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LANGUAGE ATTITUDES IN SOWETO-
THE PLACE OF THE INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES

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LANGUAGE ATTITUDES IN SOWETO -
THE PLACE OF THE INDIGENOUS
LANGUAGES

by

MATILDA MMAGAUTA ROSA DUBE

SUBMITTED IN PART-FULFILMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MAGISTER ARTIUM

IN THE
DEPARTMENT OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES

AT
VISTA UNIVERSITY

SUPERVISOR: PROFESSOR S.R. CHAPHOLE

AUGUST 1992

SOWETO
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all I wish to give praise to the Almighty God for the strength He provided throughout the duration of this study.

I am deeply grateful to Professor Sol Chaphole who, without his encouragement, patience and insightful guidance this work would not have been completed. I appreciate your efforts Motshweneng.

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My love and appreciation also go to my family especially my sister-in-law ‘MaDineo, my nephew Tshediso and my mother ‘MaMohlomi for willing to look after my son when I was out there in the wilderness. ‘Ke a le leboha Bakwena-Bafokeng!’

Finally, I am grateful to my husband Michael and son Lebohang for accepting to be without a wife and mother. Your patience strengthened me more.
DECLARATION

I declare that:

LANGUAGE ATTITUDES IN SOWETO- THE
PLACE OF INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES

is my own work, that all the sources used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references, and that this dissertation was not previously submitted by me for a degree at another university.
SUMMARY

Language planning in South Africa has been nothing but the Government's policy of separatism. To our knowledge there has never been any consultation between the authorities and the users of the various languages. The broader community has had no input in planning the languages which affect them directly. It is our attempt then to join the debate about language policy and language planning especially during 1991/1992.

The goal of the debate is to define the relationship between democracy and language policy. If our intention is to make South Africa a truly non-racial and democratic society, with an ablying political system, then we need to consult with the view to expedite the democratic processes through language planning.

It is in the light of the need to consult that we went into the community of Soweto to talk to the people about languages which affect them directly. We have seen the need to talk to the broader community of Soweto in order to establish language attitudes in this mammoth township. The idea is to make a statement - reliable we hope - based on what the people themselves have to say.

This work represents an interim report of research that is ongoing.
Concepts relating to sociolinguistics and relevant to this study as well as the review of crucial literature are handled in chapter 1.

Chapter 2 presents the data gathered from the respondents. In chapter 3 we attempt an analysis of the data which appears in the previous chapter.

Chapter 4 predicts the role of the indigenous languages in a South Africa of tomorrow.

A concluding statement is given in chapter 5.
# CONTENTS

Title Page
Acknowledgements
Declaration
Summary
Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER 1</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1 INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 DEFINITION AND EXPLANATION OF CONCEPTS</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 LITERATURE REVIEW ON LANGUAGE ATTITUDE STUDIES</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 CASE STUDIES</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER 2</th>
<th>33</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.1 METHOD OF DATA COLLECTING</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 DATA COLLECTED</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER 3</th>
<th>66</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.1 DATA ANALYSIS</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER 4</th>
<th>97</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1 LANGUAGE PLANNING THEORIES</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2 THE PLACE OF THE INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES IN FUTURE</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER 5</th>
<th>122</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.1 FINDINGS OF THE STUDY</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2 PROBLEMATIC AREAS</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3 POSSIBLE FUTURE RESEARCH STUDY</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BIBLIOGRAPHY | 127 |
CHAPTER 1

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this research is to investigate the attitudes of the people of Soweto regarding the different languages spoken in this area with particular emphasis on the indigenous languages. As researchers we have a hunch that attitudes (negative or positive) can be established towards the different indigenous languages spoken in Soweto.

With the changes taking place in this country and there being the possibility of a new South Africa, we saw the need to talk to the broader community of Soweto, from bottom to top in order to establish language attitudes in this mammoth township. To our knowledge, there has never been any consultation between authorities and the users of the various languages. The broader community has had no input in planning the languages which affect them directly. We believe that a statement from the people will provide much needed contribution towards language planning in South Africa. We think that it would make sense to hear from a broad spectrum drawn from the inhabitants of Soweto whether isiZulu should be the National language of tomorrow or whether they are for the Nhlapo-Alexander proposal or
whether they see multilingualism as a beautiful natural process that should be left intact.

Drawing on this wide body of experience, we will then focus on practical proposals for language planning and language standardization in a democratic South Africa. To our knowledge no one has done this work before especially in the manner we propose to do it.

The research will be conducted through interviews and reading. As mentioned earlier, the investigation will involve talking to a broad spectrum drawn from the inhabitants of Soweto, as will be seen in Chapter 2, paragraph 2.1. Our focus will also be on studies made locally and elsewhere on language attitudes and language planning.

1.2 DEFINITION AND EXPLANATION OF CONCEPTS

A number of concepts which feature prominently in this work are explained presently.

1.2.1 Language

Language is an important tool for communication in any society. Fromkin and Rodman (1983:3) point out that whatever else people may do when they come together -
whether they play, fight, make love or make automobiles – they talk. This is reiterated by Fasold (1984:1) when he says that not only do people use language to share their thoughts and feelings with other people, they exploit the subtle and not so subtle aspects of language to reveal and define their social relationships with the people they are talking to, with the people who can overhear them and even with people who are nowhere around. Some of the definitions of language are the following:

According to Sapir (1921:8) language is a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of voluntarily produced symbols. Hall (1968:158) says language is the institution whereby humans communicate and interact with each other by means of habitually used oral-auditory arbitrary symbols.

From these definitions we do realise that without language, people would not be able to know or understand the thought, behaviour, feeling,
attitudes and so on of other people as there would not be anything used to transmit that information. Therefore the most appropriate tool that can be used to perform that function is language.

1.2.2 Communication

Generally we take for granted that communication is a process that is carried by human beings only. This is seen in definitions like communication is the symbolic interaction by means of which humans relate to each other. On a more broader base communication should be viewed as a mutual process in which there is a sender of a message. The message may be sent through different ways like using language, making gestures or through symbols. Du Plooy (1991: 11) says that generally communication is an interpersonal and/or social interaction between at least one communicator and at least one recipient, which implies a message, a medium, a context in which the process of sharing meaning occurs, an intentional purpose to express, to interpret, to provide and/or to receive feedback.
From the definition above we note that communication is a social process which involves an interaction of two or more entities. In this work we are concerned with the type of communication that involves human beings. Hence Tubbs and Moss (1974: 6) distinguish between types like animal communication, human communication and effective communication and therefore specifically define human communication as the process of creating a meaning between two or more people.

1.2.3 Attitudes and Language Attitudes

The concept attitude is a term we do not think of in the abstract. Rather, we think of an attitude as a kind of formed behaviour which is generally directed towards something. Petty and Cacioppo (1986: 123ff) define attitudes as general evaluations people make about themselves, other persons, objects or issues. In support of what Petty and Cacioppo say, we believe that one’s mental state is affected so as to be able to make evaluations about other persons, objects or issues.

This brings us to Allport’s (1935) definition that an attitude is a mental and neural state of readiness,
organized through experience, exerting a directive or
dynamic influence upon the individuals response to all
objects and situations with which it is related.

As people we are continually exposed to different
things in our environment and continually have certain
impressions about certain things. The encounter is
experienced throughout our lives. Hence Breckler and
Wiggins, (1989b in Baron & Byrne 1991: 138) say that
attitudes are enduring mental representations of
various features of the social or physical world. Like
Allport, they also see attitudes acquired through
experience and further exerting a directive influence
on subsequent behaviour. Another definition which
tallies with what has already been said is that an
attitude is a learned predisposition to behave in a
consistent evaluative manner toward a person, a group
of people, an object or a group of objects (Morgan,
King and Robinson, 1979:450).

From these general definitions of attitudes, we move
on to examine language attitudes.

The general definitions/explanations of attitudes
cited so far, reveal that they are evaluations people
make about themselves, other persons, objects or
issues. In this instance we can specifically say that language attitudes are evaluations people make about languages. As Fasold (1984: 148) observes, language attitudes are precisely about language. He points out that language attitude studies may be based toward language itself where questions like 'Do you think a given language variety is 'rich' 'poor', 'beautiful', and so on are asked. He further says that other language attitude studies may include attitudes towards speakers of a particular language or dialect, or may be broadened to include attitudes towards language maintenance and planning efforts. Attitude towards language are also often the reflection of attitudes toward members of various groups.

1.2.4 Language Planning and Language Policy

In many countries we find that more than one language is spoken. Examples are given in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Pop. (in million)</th>
<th>No. of Languages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Camerooon</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivory Coast</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>+390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Bokamba (1991)
Rubin and Jernudd (1971b:xiii) simply characterize language planning as decision-making about language.

Fasold (1984:246) says language planning is usually seen as an explicit choice among alternatives. He argues that speakers constantly have alternatives available to them.

The abovementioned definitions point to the fact that language planning processes involve the efforts of the society. Governments alone cannot plan languages without considering the people who use these languages. This fact brings us to the importance of language attitudinal studies which may assist language planners when choices have to be made as regards the national or official language(s) needed for a country. If good language planning, (one which accommodates all the people of a country,) is undertaken, then we can expect a sound language policy for a given country.

This brings us to a definition of language policy. The advanced Oxford Learners Dictionary (3rd Edition) defines policy as a plan of action, statement of aims and ideals, especially one made by a government, political party, business company among others. Language policy could then be defined as a plan of
action determined especially by a government on language matters. Tollefson (1991: 6) observes that the commonly accepted definition of language policy is that it is language planning by governments.

This is typically so in South Africa. The South African Government has been the only party concerned with formulating the language policy of this country. The policy has been that English and Afrikaans are the official languages of the country, whereas all indigenous languages were official languages of so-called national states as seen in the table that follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National State</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bophuthatswana</td>
<td>Setswana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>isiXhosa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>Xitsonga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kangwane</td>
<td>isiNdebele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwa-Zulu</td>
<td>isiZulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>Sepedi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qwaqwa</td>
<td>Sesotho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>isiXhosa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>Tshivenda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2.5 An Indigenous Language

Indigenous languages are defined as languages of the people considered to be the original inhabitants of an area (UNESCO: 1951). They may also be defined as
languages that are native to the region where they are spoken and not demonstrably imported into it.

If we look at the South African situation, we have nine African languages which we say are the indigenous languages of the Black people considered to be the original inhabitants of the area. But a question arises when it comes to Afrikaans. Some people say Afrikaans is also one of the indigenous languages of the country as it originates here. We do not regard Afrikaans as an indigenous language since it originated from Holland. This is confirmed by Belcher (1987: 17-34) in an essay that Afrikaans is to a large extent the story of communication between white and brown in South Africa. Afrikaans was formulated by people who are not native to the area, it is a language that was imported into the area.

1.2.6 A National Language

A National language is defined as the language of a political, social and cultural entity (UNESCO: 1951). Fasold (1984:5) sees National languages more as symbols than tools. For him if a language can serve a country most on communicative needs, then such a language is regarded as a national language. Further,
a national language provides for the development of a sense of a nation. People can be able to identify themselves as belonging to one nation through the symbolic effects of a language. This is reiterated by Garvin (1973: 71) when he mentions that a national language serves the entire territory of a nation rather than just some regional or ethnic subdivision. We have an example of Tanzania. Fasold (1984: 272) says that KiSwahili is a true language of nationalism, it serves as an effective symbol of Tanzanian citizenship for a large majority of the population. He declares therefore that there is no doubt that KiSwahili symbolizes Tanzanian nationalism. The level of success that has been achieved for KiSwahili in the nationist area is also impressive. Although KiSwahili is not used for official purposes at all government levels, it is nevertheless widely used in government and exclusively at the primary level of education. It is also estimated that 80% - 90% of the Tanzanian population speak KiSwahili, the great majority as a second language.

1.2.7 Official language

An official language is defined as a language used in business of government - legislature, executive and judicial. In his LICCA conference paper Fasold
(1991:2) point to the function of an official language as explained by Fishman. He mentions the fact that legislative bodies must conduct their sessions in some language or languages, laws must be published in a language or a combination of languages, military forces need to use language as do courts of law. A country could not function without allocating the official status to one or more languages either explicitly or by default.

If we take an example from Ireland, we find that English is the official language as all parliamentary business is carried out in English (Fasold, 1984: 282). In Lesotho, there are two official languages and these are Sesotho and English.

1.2.8 Father Tongue

We have used in this work an unfamiliar term father tongue to refer to what is normally termed mother tongue. Tollefson (1991: 46) says that the term mother tongue is normally used in Britain to refer to the first language acquired by children. We distinguish between the two because in our African culture, we classify people ethnically by the language of the father. If a woman is married to a man who
speaks a language other than hers, she has to speak the man’s language and consequently she must also communicate with her children in the man’s language. If she does not know that particular language, she must learn it.

1.2.9 Code Switching and Code Mixing

Code switching and code mixing usually take place in situations involving bilingualism or multilingualism. This happens when a single speaker mixes varieties in a certain speech event. Hudson (1980: 56) explains the term variety as a kind of thing that is traditionally referred to as a language, dialect or register.

