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LANGUAGES OF USE BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

By

Nkhelebeni Edward Phaswana

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
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ABSTRACT

LANGUAGES OF USE BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

By

Nkhelebeni Edward Phaswana

This is a sociolinguistic study which seeks to investigate the extent to which South Africa's eleven official languages are used by the national government in carrying out its national duties. A secondary, related purpose of this study is to analyze the implications of the national government's language use.

To explore the language or languages used by the South African national government and the implications thereof, the study places the South African language policy within its socio-historical context from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century. The new Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, adopted on the 8th of May 1996, and amended on the 11th of October 1996 by the Constitutional Assembly, recognizes all the eleven major languages spoken in South Africa as national official languages. These languages are Afrikaans, English, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu. Although during the apartheid era, only Afrikaans and English were used as official languages, the nine indigenous languages have been accorded an official status by the new democratic South African government.

Both the interim and the new Constitutions demand that the indigenous African languages, whose use was historically diminished by the previous government (apartheid government), should be promoted and their status elevated. It is therefore the purpose of this study to investigate whether or not the Constitutional demands with respect to the new language policy are carried out by the new government.

Three methods were used in collecting data for this study. In-depth interviews were conducted with Members of the South African Parliament, systematic observation was done in both portfolio committee rooms and at the National Assembly, and primary sources such as speeches delivered by Members of Parliament, bills, acts, newsletters, HANSARD document, annual reports etc., were used in examining the extent to which the national government affirms what the language policy of the Constitution requires.

Results of this study indicate that the South African government is becoming monolingual, and English is being entrenched as the only official language in Parliament. All the speeches and deliberations made in the various portfolio committee rooms are conducted in English. Although in the National Assembly speeches and addresses could be made in any one of the eleven official languages, all the speeches in languages other than English are translated into English in the HANSARD document.

African languages and Afrikaans are marginalized in Parliament. The study concludes that there won't be proper democracy and empowerment of the South African masses, if their languages are sidelined.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAI: Africa-America Institute
ACDP: African Christian Democratic Party
ANC: African National Congress
ATASA: African Teachers' Association of South Africa
CASAS: Center for Advanced Studies in African Society
COSATU: Congress of South African Trade Union
CSAIC: Concerned South African Indian Citizens
CSD: Centre for Science Development
DP: Democratic Party
ELA: English Language Amendment
ELTIC: English Language Teaching Information Centre
EPU: Education Policy Unit
FF: Freedom Front
GNU: Government of National Unity
GRA: Genootskap Regte Afrikaners
IFP: Inkatha Freedom Party
LANGTAG: Language Plan Task Group
LASU: Linguistics Association for SADC Universities
MP: Member of Parliament
NCOP: National Council of Provinces
NGO: Non Government Organization
NLP: National Language Project
NNP: New National Party
NP: National Party
NRF: National Research Foundation
NUL: National University of Lesotho
OAU: Organization of African Unity
PAC: Pan African Congress
PANSALB: Pan South African Language Board
PRAESA: Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa
RDP: Reconstruction and Development Programme
READ: Read, Educate and Develop
SABC: South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACP: South African Communist Party
SADC: Southern African Development Community
SAPA: South African Press Association
SOWETO: Southwest Township
SWAPO: South West African People's Organization
TBVC: Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei
UB: University of Botswana
UCT: University of Cape Town

UDW: University of Durban-Westville
UN: University of Namibia
UN: United Nations
UNIN: United Nations Institute for Namibia
UNISA: University of South Africa
UNITRA: University of Transkei
US: University of Swaziland
U.S: United States
U.S.A: United States of America
USAID: United States Agency for International Development
UWC: University of the Western Cape

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

After nearly half a century of apartheid rule in which only English and Afrikaans were official languages, the Republic of South Africa adopted a new democratic Constitution that provides for eleven official languages. Clause 6 of the Constitution stipulates:

