transitional collection, and *North* as the realization of Heaney's full potential as a "poet of the Northern Irish Troubles". Foley sustains well and resolves persuasively the debate about Heaney's purpose and achievement in his symbolic poems. It is a pity, though, that Foley was apparently unaware of my own article, "Heaney: Poetry and the Irish Cause" (*Theoria* 63, October 1984), which would have enabled him to recognize the value of some of the less directly conflict-focused poems in Heaney's development towards his achievement.

In Foley's view the aim of Fay Weldon's *Praxis*, the subject of Chapter 6, is to balance the ideals of both gender equality and individual liberty. His contention that for her what is wrong is "not so much gender inequality as such, but the very institution of the traditional family itself" (p. 151), leads him to an apparent agreement with her wish for "a new, more flexible conception of societal institutions" (p. 152). In this regard he is clearly influenced by Robert Nozick who advocates that "people need to be allowed the freedom to work out the social arrangement which best enabled them to pursue their personal vision of the good life" (p. 153). Foley's affirmation of the Weldon-Nozick principle emerges clearly when he states: "The destabilizing of the compulsory traditional family structure, then far from undermining one of the bases of the democratic State, actually represents a further step in the evolution of liberal society" (p. 153). Here I feel rather less inclined to regard myself a supporter of liberalism since far too little attention is given to the possible implications, more especially for children, of such destabilization. In Foley's attempt to justify Weldon, he seems unaware of how much one is manipulated by her, especially through her far too neatly expedient rearrangement of the children from the fictional broken families. Weldon's form of liberal thinking does not seem to me to have been adequately prepared for in the masterly introductory chapter, nor does Foley seem to have considered how to reconcile his support for Paton's Christian liberalism with what Weldon proposes.

In relation to Athol Fugard, Foley shows himself fully engaged by the huge field of criticism engendered through his work, and ably justifies his complaint about the way the dramatist's politics have often been dealt with.

An economical and yet comprehensive contextual account of the period culminating in the CODESA deliberations initiates the chapter. Foley's discussion of *The Road to Mecca* shows full alertness to the implications of the play with regard to a political perspective. Similarly in *My Children! My Africa!* he notes how both aspects of the play, the condemnation of apartheid injustices as well as the challenge to those who resort to violence as a solution, exemplify liberal thought at work. The chapter as a whole succeeds in endorsing Foley's affirmation of the way "such fundamental liberal values as tolerance, compassion, and mutual respect and understanding" (p. 189), as exemplified in Fugard's plays, help to underpin the kind of democratic society to which South Africa is aspiring.

Chapter 9, devoted to Mario Vargas Llosa's *The Feast of the Goat*, offers a lucid account of the 31-year dictatorship of the Dominican Republic's Rafael Trujillo, while ensuring that the essential aspects of the writer's liberalism are consistently foregrounded. Fully in touch with critical reactions of Llosa's work, Foley goes on to deal fascinatingly and compellingly with his evocation of Trujillo. In so doing he provides an appropriate opportunity at this late stage of the text for a reminder of what contemporary liberal political theory espouses, and grapples vigorously with the liberal dilemma: is it permissible to use violence (via assassination) to free the people from tyranny?

In the penultimate chapter, concerning Richard Rorty's theoretical viewpoint, Foley is concerned to clarify how certain aspects of postmodernism may be maintained within an overarching liberal political vision, a daring but ultimately worthwhile challenge in which he succeeds. Having accepted Rorty's refusal to dismiss postmodernism, and taken up his idea of "liberal ironists", but dissatisfied with the theorist's choice of Orwell and Naboka for exemplification, Foley then proceeds to reveal how, in particular cases, liberalism and ironism are intertwined. This strategy provides him with a most useful opportunity to examine the work of particular writers, including Fugard and Weldon, and to make a brave, partly persuasive, attempt to bring J.M. Coetzee also into the liberal ironist camp.

In the final chapter Foley mostly reveals a sound grasp of Ian McKewan's concerns and strategies in his novel, *Saturday*. Foley notes the significant way in which McKewan gives full scope to the representation of the protagonist Perowne as a brilliant, skilled neurosurgeon; and further that

he is not merely a gifted technician in his work but is fully aware of the wonder of human consciousness. The writer is also ready to acknowledge the ways in which we are convinced by McKewan that Perowne does experience happiness especially in his family life, and in the midst of performing operations. However, Perowne does lack adequate imaginative empathy for those less fortunate than himself as emerges in his initial encounter with Baxter, and their second encounter is crucial for his further development in this respect. But is Perowne actually right in convicting himself of “shameless blackmail” in using his professional knowledge to avoid being beaten up by Baxter and his two cronies? I would be inclined to say he had every right to try to save his own life in his extremely vulnerable position.

Much of the essential ambivalence in Perowne’s thoughts about the imminent possibility of war against Iraq is thoughtfully captured by the writer. Nevertheless there are some oversimplifying aspects in the overall portrayal of Perowne which I would like to highlight. To start with more emphasis is needed on the underlying morality of Perowne’s work, involving, as it does, sustained compassion and concern for all his patients. Baxter’s case induces him to take his commitment to an extraordinary new level, but the basis has been present all along. His leaving his home at the dead of night, in the midst of a family party, to save the life of the man who came close to raping the daughter, Daisy, in front of the assembled and terrified family, is surely worthy of more credit than a recognition of his sympathy. Daisy’s reading of Arnold’s “Dover Beach” which has such a stunning and surprising effect on Baxter, is a brilliant stroke of resourcefulness in the midst of her pitiful predicament. Yet, while it is crucial that Perowne learn about the merits of poetry through this grim event, I would expect some attention to be given to the lack of a reciprocal awareness on Daisy’s part, of the life-saving skills of her father. It is surely highly significant that McKewan reveals in his acknowledgments that he spent two years watching neurosurgical operations. His portrayal of particular operations in the novel is akin to a tour de force, which might even suggest that an alternative form of poetry is being enacted. In short, although Foley gives much attention to McKewan’s handling of ambiguity in the novel I would expect fuller awareness of the profound and pervasive degree of ambivalence which McKewan achieves.

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Foley's *The Imagination of Freedom* has a striking cover design, cleverly announcing the names of the selected writers, while the content is elegantly but unfussily presented. Unfortunately a minor problem occurs several times in the typography: the last letter of a word has become attached to the first letter of the next. Some random examples are to be found on pages 29, 129, 47 and 185. Three final missing references need to be noted: Pieterse and Duerden (cited in Chapter 3, p. 76); Curtis (cited for Edna Longley in Chapter 5, p. 137); and Updike (cited for Barreca in Chapter 9, p. 230).

Despite my disappointment with aspects of Chapters 3, 6 and 10, I regard Foley's book as seminal, an invaluable invitation to engage intensely with the liberal approach to literature in relation to specific, noteworthy cases, as well as to re-examine the relationship between this approach and other major current approaches.



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