Appel and Muysken (1987: 118) distinguish between three types of switches in a text.

a) **Emblematic switching** - this is when a speaker uses an exclamation, a tag or a parenthetical of another language which differs from the rest of the sentence, e.g. *Ag! O se ke wa ntena.* (Please, do not annoy me.)

b) **Intra-sentential switches** occur in the middle of
a sentence. This is the type referred to as code mixing.

In his Alasa conference paper, Bokamba (1991:1) explains code mixing as the embedding of various linguistic units such as affixes (bound morphemes), words (unbound morphemes), phrases and clauses from two distinct grammatical (sub-) systems within the same sentence and speech event, e.g.

Maobane Ntate Nico o founile mara a fumana Mama a ile for shopping ko toropong.
(Yesterday Ntate Nico phoned but mother had gone to town for shopping.)

In the above example, the English words phone, and for shopping and the Afrikaans word maar have been embedded within a Sesotho grammatical sentence.

c) **Inter-sentential switches** occurs between sentences. Bokamba, in his (1991:1) Alasa Conference paper, says that in other words inter-sentential switching is code switching. He explains code switching as the mixing of words, phrases and sentences from two distinct
grammatical (sub-) systems across sentence boundaries within the same speech event, e.g.

Thabo is so stupid. Ke mmolelletse hore a thole ha Sello a batla ho lwana. Right now he is in a mess.

(Thabo is so stupid. I told him to keep quiet when Sello fights him. Right now he is in a mess).

In the example above in one speech event, the first sentence is in English, followed by a Sesotho sentence, and the last one is again in English. This is a good illustration of code-switching.

1.2.10 Monolingualism, Bilingualism and Multilingualism

In some countries only one language is spoken by all people and in others more than one language is spoken. A situation where only one language is used in a country or used by an individual is referred to as monolingual and a situation where two languages are used refers to bilingualism and where more than two languages are used, we talk of multilingualism.

Concentrating of bilingualism/multilingualism it is important to remember that no one speaks the whole of a language perfectly. This factor is clearly high-
lighted by Harding and Riley (1986: 22) who quote some of the definitions that clarifies this and these are the following:

The mastery of two or more languages - bilingualism or multilingualism - is a special skill. Bilingualism and multilingualism are relative terms since individuals vary greatly in types and degrees of language proficiency. (Encyclopedia Britannica, 1965).

Bilingualism (is) native like control of two languages ... of course, one cannot define a degree of perfection at which a good foreign speaker becomes bilingual: the distinction is relative (Bloomfield, 1933).

This brings us then to the next section of literature review.

1.3 LITERATURE REVIEW ON LANGUAGE ATTITUDE STUDIES

In her article, titled "A note on Attitudes and use of Language", Nader (1968: 276) mentions the fact that research about attitude and beliefs native speakers have about their languages is scarce. This is true from the few language attitude studies found even here at home. We will look at a few of the language attitude studies conducted in
South Africa and elsewhere.

1.3.1 Language Loyalty in South Africa

The HSRC (1977), under the leadership of Hauptfleisch, conducted a study of bilingual policy in South Africa in which opinions of white adults in urban areas were sought.

Attitude questions considered in this research ranged across a number of variables like language identity (English or Afrikaans), sex, age, socio-economic status, bilinguality and the language milieu. 1607 respondents completed questionnaires on their language habits, language use and language preferences. A series of questions inquired the need for the two official languages, the personal needs people have for a second language, the social spheres in which such needs existed and feelings about bilingual schooling.

The findings of this report indicate the following:

a) There is a general feeling of satisfaction with the bilingual policy of South Africa, although the two language groups espouse different forms of bi- or multilingualism.
b) Though both groups feel a definite need for a second language in the South African situation, the actual social spheres in which such needs are most strongly felt are not the same for the English speaking South African and the Afrikaner. While they agree on the question of bilingualism, the motivations for speaking and preferring the second language differ markedly for the two groups. The English speaking South Africans see the need for bilingualism only as far as the administration of the country is concerned. For the Afrikaners, in all spheres there is need, including the social aspect.

c) The most influential variables, as far as these attitudes are concerned besides language identity have proven to be:

i) socio-economic status (the higher the status, the greater the awareness of a need for the other language);

ii) bilinguality (the more bilingual a person, the greater his awareness of the role played by his second language); and

iii) language milieu (the more contact a person has with the second language, the more positive are his reactions towards that
language. The milieu influence is strongly experienced as a child.

1.3.2 A Multilingual Society

In 1975, Schuring made a survey amongst Urban and Rural Blacks on their use of English and Afrikaans. As he puts it, the aim was to describe the position as regards the use of English and Afrikaans in the RSA, on the strength of a few basic phenomena such as:

a) the ability to understand, speak, read and write the various languages;

b) the different spheres in which the languages are used (family, neighbourhood, work, school, church, radio, among others);

c) the attitudes towards the various languages and language groups;

d) the biographical particulars of the informant: sex, age, residence and so on.

The following were then found:

1. Proficiency in English is relatively strongly focussed on the reading and writing skills.
2. Proficiency in Afrikaans, which though
approximately equals that of English is strongly focussed on the comprehension and oral skills.

3. English is used more often than Afrikaans for reading and writing, whereas Afrikaans is used more often than English in communication with Whites at work.

4. English is also more popular as a medium of instruction at school and Afrikaans is more liked as a language subject at school.

5. English seems to be more favoured by the more qualified (Std 3 and higher) and the urban Blacks. Afrikans plays an important role among the lower qualified and the rural Blacks, especially for contact with Whites.

Schuring concludes his report by saying that English is more prestigious, whereas Afrikaans has more of a pragmatic value for South African Blacks between the ages of 15 and 54.

He therefore recommends the following:

Evident backlog in Afrikaans at the graphic level should receive attention. English is already entranched amongst the Black population and as illiteracy diminishes, English knowledge will increase. This would benefit Blacks if they
realize that many publications in scientific and other fields are only available in Afrikaans such as studies on aspects of agriculture.
Blacks need Afrikaans in order to be able to communicate with Afrikaans speaking Whites, particularly at work and this is possibly why they too wish to retain it as a school subject.
The continued existence of Afrikaans amongst Blacks is thus apparently not primarily determined 'in the streets of Soweto' but by the whites.

1.3.3 
**Attitudes Toward English in Education in a Changing South Africa: A Western Cape Perspective**

In this study, Young (1991) aims at establishing attitudes towards the status, role and function of English in the New South Africa. He comments that the attitudes revealed may help language planners in formulating language policies in a post-apartheid South Africa.

He points out that the research is also an attempt to bring to the attention of authorities the need to formulate new language policies, the style of which should not be the usual top-down edict which might not reflect the public will of a complex multilingual society of South Africa.
The research therefore also aims at checking the fact that English will engage soon as the national language or lingua franca since most people believe that it will be the case.

This study indicates that even if English is regarded as a language that all South Africans need to know for communication, for jobs, for education, among others, Afrikaans is also regarded as a language we cannot wish away.

On the whole respondents have a more positive attitude towards English even though Afrikaans mother tongue speakers still remain loyal to Afrikaans but in a positive way.

1.3.4 A Note on Attitudes and the Use of Language

Nader (1968:276) says that most reports on language attitudes could be found in studies of language borrowing or second language learning. In her research, she reports some attitudes about Arabic observed during a field trip to Lebanon. This study looks at the effects of borrowing from one language to another. Nader observes that usually, people in the lower rank emulate or imitate those that are in the higher echelons. On the contrary in Lebanon it was different.
People in higher and middle class admired the language of people in the villages. Nader therefore says that the general point to be made here is that the prestige factor which may encourage admiration, borrowing or emulation in language need not be treated to the affluent position of one group or another, or of one individual or another.

1.4 CASE STUDIES

Here we consider some case studies which relate to language planning in South Africa and elsewhere, starting with Nigeria.

1.4.1 Nigeria (Source: Iso, A.O and Afendras, E.V. (1970))

About 40 languages are spoken in Nigeria, with many more dialects spoken by Muslims in the Northern States. Important languages are: Jaisa - from Nilo Saharan group; Yoruba, Nupe, Ijo, Igbo - spoken in Western, Central South Central and East Central states respectively; Kanuri spoken in the North Eastern State. Efik-Ibibio spoken in the South Eastern State. English is the official language and is not limited to any state; it is naturally important in the urban setting. Pidgin English is also important especially
for linking people who do not share a common language.

The above languages do spill-over into neighbouring provinces. For example in Calabar Town, which is in the South Eastern State where Efik is spoken, there is an Hausa section of the city.

English is the official language for the whole country while the major native languages are used by the state government(s); these and other languages as well, are used by local government(s) including the tribal kingdoms.

Communication is not stifled by ethnic boundaries. Solutions to overcoming obstacles include: Mutual intelligibility, Bilingualism (one’s own plus the other’s indigenous language); Lingua francas; Pidgins and Trade jargons (one’s own plus a third specialized vernacular; and of course Bilingualism with English as a second language.
1.4.2 Tanzania (Source: Harries, L. (1968))

As a second language, for large segments of the population, KiSwahili dates only from the mid 19th century. As a standard language, it goes back only to the 1930s. Today with less than 10% of Tanzania speaking KiSwahili as a mother-tongue, it is the national language. English has been and continues to be very important but (especially since independence in 1961) the status of KiSwahili is growing, and it is now the second language of most people. The Institute of Swahili Research (established in 1964) is an important force in the development of the language.

1.4.3 Kenya (Source: Eastman 1983; Harries 1968)

KiSwahili is a lingua franca spoken by about 25 million people all over East Africa, from Somalia to Mozambique and west to the Congo. Sometimes described as a compromise between Arabic and [Si]ntu, KiSwahili is structurally [Si]ntu but
has many Arabic words.

In July 1974, Kenyatta proclaimed that KiSwahili was to be Kenya’s national language. In Nairobi particularly however, Kikuyo would have been a more obvious choice in terms of the number of speakers and English is still the prestige variety. But for its purposes, the Government wanted an African language and hoped that KiSwahili would prove ethically ‘neutral’. Now both KiSwahili and English are official languages in Kenya, although the former retains national language status and moves are underway to standardize a variety of KiSwahili that will be particularly Kenyan.

1.4.4 Cameroon (Source: Todd, 1984)

In Cameroon, among more than 200 ethnic groups, French and English are official languages; Cameroon Pidgin English is without official recognition but acts as a lingua franca. There are also several large African languages (including Hausa) and Arabic is valued for its religious and cultural significance. There is
however no one common vernacular and there is no one very large ethnic group. Consequently the policy has been to give no education in a vernacular language; since 1985 all education has been through English. An engagement could be made for the educational use of Pidgin, but many do not consider it prestigious enough for school use. Todd (1984) argues that the policy here is an eminently sensible one. Indeed, although not reflecting the UNESCO (1953) recommendations regarding mother-tongue education, the policy seems more one of pragmatism than of some simple continuation of a colonial mentality favouring 'world' languages.

1.4.5 India (Source: Das Gupt, 1975; Pandit, 1979)

The linguistic heterogeneity of India is vast. The 1961 census classified more than 1 000 mother-tongue varieties into about 2 003 languages - these representing some 440 million people. At a much more minor level, there were
another 530 ‘unclassified’ languages, as well as more than 100 languages of foreign origin. In this diverse linguistic scene, there are two important lingua franca. English (26% of all bilinguals claim it as their second language) and Hindi 22%. The former is particularly important at the inter-state level, but there have been some fears of English eroding other varieties and some moves to stress Hindi as the preferred bilingual option.

The Indian constitution recognizes fifteen languages (Sanskrit plus fourteen modern varieties) which it is claimed, reflect almost 90% of the population. Most state governments are reasonably tolerant of multilingual areas but there are those who have pushed for the replacement of ‘grassroots’ pluralism with mandatory bi- or tri-lingualism. Thus the so-called ‘three language formula’ of 1956 recommended that schools teach mother-tongue, Hindi and English and another Indian language to Hindi speakers.
Since the middle ages Norway was under Denmark and as such Norwegians spoke Danish. In 1814 the Norwegians began searching for their cultural roots that had been cut over in the middle ages. Language was hit upon as one of the several symbols of national individuality and independence. Many Norwegians wanted Norwegian to be restored, as it had been lost during the union with Denmark.

Initially, Norway had one stable written language. Today it has two competing languages. One claims to be more civilised and the other claims to be more Norwegian. This came about as a result of the following:

The governing class created a standard language which was shaped by the speech habits of the social elite, establishing its own patterns as normative for the whole nation. Language Planners felt that this was unfair and they deliberately sought to upset the status quo by rejecting the linguistic models of the social elite. Their goal was to give the nation a language which should be the unique expression of its national individuality. This then left the Norwegians
in a confused state of not being quite sure whether they can manage to be both. Thus the resulting bitterness and confusion are a striking evidence of the problem involved in language planning. As such language planning in Norway has been through three phases:

1. The standard language was created in the interest of the social elite (the governing class).
2. Another language is reborn — for unique expression of national individuality.
3. Now they are hopefully entering a phase in which they claim that the two rivals can be fused into one new national language.