- (1) The official languages of the Republic are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu.
- (2) Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages.
- (3a) The national government and provincial governments may use any particular official languages for the purposes of government, taking into account usage, practicality, expense, regional circumstances and the balance of the needs and preferences of the population as a whole or in the province concerned; but the national government and each provincial government must use at least two official languages.
- (b) Municipalities must take into account the language usage and preferences of their residents.
- (4) The national government and provincial governments, by legislative and other measures, must regulate and monitor their use of official languages. Without detracting from the provisions of subsection (2), all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably.
- (5a) A Pan South African Language Board established by national legislation must promote and create conditions for the development and use of:
 - (i) all official languages;
 - (ii) the Khoi, Nama and San languages; and
 - (iii) sign language; and
- (b) promote and ensure respect for:
 - (i) all languages commonly used by communities in South Africa, including German, Greek, Gujarati, Hindi, Portuguese, Tamil, Telegu and Urdu; and
 - (ii) Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit and other languages used for religious purposes in South Africa. (pp.4-5)

Now, six years after the drafting of the Constitution, the question arises as to the success of the eleven language policy. This sociolinguistic study seeks to investigate the extent to which South Africa's eleven official languages are used by the national government in carrying out its national duties. A secondary, related purpose of this study is to analyze the implications of the national government's language use. As a backdrop for understanding the crisis around and preoccupation with the language question, South African language policy must be located within its socio-historical context, from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century.

A SOCIO-HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN LANGUAGE POLICY

In the history of South Africa, language was an integral part of apartheid. Thus the language question became part and parcel of the struggle for democracy and liberation in South Africa. McLean (1992) in discussing how language was used as a tool for divide and rule policy in South Africa, pointed out:

... the basis on which black people have been stripped of their South African citizenship and forcibly removed to bantustans has been their ethnic identity, of which language has often been the only index. (p.152)

The recorded language history of South Africa dates as far back as the mid-Seventeenth century when Jan van Riebeeck arrived at the Cape with his crew. He encountered the indigenous population, which consisted of two main groups: the Khoikhoi, or the Hottentots, and the San people. The languages spoken by

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these indigenous African people sounded like “the clucking of turkeys” to the ears of the Dutch settlers (Alexander, 1989; Maartens, 1998). Despite van Riebeeck's racist Eurocentricism, history shows that the languages of the Khoe and San peoples dates back several centuries prior to van Riebeeck's invasion.

Maartens (1998) records that in the early years the Dutch language had no direct influence on the two indigenous languages, i.e. Khoikhoi and San languages. Instead of the settlers learning and studying the indigenous languages for communication and business, interpreters were used where trade, and later, missionaries, required direct contact with the indigenous people. The interpreters happened to be indigenous people who over the years acquired some Dutch or English knowledge. Portuguese and Malay-Portuguese each became the *lingua franca* in 1658 among the slaves who were brought to the Cape from countries such as Angola, Madagascar, Bengal, Guinea, and later, mainly from South East Asia. To counteract the use of each of these two languages as *lingua franca*, before the end of 1658 the Dutch East India Company decreed that only Dutch should be used. Maartens (1998, p.26) noted that this decree constituted the first language policy of South Africa.

Dutch became an official language and consequently, the Khoikhoi, the San people and slaves employed by the settlers had no choice but to speak the language of their masters. Even among themselves, Dutch was used as the medium of communication. The slave-master communication and the slave-slave communication contributed to the emergence of what is today called Afrikaans in South Africa. Alexander (1989) and Brown (1992), in discussing how Afrikaans

came into being as a language in South Africa, confirm that Afrikaans was born in the Western Cape as the language of trade, education and social intercourse between white and non-white. Its early form, as they indicate, was spoken as a *lingua franca* by most of the inhabitants in the Cape by the end of the 17th century. Although Afrikaans, or what was known as the “Cape patois” or “kitchen Dutch,” was regarded as inappropriate for educational discourse, as Moodie (1980, p.40) points out, Afrikaans and Dutch (Hollands) co-existed such that by the end of 1795, most of the Khoikhoi and slaves were part of an Afrikaans-Hollands language community.

The English occupied the Cape in 1795 for the first time, but it was not until the second British occupation of the Cape in 1806 that the British policy of Anglicization was implemented. Because of the Anglicization policy, English became *the* language in the Cape Colony while the indigenous languages, together with Afrikaans, were relegated to an inferior status.

Maartens (1998, p.26) points out that in 1853 English was made the exclusive language of Parliament. Dutch and Afrikaans were used in the church and in the family, respectively. Because of the rise of Afrikaner nationalism during this period the Genootskap Regte Afrikaners (GRA) movement was formed in 1875. It was because of the role of the GRA that Afrikaans, rather than Dutch, was recognized as the mother tongue of the Afrikaners.

In 1882 Dutch, rather than Afrikaans, was again recognized as an official language of the Cape Parliament alongside English. When the first Anglo-Boer

War broke out in 1899, which was eventually won by the British in 1902, the official status of Dutch was withdrawn.

In 1910 when the Act of Union was signed, Article 137 of the Constitution accorded Dutch “co-equal status with English as an official language of the Union” (Maartens, 1998, p.29). This Constitution did not even acknowledge the existence of African languages, let alone allocate them any status. As Dutch regained its status (it had judicial equality, rights and privileges with English) it was used in schools together with English. A great challenge to Dutch was mounted by Afrikaans speakers who claimed that “Dutch,” as enshrined in the Constitution, referred to Afrikaans as well. Because of the endless resistance waged against this policy (where Dutch and not Afrikaans was accorded official status) by the Afrikaners, in 1925 an amendment to Act 137 of the Constitution made Afrikaans an official language alongside English. Hence, Cluver (1992) and Moodie (1980) record that in 1925 Afrikaans replaced Dutch as the official language and its legal equality with English was written into the Constitution. The recognition and adoption of Afrikaans as an official language was eventuated by a series of struggles and remarkable efforts on the part of the Afrikaners. An apology that was made in 1908 by Dr. Malan for not having used Afrikaans before the Afrikaans Language Movement (an Afrikaans student language movement) at Stellenbosch University could be regarded as a positive step towards the recognition of Afrikaans as an official language. Dr. Malan argued that Afrikaans was the only real, viable language for his people (Moodie, 1980, p.47). Moodie (1980) further quoted part of Dr. Malan’s speech from Pienaar

(1964, pp.169 &175-176) which served to mobilize and strengthen the Afrikaners to safeguard and agitate for official recognition of Afrikaans. Dr. Malan in his speech strongly emphasized that people and language are born together; and that Anglicization could only be circumvented if Afrikaans is not only recognized, but used as a written language as well. He argued for Afrikaans to be the language of the Afrikaners' history, culture as well as national ideals. From this period onwards, lawyers' offices, school rostrums and the Dutch Reformed Church were sites where very enthusiastic young Afrikaners eagerly fought for their language and their Afrikanerdom (Moodie, 1980, p.48).

In 1918 as Moodie (1980) points out, the major Dutch teachers' organizations in the Cape and the Free State had opted for Afrikaans and fought for its adoption in the junior grades at schools. In 1919 the Transvaal Teachers Association was formed to represent Afrikaans-speaking teachers. And in the same year, the conservative Cape Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church granted Afrikaans equal rights with Dutch and approved the translation of the Bible into Afrikaans.

Cluver (1992) writes that the victory of Afrikaans over Dutch became an effective strategy for maintaining the ethnic identity of the Afrikaners, which formed the base of the political power of the National Party. What is striking and intriguing is that up to this stage the African languages of the indigenous people of South Africa were still not recognized.

General Hertzog, an Afrikaner who became a political leader in 1920, introduced his 'two-stream policy' whereby the English and the Afrikaners were to

be developed separately, that is segregated, not only in language, but also in domains such as economy, education, politics, etc.