1.4.7 South Africa

South Africa is a multilingual country. The languages of this country can be divided into five categories namely:

a) Official languages
b) Immigrant languages
c) Indigenous languages
d) Indian languages
e) Other languages

The official languages are English and Afrikaans.
These have been the languages of administration, legislature, commerce and industry.

Immigrant languages include German, Portuguese, Greek, Italian, Dutch and French. The Indigenous languages are Nguni languages which include isiZulu, isiXhosa, isiSwati and isiNdebele; Sotho languages which are Sesotho, Sepeidi and Setswana; and Xitsonga and TshiVenda. The Indian languages are Tamil, Hindi, Gujerati, Urdu and Telegu. The other languages spoken in South Africa are Hebrew, Yiddish, Arabic and Chinese.

With the above information, we proceed to examine the response of the people interviewed.
CHAPTER 2

In this chapter we simply present the data as gathered from the interviews we conducted.

2.1 METHOD OF DATA COLLECTING

Our research was conducted through interviews, done by two people, working together. One asked questions and the other wrote answers. In some cases we interviewed individuals and in others we posed our questions to groups of three or more people. The groups were with school children, organisations and families. We carried out a total of one hundred and five interviews within the community of Soweto. Twenty two of these were with groups of children from primary to high school. We have a built-in advantage of being polyglots and we were therefore able to use either English, Sesotho, Setswana, Sepedi, isiZulu or isiXhosa with our respondents. Twenty eight were families picked from different linguistic areas. Within Soweto, there are areas which are predominantly XiTsonga and TshiVenda, some are largely Sotho and others are predominantly isiZulu. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Language(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tshiawelo</td>
<td>mainly XiTsonga and TshiVenda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moletsane</td>
<td>mainly Sesotho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naledi</td>
<td>mainly Sesotho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zola</td>
<td>mainly isiZulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meadowlands</td>
<td>mainly Setswana, XiTsonga, TshiVenda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dobsonville</td>
<td>mainly Setswana, isiXhosa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diepkloof</td>
<td>mainly Sepedi, Tshivenda, XiTsonga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Depending on the situation, different languages were used. Fifty-five interviews came from representatives of community organizations like:

- Azanian Peoples Organization (AZAPO)
- African National Congress (ANC)
- Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)
- Civic Associations
- Teacher Organizations like: South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU); Transvaal United African Teachers Association (TUATA)
- Education Organizations like: Soweto Education Coordinating Committee (SECC)
- Student Organizations like: Pan African Student Organization (PASO); African Language Student Organization
- Media Representatives like: SOWETAN, CITY PRESS
- Publishers: Skotaville and a whole range of recognised community leaders. We could not speak to worker organizations like COSATU and NACTU because for them problems relating to language are not a priority.

A number of questions, as the questionnaire indicates were asked. The following are some of them:

- Do you have a home language or a father tongue or both?
- Do we need a lingua franca for Soweto or for South Africa?
- Is multilingualism a beautiful natural process that should be maintained?
- In what way would the Nhlapo-Alexander proposal figure in
guaranteeing the development of the indigenous languages?

We also checked attitudes regarding the role of English, Afrikaans and the indigenous languages in a future democratic South Africa. The following are the different questions we had on the questionnaire and the actual different responses we received from the participants.

2.2 DATA COLLECTED

In reporting the data collected, we start with the question posed and thereafter tabulate the different responses of the participants.

2.2.1 HOW MANY LANGUAGES IN YOUR OPINION ARE SPOKEN IN SOWETO?

Responses differed from person to person with some giving the answer as four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten and eleven.

* There are four languages spoken. These are Sesotho, IsiZulu, Setswana, Sepedi.
* Six languages are spoken and these are Setswana, isiZulu, TshiVenda, isiXhosa, Sesotho and Sepedi.
* Eight languages are spoken and these are isiZulu, Sesotho, Setswana, Sepedi, isiXhosa, XiTsonga, TshiVenda, English.
* Seven languages are spoken in Soweto. We have
Sesotho, isiZulu, Tsotsitaal, isiXhosa, Sepedi, Setswana, English.

* In Soweto ten languages are spoken - isiZulu, Sesotho, Setswana, Sepedi, isiXhosa, Tshivena, Xitsonga, English, Afrikaans, Tsotsitaal.

2.2.2 WHICH OF THE LANGUAGES SPOKEN DO YOU PREFER/LIKE?

The preference is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isiZulu</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sesotho</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soweto Mixture</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English isiZulu/Sesotho</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-preference</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.3 WHY DO YOU PREFER/LIKE IT?

**English:** It is a language that enables people to communicate easily. To the school children it is a language that will help them find employment.

**IsiZulu:** Soweto people understand isiZulu as it is easy to learn compared to other African Languages and for non-Zulu speakers like Sothos they adjust easily to any language like isiZulu when spoken. Also on the
numerical strength isiZulu is on the favourable side. 

**Sesotho:** Sesotho has not been contaminated like other languages. There is some purity at least.

**Sowetan Mixture:** It is describable, it has no limits. It also serves as a unifying factor.

**Non-preference:** Language is used for communication. Whichever language one is able to use for communication, should use it. This is rather a question of convenience. The mixture also encourages an awareness of cultural aspects.

2.2.4(a) **WHAT IS YOUR HOME LANGUAGE?**
Eighty percent speak a mixture of languages like English, Sesotho, isiZulu, Flytaal etc;
Eight percent have English as their home language; and
Twelve percent have different African Languages as their home language.

2.2.4(b) **WHAT IS YOUR FATHER TONGUE?**
Different African Languages were mentioned.

2.2.5 **WHY DO YOU PREFER A HOME LANGUAGE TO YOUR FATHER TONGUE?**
For those who had English as their home language and for those who had English in their mixture the reasons are the following:
* Because English is universal. It is beneficiary to children. I also look beyond home because it
can be used even further outside the country.

* Throughout my education career, I had English as medium of instruction. It comes naturally in several situations and it covers any thought easily.

* We speak English as most of family members are academics. English is therefore more functional.

* Because of the times. Children are now taken to the open schools and English will therefore carry them through to the future. English is penetrating our society in an unannounced way. This is for the sake of communication.

* Prefer English so as to develop the English language of the children. Probably British colonialism and realities of the future have an effect on this preference.

* My preference of English is enforced by circumstances.

* The mixture will allow me to communicate with children who speak a different language other than my father tongue.

* Home language is best because it allows one to be broad.

* I do not necessarily prefer my home language but I have accepted the situation of the mixture.

* Cannot speak pure Setswana which is my father tongue. Therefore prefer the mixture.
For those who preferred any one of the African Languages, the reasons were:

* Not a question of preference but because isiZulu is used more frequently.

* Would prefer isiZulu only because I have difficulty at school because of the mixture we speak.

* Because I learnt isiZulu at school, I therefore use it at school.

* Prefer Sesotho because of local convenience. It is bridge between Setswana and Sepedi.

* I prefer Setswana because it is the language of my in-laws.

For others there is no preference as such.

* The need determines which language I speak.

* No preference, it depends on the situation and the mood.

* No preference though linguistically would prefer isiXhosa probably because it is my father tongue.

3.3.6 IS MULTILINGUALISM A GOOD PRACTICE THAT SHOULD BE MAINTAINED? OR

DO YOU LIKE A SITUATION LIKE SOWETO WHERE MANY DIFFERENT LANGUAGES ARE SPOKEN?

Ninety five percent of the people said multilingualism
is a good practice. Responses received are the following:

* It is absolutely a good practice. It brings people closer together. It breaks the barrier as one can talk to anybody.

* Yes. Since Soweto is a plural society, multilingualism needs to be encouraged as it contributes to a multicultural set up like this one.

* Yes. It is because it is important to reach each other through language.

* It allows us to know other people’s languages and this enables us to communicate with people speaking different languages.

* Yes. It teaches us that no language is better than another. It brings people together.

* It should be maintained as it will diminish the idea that other languages are more important.

* It should be promoted more especially because it is not our making but the setting allowed that.

* Multilingualism is idealistic. Language is a storage of valuable cultural entity of the people. It is not practical to get rid of any language. People should be free to communicate in any language they like.

* Has evolved through nobody’s imposition.
Therefore multilingualism is not a problem except for those who are tribalistic and would stick to their language.

* A good thing. Nobody would like to see her/his language dismantled.

* Yes. All languages should be used and all should learn each other’s language.

* Should be maintained and encouraged. The more languages you know, the more people you can communicate with. By design multilingualism can be regarded as being divisive. But if not, it allows for diversity of languages and culture.

* Yes, This is what is called cultural diversity. Multilingualism, cultural diversity, makes us to be rich as African people. Language is not an obstacle to unity.

* Democratically people should use any language they want.

* Yes. Should be maintained. If you are a black person, you know all of the African languages. Interpreters are not needed.

* Should be maintained. Language is culture and therefore if people are stopped from using their languages, then we may be disturbing their culture. More beautiful if we have a dynamic situation. It breaks the monotony. This appears more like art.
* Multilingualism unites us. Politically we blacks accept each other as blacks and language does not separate us.

**2.2.7**

**WOULD YOU LIKE TO SEE A MONOLINGUAL SITUATION IN SOWETO OR WOULD IT MAKE SENSE TO HAVE ONE LANGUAGE SPOKEN BY ALL THE PEOPLE OF SOWETO?**

Ninety five percent of the respondents rejected monolingualism. Some of the reactions are the following:

* Naturally ideal but not practical. Encouraging monolingualism would be inviting disaster.

* For international interaction, it would be good. Subconsciously people realise that the language group is not an issue, and they therefore resist this division created by the state.

* Not only in Soweto but everywhere would not like a monolingual situation. It is wrong to impose any language.

* Monolingualism will never work.

* One language is boring.

For the five percent that would go for monolingualism, they have this to say:

* One language would unify and deny politicians the chance to manipulate people for their own gain.

* For interactional activity among the community,
then it can be promoted.

* Prefer a monolingual situation spoken by all people. At home people can speak different languages.

2.2.8 **IF YES, HOW WOULD WE WORK TOWARDS ACHIEVING THAT MONOLINGUAL SITUATION?**

Eighty five percent of the people did not have a solution for the achievement of a monolingual situation, more especially because they rejected the idea. For those who answered the question, some of the answers are the following:

* Not possible.

* Not everybody had a chance to go to school. If we thought of English for instance not everybody knows it.

* Such a limitation is a problem. It would make people not to be dynamic.

* If it were practical, it would be good to have one language spoken.

* We could look at a predominant language. For example isiZulu or Sesotho in Soweto are the predominant languages. Though isiZulu has a stigma, it does not stop it being used. As a language it has no problem but politically it has.
Difficult to suggest a mechanism especially if we consider illiteracy in our community. English could be the language used.

A new language should be developed. Cross racial interaction is the one mechanism that can be used. It will develop naturally. Soweto is an example.

2.2.9

IN A WORK SITUATION WHERE PEOPLE SPEAK DIFFERENT LANGUAGES, HOW IS COMMUNICATION MADE POSSIBLE?

Fifty percent of the respondents clearly indicated that English is the ideal language. This was brought in through the following way:

* By speaking an international language which is English.

* Blacks have been forced to learn two foreign languages that is, English and Afrikaans. Therefore an official language can be the main language used but we still speak other languages depending on the people there.

* Through English. Actually it depends on the situation. Here at the SOWETAN, the production is based on English, hence English is the language used.

* Here at CITY PRESS, officially people communicate in English.
On the side of school children, English was also advocated for. Some of the responses are the following:

* In the lower classes only Sesotho is used. In the higher classes we use Sesotho and English.
* By speaking each other’s language. Use English mainly in the classroom but outside speak each other’s language.
* Better to speak one language and English would be ideal.

For those who did not clearly go for English, they said it depends on the situation. Some of the reactions are these:

* At managerial level conclusions can be drawn as to which language to use. On the surface use of different languages would not matter.
* By speaking a common language. This would depend on the situation.
* By a language that is understood by all.
* In Soweto this is simple because people talk different languages. Those who cannot it is because of stubbornness.
* Several things happen. First when people are together speaking different languages one group may turn easy to speaking the other language.
Secondly other people learn a language very easy. Therefore it becomes easy to switch over. Thirdly the natural instinct of wanting to come together makes people to want to identify.

Since most people want to learn other people’s languages, this makes communication easy. Motivations for this fact are the following:

* It is made possible by people willing to learn each other’s languages. People usually resent if another person does not make any effort to learn the other language.

* People have aspects of work to carry. They therefore tend to understand what the other is saying and language would not be an obstacle preventing people carry out their work.

2.2.10 WHAT IS THE ROLE OF FANAKALO WITHIN THE WORK SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA?

For ninety nine percent of the people, Fanakalo plays no role. It is in fact degrading, dehumanising kind of language that is detested. We find the following answers:

* It was decided by people who had no interest in us. It is a language of instruction which we do not need.
* It is a language of the oppressor who did not care about people.
* It will not survive because it was not a natural process. If it had evolved naturally then yes it would have a role.
* This is an artificial language and it is also a bastard language.
* It has no role even in the mines where it is said to have one. In that situation, people could still use pure isiZulu. Since Whites are not prepared to learn isiZulu perfectly then fanakalo was introduced.
* Has no role. It may make people not to bother about going to school to learn English for instance because they may think they know English.
* An insult to all of us. White people made no attempt to learn our languages.
* It will disappear. It is associated with the most dehumanizing factor in our community. It is a bastardized language which was convenient to the masters.
* I detest it. It is a destructive system of communication. It dehumanizes people.
* Has a sad history. Treated people as children. It is a baby language. It looks down upon people
as though they have no knowledge of language.