Mention must be made that even during this period of South African history, schools were the institutions that became agencies for the perpetuation of the language policies of the governments. It was not a surprise therefore that when the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948, under the leadership of Dr. D.F. Malan, a policy of Christian National Education was adopted. Consequently, Afrikaans became a compulsory subject along with English in white education up to Senior Certificate level (Grade 12 level).

After the National Party took over the government in 1948, Afrikaans was developed and elevated to a position to compete with English. The language of instruction in the education of a white child was determined by the child's mother tongue. Unfortunately this was not true for a Black child whose first four years of schooling were conducted in his/her mother tongue, although in some areas only one indigenous African language could be used irrespective of the children's different language backgrounds, e.g. as Maartens (1998) pointed out, in Natal isiZulu was the only indigenous African language used as the language of learning and instruction. In the fifth year of schooling, either English or Afrikaans took over as the language of learning and teaching for the African child.

Maartens (1998) quotes Article 15 in the 1948 education policy document which stipulates:

... Any system of teaching and education of natives must be based on these same principles [trusteeship, no equality, separation] ... must be grounded in the life – and world-view of the whites, most especially those of the Boer nation as the senior white trustees of the native ...

[who] must be led to an independent acceptance of the Christian and national principles in our teaching. The mother tongue must be the basis of native education and teaching but ... the two official languages must be taught as subjects because they are official languages and ... the keys to the cultural loans that are necessary to [his own] cultural progress. (p.30)

The stipulations of Article 15 were implemented through the education system known as Bantu Education introduced through the Bantu Education Act of 1953. This Act was intended to (1) promote Afrikaans and to reduce the influence of English in Black schools (2) to impose in Black schools the use of Afrikaans and English on an equal basis as media of instruction, and (3) to extend mother tongue education from grade four to grade eight (Kamwangamalu, 1997, p.6).

The promotion of vernacular (African languages) in Black primary schools as media of teaching and learning beyond the fourth year of schooling and the use of Afrikaans were strongly opposed by Blacks in South Africa. The introduction of African languages to serve as media of instruction was perceived by Blacks as part of the Afrikaners' divide and rule policy.

When South Africa became a Republic on 31 May 1961 under the leadership of Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, the Republic of South Africa Act reinforced the equality of English and Afrikaans. However, there was no mention of the status and position of African languages. During this period Afrikaans and English were the two languages of teaching and learning beyond the fourth year of schooling. The Black majority preferred English over Afrikaans as their language of education. Afrikaans was regarded as the language of the oppressor and English as an international language and a language for liberation. It was after realizing that the majority of Africans were denying Afrikaans to serve as a medium of

instruction on par with English in their schools that a circular to that effect (i.e., that Afrikaans be used on 50-50 basis with English in Black schools) was issued by the Department of Bantu Education. This meant that half of the subjects in Black secondary schools should be offered in Afrikaans. The introduction of Afrikaans and its imposition on Black schools was done for an obvious reason, namely, to curb the dominance of English in Black schools.

In June 1976 this language in education policy was met with insurmountable opposition in the Soweto (Southwest Township) uprisings. Before the Soweto uprisings broke out, ATASA (African Teachers' Association of South Africa) and the Urban Bantu Council met with the Regional Director for Bantu Education pleading for the reversal of this language policy. Unfortunately the decision that both languages (English and Afrikaans) should be used equally remained. Actually the Director of Black Education, Andries Treurnicht, pushed for compliance to the teaching and learning of subjects in both Afrikaans and English in Black high schools.

This policy, as Tessendorf (1989) indicates, was planned to start in the high schools in the Southern Transvaal, including Soweto. A Black child was expected to learn in three languages: his/her mother tongue (from Grade 1-4), both Afrikaans and English on a 50-50 basis (from Grade 5 until he/she graduates from high school).