* See this as part of PATWA. For convenience at work can be used. But I do not favour it because it cannot be developed. It is adulterating our languages and should therefore think of kicking it off.

* It is a restricted type of a language, that has made our people look down upon themselves. It is a baas and a baas boy’s language.

* The closest thing to identify we tie with language. Fanakalo is a bastard language. Therefore it has no role.

* Fanakalo should not have a role. It is a bastardized language. It has a negative notation. It was designed to reduce your own thinking as a person who speaks it.

2.2.11 DO WE NEED A LINGUA FRANCA FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA?

Ninety percent of the respondents were in favour of a lingua franca and only about ten percent said we do not need a lingua franca because we have built a network already and where we have problems, we use English. Another reason was that we can learn each others languages without any problems.
2.2.12 **IF YES, WHAT SHOULD THAT LINGUA FRANCA BE AND WHY?**

For those who are for a lingua franca suggestions differ. About eighty percent favour English. Some of the reasons are the following:

* The language to be used could be a simple English which will accommodate everybody.
* English is a unifying language.
* It might be difficult to implement that as some people adhere to their culture and they may refuse to have another language. All the same English would be used.
* Through English though in other states French is also used. That indicates that English does not enjoy acceptance throughout.
* English because it is a universal language. The majority of Southern African people are more at home with English than any other language.
* English is already there. It is an international language and it would help us to communicate more easily.
* English. On the formal side of things, e.g. education, business etc. it works as a unifying factor.
* Lingua franca is useful in that you can communicate at a wider level. English could be useful.
About fifteen percent suggested Kiswahili

* Kiswahili would be better because it is not a language belonging to any language group here. Therefore nobody would feel dominated by others.

* Kiswahili though it may be to the advantage of those who already know it and it may be disadvantageous for those who may have to learn it.

* Could think of Kiswahili more especially because it is spreading.

* Kiswahili to unify all Africans.

IsiZulu was also considered to have the potential of becoming a lingua franca though it was stated that it lacks some technical terms. It was also pointed out it could be easy in a place like Soweto but could be difficult elsewhere.

Others saw the need to have a lingua franca but they did not have any suggestions at hand and they pointed out that it is acceptable as long as it will not be a language imposed on people.

2.2.13

**GEOGRAPHICALLY, SOUTH AFRICA IS PART OF AFRICA. SO HOW SHOULD PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA INTERACT LINGUISTICALLY WITH THE REST OF AFRICA OR DO WE NEED A LINGUA FRANCA FOR AFRICA?**

Fifty percent of the respondents said English is the language to be used.
The other fifty percent pointed out that English, French or Kiswahili. Some of the motivations are the following:

* Would need Kiswahili. It could be integrated in the country especially because it is not difficult to learn.

* South Africa will have to conform to all sentiments expressed by other African States. If Kiswahili is taken as the medium, then South Africa will have to conform.

* Larger parts of Africa have Kiswahili and French. As a policy would encourage French to be taught at schools since it is the most spoken after English in Africa.

* Since it is important to communicate with countries of French and Portugueses origin, French and English may be crucial.

* Many African States were colonised by the British and French. Therefore English and French could be used.

2.2.14 DOES AFRICA AND SOUTH AFRICA NEED TO COMMUNICATE WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD? IF YES, HOW IS AFRICA AND SOUTH AFRICA EXPECTED TO COMMUNICATE WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD?

Hundred percent of the respondents saw the need to communicate with the rest of the world, and ninety
percent found English to be the only widely used language and therefore preferred it as a link to the rest of the world. All the same there are those who suggested other foreign languages like French, Spanish with responses like:

* English and French should be used since they are international languages.
* By learning more languages for example English, French and Spanish.
* Since we are dependent on the past masters of colonialism, we cannot avoid English and French.
* Through foreign languages.

2.2.15 WHAT IS YOUR REACTION TO THE IDEA OF STANDARDIZED NGUNI AND STANDARDIZED SOTHO?

Ninety five percent of the respondents rejected the idea supporting their rejection as:

* Total rejection. It has serious political connotations. It destroys the culture of the people. No other language has been reduced. Our culture should be maintained and therefore our languages should also be maintained. People should be free to communicate in their languages.
* Allowing the collapse of languages we shall be saying as a people of different ethnic groups we do not matter. Nobody has the right to come and dictate to
us as to which language we should use.

* Not possible. It is an artificial process. One of the proposer, that is Neville Alexander is not the speaker of any of these languages.

* Do not see any reason for that. Diversity is great. We should strive to learn all these languages so that people can write in different languages.

* Opposed to the idea. This is an attempt to build a new language which would not be a natural process. This would be an artificial effort. Language develops spontaneously and naturally.

* A futile exercise. It would take ages to develop the language that way.

* Cannot guarantee if we would not have an adulterated language if languages are collapsed. Even though it is practically difficult to have a pure language in a situation like Soweto, I theoretically like a pure language.

* Disagree. These languages are not totally the same. Language is culture and through this people may not be able to know their different cultures. People want to maintain their culture as it is a heritage.

* Undesirable. People are free to use the language they like. This would be an artificial attempt. The richness of the language rests in the mind. Any commonality found in the languages should rather be
left to develop naturally. Each person should be proud of his cultural heritage.

* Absolutely outrageous, because each language group has its own culture. Rather people should stick to their languages but be able to learn the other languages. It would cause a lot of confusion as the different languages are very different.

* Do not agree. It will be difficult for people to start learning a new standardized language. It will still be costly to form such a new language.

Five percent of the respondents were not totally against the idea and some supported it by saying:

* Not sure if that would be practical. The situation now would not be conducive to the idea.

* In the near future, the idea should be given the chance. People should forget about sentiments.

* Object to the groupings mentioned, as they are not healthy. Rather all languages could be mixed and work towards one language.

* A good suggestion but does not solve the problem. Rather all languages should be considered.

* Kiswahili is an embodiment of this, and as it solves the problem, it is therefore not necessary to standardize the Nguni and Sotho languages. This is not practical since it will be an architecture of academic learning behind the masses.
Would agree as far as education is concerned. But for pride of ancestry for language identity, then do not agree.

Support the idea fully. This came up 30 years ago in the ANC youth league. Therefore not new and Neville should not be blamed for it. The only problem is that he is a non-speaker of these languages.

What implications does your response to question 2.2.15 have to the development of the indigenous languages? Will they develop commercially, legally, administratively, educationally and culturally?

For those opposed to the idea, the implication is that they would die a natural cause as no development would take place.

They wouldn't develop beyond the national level, that is beyond different ethnic groups. As it is, they do not feature in commerce, law, etc. but only at the literal level.

If languages collapse, then we would kill the indigenous languages. We need to let them develop especially educationally and culturally.

If this is practical, then it is too ahead of its time.
2.2.17 HAVE ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS DEVELOPED AT THE EXPENSE OF THE INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES?

* Certainly, especially Afrikaans. Our languages have not developed the scientific terminology, that is the language of commerce, law, etc.

* Definitely have, especially Afrikaans. In the courts, police stations, etc., people were compelled to speak Afrikaans.

* Yes, because they are more used by Africans as they were forced upon us. This therefore affected the development of the indigenous languages.

* Not developed but survived at the expense of our languages.

* Yes. Because Blacks were forced to learn English and Afrikaans and Whites were not forced, therefore they were advantaged.

* Afrikaans has not developed though it has been privileged. African languages have been bypassed because of the government policy.

2.2.18 IF THESE INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES DO DEVELOP, WILL THE DEVELOPMENT BE REGIONAL, NATIONAL OR INTERNATIONAL?

Different views were recorded in this instance. Others see no need for any demarcation, while others say they should be developed regionally, others
nationally and there are those who see the need for international development.

* If it is regional, then the apartheid comes again in mind. Therefore there should be no boundary to the development.

* Need to consider demography. For instance it is wrong to insist on isiZulu in Pietersburg instead of Sepedi, TshiVenda and XiTsonga.

* African Languages need to develop regionally. It would be expensive to develop them nationally.

* We have been grouped regionally but this should not be the answer. On a smaller scale could start regionally but from there it would be important to develop nationally.

* Nationally. If other countries want to know them, then they can that is the international world.

* The development should first be national before we can think of developing them internationally.

### 2.2.19 WHO SHOULD DEVELOP THE INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES?

* Blacks themselves should develop them.

* The speakers of those languages, but they should do that without being compelled.

* By the people of a particular language.

* Educational institutions together with the speakers of the different languages.
African Academics of arts and sciences. Not just anybody as this would not be political but cultural.

The writers and narrators.

2.2.20 WHAT DO YOU SEE AS THE ROLE OF AFRIKAANS IN FUTURE?

Twenty five percent of the people see it as a dying language but for others there is nothing wrong with it as a language and it may still survive.

Afrikaans is a small language and the Afrikaners have killed it by their behaviour. Therefore it has no role. The political stigma re- emphasises the fact that it will be used in the future.

It may die in the near future. It was imposed initially especially in schools but today that is no longer the case. This may lead to its death.

Though it was forced upon people, it was never accepted. It had no future especially because of the attitude people have about it.

It has no future because most people prefer English to Afrikaans. We may say among Blacks it will definitely die.

An easy language. It allows people to get jobs.

I do not like Afrikaans but I would like to know it so that I can speak with people speaking Afrikaans.

It is a minority language. It can be kept but should not be a dominant language.

Because of the political undertone associated with it,
it will tumble. It is the language of the oppressor and it was forced upon Blacks. Linguistically there is no problem with it. The only problem is that it is associated with the past and it is therefore heavily tainted.

* Afrikaans will still remain because it has developed. Therefore it cannot die easily. Because we have Afrikaners, they will see that it does not die. It will be rejected if it is forced upon the people. If there will be integration in South Africa, there will be no rejection, but if there is no integration, then it will still be rejected.

* A dead language but cannot stop people speaking it. Since from its rejection in the 1976 riots, people do not care about it. People will demand that it be removed from the stature books.

* It will remain one of the internal languages of the country. It should enjoy any status like any language. It is wrong to assume that there is anything wrong with Afrikaans as a language but there is something wrong with it politically.

* Unfortunately Afrikaans is connected to apartheid. Even the failure rate in the schools (before 1976) has been because of the attitude of the people. The politics of the Afrikaner will always taint their language socially and educationally. The Afrikaner
has always been for the idea of master-servant education for the black man.

* It will play a part. It should be recognised as a language but will not receive the attention it got. It will not be the Afrikaner’s language but everybody’s language.

2.2.21 WHAT DO YOU SEE AS THE ROLE OF THE INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES IN FUTURE?

For the sake of our culture, they may continue to live.

* They are important for the historical continuum as they let people know where they come from.

* Our culture is embedded in the Black languages and they cannot be thrown away.

* Have an important role. They keep the identity of the groups of this country and maintain them. If these languages are maintained, they will be the health of this country.

* Need to be developed as a heritage.

* Within regions the status of indigenous languages need to be elevated. For example in the OFS people in the courts need to know Sesotho so that they can be efficient in serving the people.

* Would be helpful in grassroot level e.g. health department. Could be helpful as teaching languages. Therefore it would be functional as far as literacy is
concerned.

* Have to be promoted. Should also be developed commercially, legally and so on. If they are not developed they will die.
* It will depend on the government of the day. If they want to promote them, they will. If they do not the status quo will remain.
* Have a big role. Some Whites do try now to learn one of the indigenous languages.
* They will still be used a lot. There are some Whites who want to learn our languages.
* See them rising. This is evident by Tshivenda and XiTsonga.
* There is a lot we need to learn in our languages. Oppression hampered our languages from developing. Since apartheid may die, they may therefore be taken seriously and as such they may have a role to play in future.

2.2.22 WHAT DO YOU SEE AS THE ROLE OF ENGLISH IN FUTURE?

Ninety nine percent of the respondents said, English will play a major role in future.
* It has won our hearts but for certain benefits. As long as it is still functional to us, then it will be used.
* Should be decolonised so that it can suit Black people and will then have an important role.
Due to it conquering, it has established itself all over the world. To keep pace with the world, we need English.

Will survive as a fairly wide lingua franca.

English opens up the world for us. It may be used more than it is now.

English is a liberalising language. With English one can tackle a lot of things e.g. maths, democracy, etc.

The way English was handed over to the learning population of this country, it has enhanced those who speak it. I am not aware of the evils the English man has done on the people of this country. English will therefore remain a language which will be used to enable us to write. It needs to be maintained.

Educationally, culturally, technologically, legally, etc. English will play a major role. Even as far as Blacks are concerned, it will play a major role. The tendency is that it will be spoken at home more than the situation is now. Children being able to go to open schools will influence its use more.

THERE WAS A PROPOSAL AT THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN PRETORIA IN APRIL 1991, THAT ENGLISH SHOULD BE A NATIONAL LANGUAGE AND AFRIKAANS AND THE INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES SHOULD BE REGIONAL LANGUAGES. WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT THIS PROPOSAL?
With a few exceptions, most respondents support the proposal.

* Support the proposal that our languages should be let to develop side by side with the so-called official languages. As a matter of convenience, we can continue using English together with other languages depending on the regions. English can be nationally understood but should not be the dominant language.

* The proposal is relevant because of the realisation that in certain regional areas there are people speaking certain languages. The problem might be who is going to take over from the present government. Therefore we might be led to tribalism if people are not careful. Whoever takes over should consider what people want.

* A great idea as it accommodates those who are not learned. People would still stick to their languages and have English on the other hand that will serve us nationally and even internationally.

* Yes, but Afrikaans should have no official status. Must delineate and dermacate regions. Therefore it should depend on the regions.

* No problem with the proposal. We cannot use Afrikaans or any of the indigenous languages in the rest of the world. These languages can develop for certain portions of the community.
* English should be used on an equal basis as the predominant regional language e.g. in Natal English and isiZulu should be on an equal basis.

* I think that English could alternate with an indigenous language. This could be regionally. Practically I am not sure if all eleven languages could develop at the same footing and therefore develop equally.

* No rules should be laid. Languages should be left and nature should take its course. All languages should be left to exist equally.

* Any decision taken for the future should not isolate us from the rest of the world. It is therefore advisable to use English and other languages. Basically the decision should come from the people themselves as to what they want.

For those who do not support the idea, they had this to say.

* This might cause conflict as the Afrikaner may still want his language, that is Afrikaans to be one of the major languages.

* Politically have a problem with such a proposal. It encourages boerestat type of situation. It is difficult to have such a situation. People should be free to communicate in any way they like. There
should be no imposition.

* On the whole should never encourage it. For English being national, I agree. But for the indigenous languages being regional then we are going back to influxion. Rather we should see isiZulu and Sesotho together with English and in this instance, could exclude Northern Transvaal and Natal.

* National language would mean some sort of official language. One need to think what would happen to the national anthem.

The different responses clearly indicate that the Soweto people hold various ideas and attitudes about languages used in South Africa and Soweto in particular.
CHAPTER 3

The purpose of this chapter is to attempt an analysis of the data presented in chapter 2 with the view to establish the attitudes of the respondents. There are several responses to the twenty three questions asked. Each response or group of responses will receive special attention.

3.1 DATA ANALYSIS

3.1.1 HOW MANY LANGUAGES IN YOUR OPINION ARE SPoken IN SOWETO?

Here we try to establish if the people of Soweto are aware of the languages spoken. In that area there are, in all eleven officially recognised, written languages namely, nine indigenous languages, English and Afrikaans and it is interesting to note that most people did not know this fact. There is also an unwritten but spoken language namely, Street language which may bring our number to twelve. Answers to this question ranged from four to five to six and so on, languages that respondents could think of. The languages spoken are English, Afrikaans, Sesotho, Sepedi, Setswana, isiZulu, isiXhosa, isiNdebele, isiSwati, TshiVenda, XiTsonga and a Street language.

3.1.2 WHICH OF THE LANGUAGES SPOKEN DO YOU PREFER OR LIKE?

The answers point to the attitude people have towards
the different languages. The languages preferred by most respondents are English, isiZulu, Sesotho, and a Street language.

3.1.3 WHY DO YOU PREFER/LIKE IT?

English, isiZulu, Sesotho and a Street language are easily accessible as most people understand them. Therefore, the reasons given are clearly acceptable.

English is seen by some as a unifying language given the fact that societies have been fragmented on the basis of the languages that they speak. Respondents find it to be more functional and as a result embrace it not out of love but out of the need to use it.

For historical, political reasons, isiZulu and Sesotho emerge as the most preferred of the indigenous languages. Sesotho speakers for instance are not as many as Setswana speakers in Soweto, but because of historical political reasons, respondents point their preference to Sesotho. One of the reasons may be that in the past, as far back as the late sixties to the early seventies, most schools in Soweto, under the department of Bantu Education offered only Sesotho or isiZulu as vernacular subjects. Therefore non-
speakers of those languages were forced to study them. Setswana and Sepedi speakers would study Sesotho and isiXhosa, isiSwati and isiNdebele speakers would study isiZulu. This went further with XiTsonga and TshiVenda speakers who would either study Sesotho or isiZulu.

The Street language is unavoidable due to the different cultural language groups found in this area. As indicated in the data, it is a kind of language that unifies the different groups. In Soweto we identify the following Street languages: Tsotsitaal and Sowetan mixture.

Tsotsitaal, as Msimang (1987:82) points out, is a contact medium which developed together in the South African cities especially on the Rand. It is originally associated with youths that participate in common activities like crime and the aim of its formulation is that they should not be understood by those outside their circles. It is therefore a kind of a secrete language. It is important to note though that not all people who speak Tsotsitaal are criminals. There are those who through contact with those that speak this language, also learn to speak it. It is also important to note that Tsotsitaal is not static, it changes with the times and it also
differs from one area to another. Hence we identify different types of Tsotsitaal. In Soweto today we distinguish between the following two types: Flytaal and Isicamtho.

Flytaal originates from townships like Sophiatown, Western and Alexander and is today spoken by adults who are ±40 years old. Surprisingly it is composed of Afrikaans and a few English words.

Isicamtho on the other hand is spoken by youths who call themselves Amapantsula. These youths usually commit crimes like robberies, car thefts and house breakings and mainly patronise shebeens and ‘stokvels’. Once more we need to note that not everybody that speaks Isicamtho is an impantsula as through contact one has an opportunity to learn and speak this language.

The following is a distinction between the two types of Tsotsitaal:

**Flytaal**

Joe: Heitta my bricardo en hoeset moet jou?
Thembu: Ek is double dolly, sweet job no mokatakata.
Joe: Gaan jy dowel jumpers?
Themba: Wat dowel?
Joe: Ken jy nie om te se dat die Ponniës hulle Zola Bud vandag in Banana dorpie?
Themba: Weet jy wat my bricardo, ek het nie mulla nie om te dowel.
Joe: Monie worry nie ek sal jou jokie.
Themba: Ek sal baie like my bra.
Joe: Maar as ons blind geloop het, moet nie die mogos howl nie, want hulle sal dink ons is Chankie Charlies. Jy ken moes hulle is Sowetans.
Themba: Ag my bra moet nie count nie, ek sal nie maak laat skappies ons uitlaag nie.
Joe: Okay my bra, laat ons maar die mova skep.

Translations:

Joe: Hallo my brother and how are you?
Themba: I am fine.
Joe: Are you going to gamble this afternoon?
Themba: Gamble what?
Joe: Are you not aware that there is a horse racing today in Durban?
Themba: You know what my brother, I have no money to gamble.
Joe: Don’t worry I will give you.

Themba: I will appreciate it my brother.

Joe: If we loose, don’t tell these fools because they will think that we are jokers. You know that they like to publish things.

Themba: Don’t worry, I won’t make fools happy.

Joe: Fine my brother, let us go.

Isicamtho

Sipho: Hey sbali, nayi iRoja ingishayela ithupa. Awuphathanga iseven lapho?

Tshepo: Ngiyiphakathele, mara angeke ngikuhantise.


Tshepo: Ngiyashiver ukuthi uzayibhodisa, bese uzifakela abofour.

Sipho: Angina nyoni yokuphakiwa, kudala ngishizila.

Translations:

Sipho: Hi brother, I am annoyed by this fool. Don’t you have a knife with you?

Tshepo: I do have but I am not going to give it to
you.

Sipho: Why not? Are you afraid or are you protecting him. Unfortunately I left my gun at home.

Tshepo: I am afraid you will kill him and thereafter will have police after you.

Sipho: I fear no arrest. I have long been serving prison terms.

From the two conversations, we do see that there is a vast difference between Flytaal and Isicamtho which we all refer to as Tsotsitaal. Children at home playing with friends also use a Street language which is mainly influenced by contact with other children at school or around the home belonging to different language groups. Two friends playing may communicate like this:

Thabo: Thabiso e tla re tlo dlala.
Thabiso: O batla re dlale eng?
Thabo: Waitsi nna ke galletse ho dlala draft.
Thabiso: Mara wena wa bora hobane ha o jewa wa lla.
Thabo: Never ke lle kajeno. Konje e le e batla re be ikae?
Thabiso: Batho ba itwo ba right.
Thabo: Tla re state he.
Thabo: Thabiso, come let us play.
Thabiso: What are we to play?
Thabo: I long to play draft.
Thabiso: But you are a bore because when one wins, you cry.
Thabo: I won’t cry today. By the way how many players are required for that one?
Thabiso: Two can play.
Thabo: Let’s start then.

Unlike the other two types of Street language, we do see that the one by children and some adults is easy to understand and anybody can follow what is being said.

The development of the Soweto mixture was caused by factors like migration, industrialization and urbanization. People converging at this area, spoke different languages and hence it became easy for languages to be mixed. If we look at the Street language situation in Soweto, we find that it makes a case for code mixing and code switching.
3.1.4   a)  **IS IT YOUR HOME LANGUAGE?**

A home language is understood or seen in this work as a mixture of two or more languages used either simultaneously or interchangeably in a home situation.

In chapter 2 we mentioned that 28 of the interviews we conducted were with families. The breakdown for the father language identified in these families is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of families</th>
<th>Father Language/tongue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Six</td>
<td>Sesotho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven</td>
<td>IsiZulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four</td>
<td>Setswana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three</td>
<td>Sepedi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three</td>
<td>TshiVenda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three</td>
<td>XiTsonga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>IsiXhosa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total:** Twenty Eight (28)

To illustrate the language that the families use as their home language, we have the following table:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father’s Language</th>
<th>Mother’s Language</th>
<th>Home Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sesotho</td>
<td>isiZulu</td>
<td>Sesotho, isiZulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sesotho</td>
<td>Sesotho</td>
<td>Sesotho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sesotho</td>
<td>Sesotho</td>
<td>Sesotho, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sesotho</td>
<td>Setswana</td>
<td>Sesotho, Setswana, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sesotho</td>
<td>isiZulu</td>
<td>Sesotho, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sesotho</td>
<td>Setswana</td>
<td>Sesotho, Setswana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IsiZulu</td>
<td>isiZulu</td>
<td>isiZulu, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IsiZulu</td>
<td>Setswana</td>
<td>isiZulu, Setswana, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IsiZulu</td>
<td>Setswana</td>
<td>isiZulu, Setswana, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IsiZulu</td>
<td>Setswana</td>
<td>isiZulu, Setswana, English</td>
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<tr>
<td>IsiZulu</td>
<td>Setswana</td>
<td>isiZulu, Setswana, English</td>
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<tr>
<td>Setswana</td>
<td>Setswana</td>
<td>Setswana, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setswana</td>
<td>Sesotho</td>
<td>Setswana, Sesotho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setswana</td>
<td>Sepedi</td>
<td>Setswana, Sepedi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setswana</td>
<td>Sesotho</td>
<td>Setswana, Sesotho, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sepedi</td>
<td>Sepedi</td>
<td>Sepedi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sepedi</td>
<td>Sepedi</td>
<td>Sepedi, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sepedi</td>
<td>Setswana</td>
<td>Sepedi, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TshiVenda</td>
<td>TshiVenda</td>
<td>TshiVenda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This is clear evidence that in most families the home language is a mixture. Apart from the fact that Soweto is a multilingual area, mixed marriages also contribute to the Sowetan mixture.

Other countries like the USSR have also experienced the effects of mixed marriages. Lewis (1972: 116) cites an example of the diffusion of the Azerbaydzhani language among the Tats that is promoted by mixed marriages - between the Tat and the Azeri. In this way the Azerbaydzhani language became firmly rooted in Tat families.
3.1.4 b) WHAT IS YOUR FATHER TONGUE?

The different indigenous languages serve as the father tongue for the different people of Soweto. It is important to note that even though we may be the first to use this term in a scientific work here at home, it has been used in one case study compiled by Harding and Riley (1986: 83) where English is seen as a 'father tongue'. In this case, Peter and Anne Marie are an English/French couple living in Eastern France and have two young children aged eight and three. Both are extremely positive in the attitude toward bilingualism though they have not taken any conscious decision to bring up the children bilingually. Though the mother is French speaking and uses French when she communicates with her children, she would like to see them grow to speak English well. For the Father it would be absurd to speak to his own children in French hence he uses English with them. The language pattern for the family is diagrammatically shown as follows:
In this case study the father is very conscious of his role as 'source of English' in the family and admits to bombarding his children with conversation, records, songs and rhymes.

As we can see this links up well with the attitude of Africans as regards the language of the father. In most instances, the father would actually demand that the mother speaks with the children through his language and not hers.