The introduction and enforcement of Afrikaans as a language of teaching and learning was resisted and opposed by the students and school boards (where parents and other stakeholders are represented). As Ndlovu (1998)

discusses it, the Phefeni Junior Secondary School Form one and Form two (Grade 8 and Grade 9) students were the ones affected by this policy. Afrikaans was to be used to teach subjects such as Geography, Mathematics and Science in these grades.

Students, finding difficulties learning in Afrikaans, complained to both their teachers and headmasters. Afrikaans was difficult for them as was evident in their academic performance which became dismally poor compared to their performance before Afrikaans was introduced (i.e. when English was still the only language used in teaching all other subjects except languages). The government refused to change this language policy stating that the introduction of Afrikaans should be perceived as an academic matter that did not need the sanction of the students nor the school boards but only the Minister of Bantu Education. When students realized that they were not listened to, they began to boycott classes. Some schools began to burn books written in Afrikaans. In other schools, such as Phefeni Junior Secondary School, students began to teach themselves in English.

Although the introduction of Afrikaans was to begin in Grades 8 and 9, students in the grades which were not to be affected joined the strike voluntarily. Others joined through coercion, as in some schools exam papers of Grade 10 students were confiscated by those who were affected. As Tessendorf (1989) pointed out, the Afrikaner bureaucrats were not impressed by the resistance and opposition against Afrikaans in Black schools. What happened on June 16, 1976 is what Tessendorf defines dramatically:

Wednesday, June 16, 1976: A chilly winter smog overlays Soweto, but enthusiasm and anticipation is building in the streets. Boys and girls in neat school uniforms are greeting each other with raised fists: "Amandla Awethu!" ("Power to the people!"). They are not going to classrooms. Word has been passed (and peer attendance is mandatory) of a major anti-Afrikaans meeting in a football stadium. Students and hangers-on, estimated at up to twenty thousand, funnel by way of major avenues to the rally. Some carry outspoken placards; one calls upon Balthazar John Vorster, current premier: "If we must do Afrikaans, Vorster must do Zulu!" (pp.172-173)

The police, who were not aware of this gathering until the students began their march, in a hasty manner, rushed to confront the march. Fifty policemen (four of them being White, the rest Black) are reported to have gone to stop the march. Colonel Kleingeld, the police officer in charge, had to give orders to the students at the march that they should disperse since there was no permit granted to them. Unfortunately, the police officer had no bull horn amplifier to give such orders and could not be heard as a result. Students began to throw stones at the police and were met with tear-gas canisters from the police. Tessendorf (1989) explains this confrontation:

The crowd is raging and does not flee before club-swinging police charge. The dogs are killed. A hail of stones beats upon the police from the sides as well as the front. Shots fired into the sky have no effect. The inadequate knot of police is menaced by hundreds on three sides. A bullet fired into the crowd of students kills thirteen-year-old Hector Petersen, Soweto's first black casualty. The police continue to fire and the crowd disperses. (p.173)

Students in Soweto continued with their strike, burning anything belonging to the government; for example, schools, offices, automobiles, beer depots, golf clubhouse, etc. The destruction continued for three to four days before subsiding through police force. More than 575 people were killed during the Soweto uprisings although the figure is disputed by African veterans as being short by

half or by even more than that (Tessendorf, 1989, p.175). Thousands were jailed during and immediately after the Soweto uprisings. Many students fled the country to become recruits in the communist backed ANC armies in neighboring countries.

In July of 1976, the apartheid government had to withdraw its policy, and Black schools were given the right to choose the language they preferred as medium of teaching and learning. This was the first time in the history of South Africa that the people resisted the apartheid government's language policy.

What is fascinating and striking about the 1976 Soweto uprisings, though, is that instead of fighting and losing their lives for the use of their mother tongues (African languages), the Black masses fought for English as the language to serve as the medium of learning and teaching after the first four years of their primary education. Cluver (1992, p.119) reports that 96% of the Black schools chose English as the language of teaching and learning after the first four years of primary schooling.