3.1.5 WHY DO YOU PREFER YOUR HOME LANGUAGE TO YOUR FATHER TONGUE?

In every nine out of ten interviews we conducted, members of any given family use a home language which is predominantly a mixture as we have shown. This is again evidence of a case for code switching or code mixing as a reality. The following is a typical
example of a conversation in a certain home situation:

'MaDineo: Lebo, hosane ke birthday ya Dineo. We are going to sing for her.
Lebohang: Dineo yena o hlahile ka di mang?
'MaDineo: O hlahile ka di eight tsa July.
Lebohang: O tlo mo rekela happy birthday?
'MaDineo: Ja, mara ke tlo beika hape, ke phehe le rice le chicken.
Lebohang: Hm, re tlo ja hamonate. Papapa, what are you going to buy for Dineo’s birthday?
Papapa: Ke tlo mo rekela mose o red.
Lebohang: Jo, Dineo wa itumela. O mo rekele le dieta hore di meche le mose wa hae. I am going to buy her a beautiful card.

Translations:

'MaDineo: Lebo, tomorrow is Dineo’s birthday. We are going to sing for her.
Lebohang: On which date was she born?
'MaDineo: She was born on the eighth of July.
Lebohang: Are you going to buy her a happy birthday? (Meaning a birthday cake.)
'MaDineo: Yes, but I am also going to bake and I will also cook rice and chicken.
Lebohang: Oh, we are going to enjoy ourselves.
Papapa, what are you going to buy for Dineo’s birthday?

Papapa: I am going to buy her a red dress.

Lebohang: Oh I envy her. You must also buy her red shoes to match with her red dress. I am going to buy her a beautiful card.

As it can be seen from this conversation, there is a lot of code switching and code mixing. For the respondents therefore, a home language is much more functional.

3.1.6 IS MULTILINGUALISM A GOOD PRACTICE THAT SHOULD BE MAINTAINED? OR DO YOU LIKE A SITUATION LIKE SOWETO WHERE MANY DIFFERENT LANGUAGES ARE SPOKEN

Reading the responses to multilingualism, the interviews indicate that it is absolutely necessary to have a multilingual society because it provides multicultural diversity. For most people interviewed, it serves as a unifying force rather than a divisive one. In fact from all school going children, we talked to, it came out very clearly that we should learn to speak more indigenous languages but not necessarily in a formal school situation. In that way, one is able to speak to any person belonging to
a different language group without any communication break down. Some school children indicated that they could speak three to five languages already. While all of the people we interviewed want multilingualism to be maintained and encouraged, there does seem to be natural processes working against it. One can pose the following question, for instance: Given fifteen to twenty years from now, what is the effect of the home language which is a mixture, going to be on the multilingual set up in the given urban areas? Remember, it was indicated earlier on that people prefer the home language to the father tongue, and this may imply the slow death of the father languages in favour of the mixture. Seemingly this question brings us to the language shift and language maintainance issue. By language shift is meant that a community gives up a language completely in favour of another one. Language maintainance on the other hand means that the community collectively decides to continue using the language or languages it has traditionally used (Fasold 1984:213).

Fasold (1984:241) notes that there are certain socio-economic conditions that may cause a language to shift. He further says that these conditions are not a gaurantee that there will be language shift. He
mentions the fact that for people who live in urban industrial or commercial centres, it is easy to shift from their particular languages and speak a language of wider currency. In Soweto for instance, people may shift from speaking the different indigenous languages to speak the Sowetan mixture. But then if we compare this prediction with the study conducted by Fasold among Tiwa Indians of New Mexico, we may hopefully say it is unlikely that there will be a shift.

Fasold (1984:242) observes that the Tiwa language has been maintained over the past century or so while the community’s High language has shifted from Spanish to English. The data in some way suggest that a shift from Tiwa to English may have begun but other indications (of which he does not account for) suggest that there is no shift going on, or even that there is currently a reversal from a shift pattern back to maintenance. With that we may hope that the indigenous languages will be maintained and will be used along side the favoured Sowetan mixture.

3.1.7

WOULD YOU LIKE TO SEE A MONOLINGUAL SITUATION IN SOWETO OR WOULD IT MAKE SENSE TO HAVE ONE LANGUAGE SPOKEN BY ALL THE PEOPLE OF SOWETO?
Many respondents reject monolingualism because it would invite disaster. This is also noted by Emeka (1977:10) who says the African situation differs from the westerner who sees multilingualism as a vice or a liability. Hence most European language policies tended towards uniformization. Farb’s work (1975:366) on the other hand cites several instances of war and fracticide between people speaking the same language. This proves Emeka (1977:12) correct when he says that it is not the case that language diversity necessarily and inevitably leads to language problems as can be seen in the peaceful coexistence of four languages in Switzerland. He further quotes Kelman (1971) who has noted that a deliberate attempt at linguistic unification may produce the opposite result and create divisiveness, antagonism and etholinguistic assertion and cleavages as can be seen in Spain, India, Ceylon and to a lesser extent France.

For those who think that one language would unify and deny politicians a chance to manipulate people for their own gain, Emeka (1977:12) disagrees by emphasizing the fact that linguistic unity alone cannot guarantee political unity.
3.1.8 **IF YES HOW WOULD WE WORK TOWARD ACHIEVING THAT MONOLINGUAL SITUATION?**

In Soweto, a solution to the achievement of a monolingual situation is a worthless exercise since respondents do not favour it, and with the many languages already in existence, this would be a difficult task if not an impossible one.

3.1.9 **IN A WORK SITUATION WHERE PEOPLE SPEAK DIFFERENT LANGUAGES, HOW IS COMMUNICATION MADE POSSIBLE?**

As a normal procedure, at different places of work, two languages are recognised at the managerial level and these are English and Afrikaans, the two official languages of South Africa. This confirms McGroarthy's (1990:101) remarks that the answer to the question who learns whose language depends on the understanding of power relationships within a society. She points this to the concepts superordinate and subordinate relations and we may take these as the keys to understanding the role of multilingualism in the South African workplace. Blacks need to know either English and/or Afrikaans in order to participate in the economy. This tallies with Tollefson's (1991:207) observation that the principle of 'efficiency' is used to justify
policies requiring dominant languages in the workplace. As McGroarthy (1990:162) says, monolingualism, is not perceived as an occupational or social problem; in contrast monolingualism in a language other than English (or Afrikaans) is interpreted as an economic and social obstacle. Tollefson (1991) believes though that this may be an impediment to production. The denial of a person to use his own language interferes with the relationship between one's work and oneself. Tollefson (1991:207) therefore says, when individuals are not permitted to use their own languages at work, they are alienated not only from their work and the workplace, but from themselves.

We have seen from the responses that apart from the official languages spoken, socially, people communicate in their different languages at work. This provides support to the observation that another or other languages are emerging as a result of a multilingual set-up, and probably this is the reason why Street languages have come about and are used widely. Godsell (1992:3) also mentions in his article that language enables people who have different linguistic identities to interact. He cites a good example of this where some years ago, he was involved
in installing a particular communication system in a large building site. Top management spoke English, middle management Afrikaans, supervisors Portuguese, workers isiZulu, isiXhosa, Sesotho and Setswana. Astonishingly the building was built and it still stands.

This may point to the fact that for good social relations at work, people should be allowed to use their own languages or people need to know languages other than their own. Tollefson (1991:207) maintains that language policies that deny individuals the use of their own languages at work are unnatural, antihuman and anticultural.

3.1.10 **WHAT IS THE ROLE OF FANAKALO WITHIN THE WORK SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA?**

Fanakalo first originated in Natal where it was used as a means of ‘communication’ between Indians and Africans and it later spread to the mining industry. In reality Fanakalo does not serve any communication need because it is a one way instructional tool. It therefore plays no meaningful communicative role.

3.1.11/3.1.13 **DO WE NEED A LINGUA FRANCA FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA AND AFRICA?**
There does seem to be a need for a lingua franca.

3.1.12 **IF YES WHAT SHOULD THAT LINGUA FRANCA BE AND WHY?**

Three languages that could serve well as lingua franca are English, Kiswahili and isiZulu.

Eighty percent (80%) opted for English. It is there already and most people use it. Fifteen percent (15%) went for Kiswahili as a language that could link Africa well. Five percent (5%) chose isiZulu because it is widely used by Black South Africans and it is known in other parts of Africa as well like Zimbabwe, Malawi and Mozambique.

3.1.14 **DOES AFRICA AND SOUTH AFRICA NEED TO COMMUNICATE WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD? IF YES, HOW IS AFRICA AND SOUTH AFRICA EXPECTED TO COMMUNICATE WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD?**

Ninety percent (90%) of the respondents found English to be the most relevant language that can be used with the rest of the world. It is an international language and it is the language of commerce and industry. This trend is also observed in Young’s Report (1991) in which about 70% of their respondents, including Afrikaans father tongue
speakers prefer English because it is an instrumental national communicative language. About ten percent (10%) felt that French could be used also because it is regarded as second to English in terms of international acceptance, recognition and status.

3.1.15 WHAT IS YOUR REACTION TO THE IDEA OF STANDARDIZED NGUNI AND STANDARDIZED SOTHO?

This proposal has come to be known as the Nhlapo-Alexander proposal because in 1944 Jacob Nhlapo saw the need to collapse certain languages into one. In the eightees, Neville Alexander initially unaware of Nhlapo’s ideas, saw the possibility of standardizing or unifying in writing and in all formal settings like schools, churches, law courts and so on, varieties of Nguni, that is, isiZulu, isiXhosa, isiNdebele and SiSwati and those of Sotho, that is, Sesotho, Setswana and Sepedi.

Reading from the responses the attitude of the people on this idea, ninety-five percent (95%) were opposed to it on the basis that:

a) it is unrealistic;

b) it looks like an imposition;

c) it will deprive people of their linguistic
birthrights;

d) it is sheer arrogance to tell people what they should do about their languages; and

e) the proposal will grossly hamper the development of the indigenous languages,

Perhaps the people are right by resisting this proposal because if linguistic changes will occur they will do so naturally. This process appears to be in progress already. The indigenous languages have not been fully developed and documented. Like other natural languages they have a heritage that must be preserved. It does not seem right to talk about economic realities only when it comes to the indigenous languages of South Africa. It is also not morally right that the resources of the country should largely have gone to documenting, developing and preserving the two main foreign languages of South Africa. We also support what Herder (in Edwards, 1985:24) says in his prize essay - Yeber den Ursprung der Sprache (1772) that 'what a treasure language is when kinship groups grow into tribes and nations. Even the smallest of nations - cherishes in and through its language the history, poetry and songs about great deeds of its forefathers. Herder also mentions Barnard (1969:165) saying that the language
is the nation’s collective treasure. Herder’s contention was that loss of language entailed loss of identity. It would therefore be unfortunate if some of the indigenous languages are lost through unnatural merging.

**3.1.16**

**WHAT IMPLICATIONS DOES YOUR RESPONSE TO QUESTION 3.1.15 HAVE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES? WILL THEY DEVELOP COMMERCIALLY, LEGALLY ADMINISTRATIVELY, EDUCATIONALLY AND CULTURALLY?**

The fact that most of the respondents are opposed to the Nhlapo-Alexander proposal due to facts like: it would mean loss of identity. The implication is that the development will only go as far as education and culture but not commercially, legally and administratively as languages will be lumped up as Nguni and Sotho, and would as such deprive each indigenous language an opportunity to develop on its own.

**3.1.17**

**HAVE ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS DEVELOPED AT THE EXPENSE OF THE INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES?**

This question brings us to the Language Planning and Language Policy issue. The South African Government has been the only party concerned with planning the
languages of the country and formulating the language policy. Tollefson (1991:204) observes that language policies often offer opportunities to some while denying it for many. This is exactly what happened in South Africa. English and Afrikaans, being the languages of those in power had an advantage over the indigenous languages. Probably this is why Tollefson (1991:203) says that language policy is inseparable from the relationships of power that divide societies. In most states, language policy is used as a powerful tool for exclusion and is also fundamental to exploitation.

Tollefson (1991:203) asserts that in countries where others are deprived of the opportunity to develop their language proficiency, only those in power enjoy economic and political advantages based upon their exclusive language proficiency. He cited Namibia as an example where poor people have little or no opportunity to attend school to acquire language skills they need for jobs and political power.

3.1.18

IF THESE INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES DO DEVELOP, WILL THE DEVELOPMENT BE REGIONAL, NATIONAL OR INTERNATIONAL?

There is more need for the indigenous languages to
first develop regionally before we can think of the development nationally. The regions may be linguistic and geographic. The division of regions may first of all be considered along side the four provinces of South Africa, that is Cape, Natal, Orange Free State and Transvaal. Possible regions of development with their respective indigenous languages may be as follows:

Cape: Western Cape and Eastern Cape - isiXhosa
Natal: isiZulu
Orange Free State: Mainly Sesotho and Setswana
Transvaal: Northern Transvaal - Sepedi, Tshivenda, XiTsonga
                     Eastern Transvaal - isiNdebele, isiSwati
                     Western Transvaal - Setswana
Southern Transvaal - Unfortunately this region cannot be considered on linguistic basis since all of the indigenous languages are in operation. It might then be best to form a Bureaux of the indigenous languages whose main function would be to coordinate and promote the development of these languages and it should have a link with other regions mentioned above. It is important to note that the development of the indigenous languages will take place
alongside the use of English and Afrikaans.

3.1.19 WHO SHOULD DEVELOP THE INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES?

These languages should be developed by the speakers but the government should recognise and accept its responsibility in terms of providing funds in order for the indigenous languages to catch up with the arrears that attend them. Therefore statements like 'It seems unlikely that we have the time or resources to develop any of the Bantu group of languages into a widely used industrial medium' (Godsell, 1992:5) are unacceptable because they give the impression that other languages are better than others.

3.1.20 WHAT DO YOU SEE AS THE ROLE OF AFRIKAANS IN FUTURE?

The future role of Afrikaans amongst Blacks is seen to be very bleak for obvious political reasons. Afrikaans is synonymous with deprivation, domination and repression. However, Afrikaans has a sizeable linguistic constituency which has jealously guarded and protected its survival. It is also a father tongue of many of the so-called coloured people. This is also reiterated in Young's (1991) report that even if English is regarded as a language that all South
Africans need to know for communication, for jobs, for education and so on, Afrikaans is also regarded as a language that cannot be wished away. This was observed when the overall hostility towards Afrikaans as a national language and as a medium of instruction was less marked than expected especially from isiXhosa speakers. Given this Afrikaans will survive.

3.1.21 WHAT DO YOU SEE AS THE ROLE OF THE INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES IN FUTURE?

The indigenous languages as the descriptive term indicates are the languages of the sub-continent and they are here to stay. The most motivating factor is that they carry the culture of the majority of the people. For people not to lose their cultural heritage, it is important to keep their languages alive. That they were not properly documented and developed was because of the Apartheid Government, which largely concentrated on English and Afrikaans.

3.1.22 WHAT DO YOU SEE AS THE ROLE OF ENGLISH IN FUTURE?

English has a rosy future. This is so despite the fact that English and Afrikaans share the same sins. Both languages have been the languages of power and
were therefore regarded as better than other languages. They have been the dominant languages in all spheres. However, it was pointed out that among the Black people English is not embraced out of love but rather out of necessity. It is the language of colonialism but it enjoys the privilege of being a functional language. Young’s (1991) study also confirms this fact about English. It is language that all South Africans need to know for communication, for jobs, for education and other things.

3.1.23

THERE WAS A PROPOSAL AT AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN PRETORIA IN APRIL 1991, THAT ENGLISH SHOULD BE A NATIONAL LANGUAGE AND AFRIKAANS AND THE INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES SHOULD BE REGIONAL LANGUAGES. WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT THIS PROPOSAL?

Eighty percent (80%) of the respondents feel that we should have one national (official) language and that should be English with regional alternants made up of the indigenous languages and Afrikaans. As already mentioned, this may be due to the fact that English is more functional.

Twelve percent (12%) would like a situation where all languages operate on the same level without any
language enjoying undue privilege over others. This probably tallies with the ANC’s proposal on language policy which states that language policy should assist in uniting people and recognise linguistic diversity. Recognising linguistic diversity means redressing the discrimination of the past where two languages enjoyed official status to the detriment of others.

Eight percent (8%) of the respondents were undecided; probably because they do not see how people of different races can form one nation and therefore have one national language which symbolises oneness. On the other hand treating all languages the same is seen as an effort that is near impossibility, since Afrikaans and English are far ahead of the indigenous languages. Those in power have jealously guarded the development of the two languages as they are well documented with dictionaries, encyclopedias, well written literature and so on. For the indigenous languages to reach the same level, it will take years.

We now move on to examine whether the indigenous languages have a place in the future.
CHAPTER 4

In view of the information presented in chapters 2 and 3, it is appropriate to establish what the future of the indigenous languages is likely to be in the New South Africa. A question may be asked - do they have any place in the future? At this stage it is proper first to consider some of the Language Planning Theories and thereafter examine closely what the future holds for the indigenous languages.

4.1 Language Planning Theories

In many countries we find that more than one language is used. This kind of situation may create a problem to the people of that particular country. Fasold (1984:4) argues that difficulties in communication within a country can act as an impediment to commerce and industry and be socially disruptive. But more seriously multilingualism works against nationalism. This is so because the development of a sense of nation is more a monolingual one. In such situations then it becomes necessary that a national language be developed.

It is then important for us to know who is responsible for language planning and how languages are planned, and for whom are languages planned. Das Gupta and Ferguson (1977:4) mention that Language Planning is a latecomer to the family of national development planning. Deliberate attempts to change or preserve languages and their use has been an ongoing process but it is only recent that these
activities in the language area have been recognised as an aspect of national planning which can be investigated with the same conceptual tools that are appropriate for general development planning. (Rubin, J et al 1977:3)

4.1.1 Who Does Language Planning?

Now the answer to the question "Who does language planning?" is rather surprising: as it can be almost anybody (cf Fasold 1984, Haugen 1966; Ray 1968; Jernudd 1973; Rubin 1973) Fasold indicates though that governments are in a position to make the most wide-ranging (but not necessarily the most successful) decision that influence language. Not only governments are involved in language planning but individuals or groups of individuals can also be involved. In the English speaking world, two private citizens who constructed dictionaries had a profound influence on the standardization of the meaning of spelling of words. Samuel Johnson in England and Noah Webster in the United States. Eliezer Ben-Yehude (1852-1922) of Palestine tried to restore Hebrew as a spoken language by establishing the first Hebrew speaking household in Palestine, publishing a modern Hebrew newspaper and compiling a dictionary of modern
Official or Government language planning takes place via Language Academies or Departments. Their task maybe to devise orthography for an unwritten language, to revise a spelling system, to coin new words and other things as is the case in South Africa.

4.1.2 For Whom Are Languages Planned?

Turning to the question "for whom are languages planned?" we note the observation made by Karam (1974:108) that Language Planning is no doubt possible wherever there is a communication problem concerning language. Emeka Okonkwo (1977: 5) finds that language planning is more pertinent in emergent nations and developing nations. "Emergent" he says refers to a nation that is in a political, economic, social, cultural and linguistic transition. He continues to say that most emergent nations are in a state of flux. Hence Planning in several areas including language is useful and in fact, necessary if an even development is desired. This is so because language politics is particularly acute in multilingual countries as witnessed by the situation in India, Ceylon, Spain, Belgium and Canada.
In monolingual countries problems also occur probably due to language conflict in ethno-linguistically homogeneous nations as was seen in Norway where there was rivalry between two related dialects, Nynorsk and Bokmal (see Haugen 1966b). It is therefore not healthy to wait for a language problem to erupt before any planning can be undertaken. Emeka (1977:5) commends that preventive language planning is an invaluable aid to politicians and administrators.

4.1.3 How Can Languages Be Planned?

Looking now at the question "how can language be planned?" it is said that depending on the situation in the country or in a speech community, language planning may take different forms (Appel and Muysken, 1987)

1. The first form may be called language selection. This may be the situation in countries which need to determine which language will be the national language.

2. The second form may be called minority language treatment. With the possible continued use of minority languages, concern may be whether they should be tolerated, oppressed, stimulated or whether they are to be used in education or in administration.
3. The third plan may be called language development. Language Planning can also be directed at further developing of languages, both national and minority ones. This can affect any of the spoken and written languages, for example, revision of spelling system, the choice of a particular variety of the newly selected national languages as the standard variety.

Stages and Activities in Language Planning

a) Initial Fact-finding Stage

In the first stages, an overview of the language situation must be obtained. For example, the number of mother tongue and second language speakers of each language must be established, its social distribution, its sociolinguistic status, the existence of written forms, the elaborateness of the vocabulary and so on. Facts to be studied will depend on the actual sociolinguistic situation in the speech community.

b) Devising Procedures

In the second stage, procedures constituting a programme of action will be devised in which the
specific objectives of the language planning process are determined. This is the most important stage and procedures include language selection, minority language treatment, codification and modernization.

i) **Language Selection**

This implies the choice of a (new) national language. After independence, countries face this problem. The reason is that the language in use is usually associated with the former colonial power. For example, Tanzania opted for KiSwahili instead of English, Namibia opted for English though most Namibians including Blacks are more conversant with Afrikaans.

ii) **Minority Language Treatment**

This refers to the decisions on the (planned) use of minority languages in education, administration and public life. For example, in some South American Countries, minority languages are used to some extent in primary education. Minority language treatment are often devised for the sake of minority language maintenance.
iii) **Codification**

This is a prerequisite for the standardization of a language. If a speech community does not have a standard language or wants to adopt a new standard language, this sometimes does not exist in a standardized form. A central problem in codification is that of heterogeneity. Codification implies then that a standard variety is established, and generally this will be based on one of the varieties or dialects of the language in question. Where languages do not exist in written form, codification will imply graphization, that is the reduction of spoken language to writing, or the devising of graphic symbols to represent the spoken form. The first decision will be the choice of alphabet or script.

iv) **Modernization**

This is the last planning procedure. It is also often called cultivation or elaboration. Codification and modernization together make up the activity of language development. Moderni-
zation of language may be thought of as the process of its becoming the equal of other developed languages as a medium of communication; it is in a sense the process of joining the world community of increasingly intertranslatable languages as appropriate vehicles of modern forms of discourse (Fergusson, 1968:32).

There are two processes involved in modernization:

i) The expansion of the lexicon

ii) The development of new styles and forms of discourse. This implies that in cases where a language has always functioned only in informal context with the result that people lack the skill of using it appropriately if it is selected as a national language or as a medium of instruction in schools, then it would be wise if language planning could include the development of style manuals, writing books, etc.

The first process has received much attention in language planning than the second one.
c) **Implementation Stage:**

This is the third stage of the language planning process. Common implementation techniques are the publication of world lists and grammars; the funding of language maintenance efforts (minority languages), the publication of text books for schools; the vocational training of teachers in a (new) language, the publication of governmental decisions in a certain language, the passing of laws concerning language use; and so on.

d) **Evaluation Stage**

This is the last stage. Here an examination is made as to whether goals have been attained. Many evaluation studies show that language planning can be successful as is the case in Tanzania where Swahili has become real, multi-purpose national language and is also used in Secondary education where it has to compete with English which occupies a strong position. The evaluation stage can take us to the initial stage because through evaluation, facts about languages and language use can be discovered and interpreted. Therefore language planning is a circular process.
At this point we note what Tauli (1968:9) says when he claims that language can be evaluated, altered, corrected, regulated and improved, and new languages can be created at will.

4.2 THE PLACE OF THE INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES IN FUTURE

We are of the opinion that despite the fact that the indigenous languages were not developed as was the case with English and Afrikaans, they do have a place in future and they do need to be developed. What we need to establish is their various roles we anticipate in the different aspects that follow;

Language and Education

Language and Culture

Language and Communication

Language and Democracy

Language and Technology
4.2.1 Language and Education

In the South African Education sphere, we see the effects of the Apartheid system as there are different Education Departments for the different population groups, namely:

a) The Department of National Education which serves the White community, with each province controlling its own education. Hence we find:
   i) The Cape Education Department
   ii) The Orange Free State Education Department
   iii) The Natal Education Department
   iv) The Transvaal Education Department

b) The Department of Education and Training which serves Blacks.

c) The Department of Indian Education

d) The Department of Coloured Education

Since we have these different departments, the language issue is handled differently in each case. We will now examine what the situation is in the National Education Department and in the Department of Education and Training.
National Education Department

In this broader Department, the schools are organized on the basis of two official languages which are English and Afrikaans. There are the English medium schools in which the medium of instruction is English and the Afrikaans medium schools in which the medium of instruction is Afrikaans. Depending on the medium of instruction in a particular school, either English or Afrikaans is taught as one of the subjects.

The Department of Education and Training

In this department we distinguish between three levels, that is, the lower primary level, the higher primary level and the secondary level. In the lower primary level, that is, from Sub Standard A to Standard two, all subjects are taught through the medium of the father tongue. English is introduced as a subject in Sub Standard B and Afrikaans is introduced in Standard one. From the higher primary level, that is, standard three to standard five, and right through to secondary level, all subjects are taught through the medium of English and an indigenous language together with Afrikaans are only taught as subjects. It should be noted that English is also taught as a subject.
There is a move presently by the Department of Education and Training to amend this policy. The parents of children will now be given an opportunity to choose from the following options:

a) Straight for the long-term language medium which would mean that English, Afrikaans or an African (indigenous) language will be the only medium of instruction from the beginning of Sub Standard A.

b) A sudden transfer from the father tongue to a second language medium, in which case the father tongue would serve as medium of instruction up to the end of any standard followed by a switch over to English or Afrikaans in all subjects except the vernacular.

c) A graduated transfer from the father tongue to a second language medium wherein this option involves the phasing in of English or Afrikaans as medium of instruction subject by subject (Source: Department of Education and Training, 1992: Implementing the Amended Language Medium Policy).

The overall implication of this is that different schools, in consultation with parents of pupils in a particular school will be free to make their own choice. If a
particular school fails to do that, the minister of Education will have a final say on the choice of any of these options.

With this background information, we now examine the aspects that need to be considered for language and education in the New South Africa, with special emphasis on the indigenous languages. We consider this with the belief that there will be only one Education Department for the whole country.

4.2.1.1 **Medium of instruction**

As English is more functional than the other languages, it is advisable that all subjects, except an indigenous language and/or Afrikaans, be taught through this medium right from Sub Standard A. This is possible even with the Black child as proven by those parents who took their children to English medium schools. Universities which teach the indigenous languages through the medium of English or Afrikaans need to reconsider their stance as this may be an impediment to the development of the indigenous languages.
4.2.1.2 **Languages as subjects**

All children should be taught English, one of the indigenous languages and/or Afrikaans. The choice of an indigenous language will depend on the dominant language spoken in a particular region. In areas like the PWV, white children may choose between one of the Nguni or one of the Sotho languages. The teaching of the indigenous languages in White schools should be done by the father tongue speakers of those languages.

4.2.1.3 **Languages and literature**

If the teaching of the indigenous languages is encouraged, this may promote more relevant writing of the literature of these languages. By relevant we mean that it is time writers moved away from the makgoweng-motif to more pragmatic themes like mass actions, power struggles, child abuse and molestation, women oppression and abandonment, violence and racism and tribalism.

4.2.1.4 **Syllabus**

Since we aspire that all South Africans should be able to learn one of the indigenous languages, it is
important that the syllabus be properly planned so that it does not concentrate on dry areas like morphology while leaving out crucial aspects of living languages like sociolinguistics, discourse analysis and semantics.

4.2.2 Language and Culture

Nothing is as true as the following words:

It is his knowledge of a language that enables one to breakthrough into the culture of a community. (Beattie, 1964:31)

If language provides the knowledge of what a particular culture entails, we need to know first what culture is. Hudson (1980:73) points out that the term culture always refers to some property of a community especially those which might distinguish it from other communities. Van Aswegen (1992:1) cites Pusch (1981) who says that culture is the sum total of ways of living; culture includes values, beliefs, aesthetic standards, linguistic expression, pattern of thinking, behavioural norms and styles of communication which a group of people has developed to assure its survival in a particular physical and human environment. From
these definitions one can conclude that we are in a position to distinguish people, groups, communities through their different values, norms, beliefs and so on because each person, each group, each community has its own culture. Hence Degenaar (1992:2) further clarifies the concept community as any group of people who have certain characteristics in common. These characteristics he says can be of various kinds, such as sharing of a place, a common ancestry, language, religion, a certain degree of civilization, and so on. But also sharing of certain interests, for example, a community of scholars, artists, nature lovers, sportsmen, homosexuals and so on. A community can be small or large and it can cover such cases as an ethnic community, the South African community and the world community.

South Africa, as a discriminatory country, distinguishes between Black and White people. What one observes is that language has been used to carry out this negative function, and as Godsell (1992:2) correctly says this divisive role of language is not the natural consequence of language - nor necessarily of multilingual societies. It is rather a conscious and particular intentional use of language in which case it is used to define out, to draw lines, to
exclude to target and to identify. The negative effects of this are that the two groups do not understand each other and one of the areas that promote misunderstanding lies in the ignorance of each other’s culture particularly the ignorance of Whites about the language and culture of Blacks. The only solution then to this obstacle is the preparedness of people belonging to different groups to learn each other’s language. This is confirmed by Degenaar (1991:2) when he says language does not operate in a vacuum but in a context of the culture of a community. Through language the ideas, values, beliefs and norms of our culture find their complete expression.

If it were not through language, it would be strange to a Black person to see a daughter-in-law hug her father-in-law as we see, for example, in the TV series ‘The Bold and the Beautiful’ where Caroline has the audacity of even calling her father-in-law Eric by name. The same is true of a White employer who will not understand when her maid does not report for duty for the whole week because her husband has passed away and she must sit on the mattress throughout the period of preparations for the funeral.

Since language is a vehicle through which people can
know and understand culture, the indigenous languages do then have a role in the future. White people need to learn them so that they can understand the behavioural patterns of the Black people. On the other hand, Blacks themselves need to continue to learn their languages so that they can understand their behavioural patterns as well. Godsell (1992:1) brilliantly refers to this when he says:

Language is an instrument of self-definition. It denotes who we are. Language is the trowel with which we shape the clay of our self-perception. People think in words. And the words they think in are drawn from a language.

Goodenough (1957) as cited in Hudson (1980:74) confirms this when he says:

As I see it, a society’s culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members ... Culture being what people have to learn as distinct from their biological heritage, much consist of the end-product of learning: Knowledge, in a most general ... sense of the term.
Knowledge he says includes both know-how and know that.

4.2.3 Language and Communication

Language as cited in chapter 1 is an important tool for communication in any society. It is therefore used for a wide range of purposes: to influence, to interact, to explore, to celebrate, to explain oneself as well as to others, to establish, assert and maintain identity, both group and individual. Through these means it is a fundamental instrument in the personal growth of the individual (Wilkinson, 1975: preface).

In South Africa, which is a multilingual country, we have various languages through which we can communicate. Unfortunately only two languages have been recognised as official languages for use in important places like the courts and the workplace. Fortunately or unfortunately Blacks have been advantaged or disadvantaged because they were the only group that was forced to learn to speak these languages. No effort was made by the other groups to learn the indigenous languages. The negative effects of this is that in places like the workplace,
communication is strained. Managers at work do not know the personal background and circumstances of their Black personnel and are therefore compelled to restrict communication to instructions aimed at the successful functioning of the company. This is also indicated by the HSRC report on Intergroup Relations which shows that although the most intercultural contact in South Africa occurs within the work environment, most of it is usually restricted to vertical communication. As a result, an atmosphere of uncertainty, mistrust and ignorance is so much in force that it even extends to the society as a whole. To remedy negative effects like these, we maintain that the wider knowledge of the indigenous languages will promote intercultural communication in South Africa. By intercultural communication is meant the communication process (in its broadest sense) between people of different cultural backgrounds (Van Aswegen, 1992:1).

4.2.4 Language and Democracy

The term democracy actually refers to a political system of rule, in which the ruler and the ruled are regarded as important for the state of affairs of a particular country. In a democratic state, the
governer’s are accountable to all citizens and they therefore have to take into account the needs of the people. The following definitions point to the above. Parenti (1974:38) says democracy refers to a system of rule in which decision-makers are held accountable and responsible to the constituency that is affected by their judgement rather than allowed to operate irresponsibly and arbitrarily. Those who are ruled exercise a measure of control by picking rulers and by subjecting them to open criticism and the periodic checks of free elections.

Plamenatz (1978:69) also defines democracy on the same lines as Parenti. He says a political system is democratic if it operates in such a way as to ensure that makers of law and policy are responsible to the people. This presupposes that citizens are free to criticise their rulers and to come together to make demands on them and to win support for the policies they favour and beliefs they hold; and where the supreme makers of law and policy are elected to their offices at free and periodic election.

If democracy implies that people have a say in how matters of a political system are run, what is the role of language in determining that this takes place?
Tollefson (1991:201) points out that a world system that is more just and equitable depends upon an understanding of how people can gain control of their own institutions. He further says that a key issue is the role of language in organising and reproducing those institutions. It usually happens that states create conditions which make it impossible for some citizens to acquire the language proficiency they need. Tollefson (1991:203) quotes the Philippines, where he says the dominance of English plays a key role in sustaining unequal educational systems that ensure that the masses of Filipinos have little chance to enjoy the wealth and political power open only to those who speak English fluently.

Tollefson (1991:209) finds that the major reasons for the continued use of language to promote the inequality inevitably associated with hegemony is the predominance of undemocratic structures, that is, structures in which those who adopt policies are not accountable to those who are affected by them.

In a New South Africa, it is important then that the language issue should be considered seriously and this brings us to the role of the indigenous languages once
again. People should not be disadvantaged because of
the languages they speak as is the case presently in
South Africa.

4.2.5 Language and Technology

The Oxford Advanced Dictionary defines technology as
the systematic application of knowledge to practical
tasks in industry, or study, mastery and utilization
of manufacturing and industrial methods.

Godsell (1992:4) in associating language with
technology finds it to be a tool that has the power it
gives to its users. Through language man has the
ability to name the world, and through that process we
gain understanding and the capacity to control and
change the world we inhabit.

In our discussion of technology we incorporate fields
like computers, engineering, electronics, and so on.
We then ask the big question: do the indigenous
languages have any future in the field of technology?
This is where we see the advancement of English and
also of the youngest of South Africa’s language,
namely, Afrikaans. The indigenous languages are very
far from development as far as technology goes. On
the other hand, it appears as though it is not necessary to consider any development in this field. Reasons are that it is better if the language of wider communication, which is English, is the one used in technology. This does not mean that the indigenous languages are incapable of such development. There is a rapid advancement of technology and it may require the indigenous languages to speed up that process, which may be difficult if not impossible, more especially because attention would have to be given to nine languages. Chances are therefore that the indigenous languages do not have a future in technology.

To sum up, we therefore say that the indigenous languages do have a future in certain spheres like education, culture, communication and democracy. Like any other language, they are important and they should be given their full recognition. In terms of the enormous arrears of development facing the indigenous languages, the government is morally bound to make funds available even when this means making cuts from the financial slice of the so-called official languages which have developed at the expense of the true languages of the sub-continent.
The purpose of this study has been to establish language attitudes of the people of Soweto with the aim to give a report, which will represent a working document. The work is, therefore, not definitive in any way.

In this chapter, we look back, first to see if this objective has been achieved. Secondly, we consider possible future research developments from this study.

5.1 **FINDINGS OF THE STUDY**

The people of Soweto, do have positive and negative attitudes towards the so-called official languages of this country and positive attitudes towards the indigenous languages.

As seen from the data collected, people have a positive attitude towards English. This is, as mentioned earlier, embraced not out of love but because it is functional. The issue of a national language also indicates that people have a positive attitude towards English. As a functional language, people feel that it would serve the country well. But the emphasis that it should not be seen as better than the other languages, especially the indigenous languages is a clear signal that people have a high regard for the indigenous languages.
Afrikaans is seen as an oppressive language and people therefore hold negative attitudes towards it. On the other hand, people do not dismiss it as a language that should not be used. It has its own constituency and it should therefore be treated like any other language.

The indigenous languages, which are the focus of this study, are regarded as important as the other two languages. As mentioned earlier, they have been ignored by the government of this country and as such, were deprived of the opportunity for development. People feel that it is time they are recognised and developed like English and Afrikaans.

Another language that has come out clearly as a reality is a Street language. Soweto, being a multilingual area, has a Street language which is regarded as functional. Different Street languages are recognised and people see them all as important, as they unite people who use them as a means of communication and identity.

We also established that people have a positive attitude towards multilingualism. Multilingualism proves the fact that no language is better than another. People want to be free to speak any language that they want. Therefore, multilingualism should be encouraged.
On the question of standardized Nguni and standardized Sotho, the Soweto people are opposed to the idea. To them this process would hamper the development of the indigenous languages. This is further proof of the positive attitude towards the indigenous languages. Instead of engaging in such an unnatural process, it would be better if the people and the government devote more time to develop the indigenous languages.

5.2 PROBLEMATIC AREAS ESTABLISHED

Through the attitudes established, we see that people are positive towards the indigenous languages. Even though English is more functional and people see the need to know and understand it, there is a feeling that the indigenous languages should not be ignored and they should be given an opportunity to develop. The problem though, is that South Africa is a multilingual country and there are different areas in the sub-continent where we find the different indigenous languages concentrated. An attempt was made in this study to demarcate the regions linguistically and geographically. It is important that this problem be given proper attention so that the development of the indigenous languages is fairly and thoroughly undertaken.

Secondly, it has been established in this study that there
has never been any language planning in this country. Rather there was a language policy that favoured others and denied others similar opportunities. This was a policy of separatism, which clearly comes out in the Verwoedian Blueprint of 1954 that ‘Africans who speak different languages must live in separate quarters’.

It is therefore advisable that in the future South Africa, the government of the day should consider language planning from below. People need to be consulted about the planning of the languages that affect them directly. If this is done, then it should be realised that people expect that the indigenous languages be given their place in the future.

The last problematic area identified is the one of the development of the indigenous languages that concern technology. As we would all love to see the indigenous languages develop in this field, we found that this may be a difficult if not an impossible task. As far as the other areas of development are concerned, which we identified in chapter 4, we find that it may be a problem if the government is not prepared to provide funds of which we think it is morally bound to do as the indigenous languages have been disadvantaged for a long time, whilst the other languages had the opportunity for development.
Research in the field of language attitude studies is scarce as can be seen from the few studies we managed to get hold of. This concern is also expressed in the LICCA Information Booklet (1991:17) where it is mentioned that there has been very little research into language attitudes in general. On the other hand, at the beginning of Chapter 1, we mention the fact that the authorities have never consulted the users of the languages when a process of language planning was undertaken. We also believe that a statement from the people will provide much needed contribution towards language planning in South Africa.

This therefore brings us to the point that more language attitude studies need to be done. Researchers need to establish what the attitudes of people are in other areas and these should include both the rural and urban areas. With that much needed information, we are positive that the authorities will come up with a language policy that will not be seen as divisive and exploitative. Rather we would have a language policy, which as Williams (1986 in Tollefson 1991:20) says would persist in seeing language planning as the benevolent arm of the state serving ‘national’ interest.
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