Education in African languages was perceived by Blacks in South Africa as one of the government's strategies to separate the people through a divide and rule policy, and to offer Black students inferior education. Cluver (1992, p.114) also indicates that generally the codification and elaboration of African languages was perceived by Blacks as an attempt by the apartheid government to promote ethnicity and prevent unity. It should be pointed out that since the government's intentions were no longer obscured or a secret to the South African Black masses, every step taken by the government, especially one that had an

effect on Africans, was suspiciously interrogated and scrutinized. African nationalists and South African leaders of various organizations in particular, preferred English for unity and communication among the South African masses. Z.K. Matthews of the ANC, for example, preferred English as a *lingua franca* and the vehicle of a wider African nationalism (Brown, 1992, p.84). However Peter Raboroko put forward the idea that Swahili should be adopted as the *lingua franca* so that communication could be extended throughout the whole of Africa (Alexander, 1989). Unfortunately this idea was never entertained presumably because more attention was being given to the liberation struggle.

African sociolinguist Jacob Nhlapo, who was an ANC activist, published a pamphlet in 1944 called, "Bantu Babel: Will the Bantu Languages Live?" in the series called Sixpenny Library. Nhlapo made an extremely fascinating proposal: the unification or harmonization of both Nguni (Nguni varieties are: isiZulu, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and siSwati) and Sotho (Sotho varieties are: Sepedi, Sesotho and Setswana) languages. Nhlapo argued that these languages are mutually intelligible and there was no linguistic justification for such varieties to be developed and written as separate entities. Brown (1992) also argued for the unification of the Nguni and Sotho languages:

There need only be one grammar for Nguni and one for Sotho. Making different words for the parts of speech in Xhosa, Zulu and so on is foolish and must stop... two basic Bantu tongues Nguni and Sotho, is something which can be done. Let it be done. (p.84)

Although Nhlapo reopened the same debate about language harmonization in 1953, no evidence has been recorded that the ANC or the Afrikaner regime took any decision with respect to his proposal. Of course the Afrikaner apartheid

regime would not have adopted his proposal. The Afrikaner regime was in favor of developing African languages as separate and split entities. Even where it was possible for the varieties of a particular language cluster or sub-group to be standardized, the regime would have emphasized the minor differences and kept such varieties apart (Alexander, 1997, p.82).

Another view emerged from Alan Doyle, a member of the Communist Party, who accused both Peter Raboroko and Jacob Nhlapo of being idealist and elitist in their language proposals. Doyle argued that all the vernaculars in the country be accepted, developed and promoted through the publication of literature. Doyle's idea for the development and promotion of vernaculars was not different from the Marxist-Leninist position on language and nationalism in the Soviet Union (as reported in Brown, 1992, pp.84-85). In 1962 these dreams and proposals by the African nationalist movement were shattered when the apartheid government introduced separate language boards. These bodies were mainly responsible for the standardization and codification of various languages in South Africa. The goal of the apartheid regime was to enhance its separate development policy (Cluver, n.d. p.3). Each language board was responsible for the language affairs of a particular ethnic group. For example, the Tshivenda Language Board would see to it that only Tshivenda terminologies would be developed, that correct spellings would be adopted, and that "relevant" Tshivenda books (both grammar and literature) would be prescribed for schools. The policy of ethnic division, whereby people were separated and located on the basis of the languages they spoke, as Alexander (1985, pp.44-45) explicates,

became a superior instrument of divide and rule policy. It led to greater fragmentation of the entire nation and helped the regime to create and justify its Bantustan strategy.

English continued to be favored by Black South Africans in spite of the apartheid government's language in education policy. For example, in 1982 the Department of Education and Training (which was known as the Department of Bantu Education), made it clear that when it comes to the choice of the medium of learning and teaching, the concerned parties could choose among: the vernacular as medium of instruction, to be followed by either English or Afrikaans after, for example, four years of primary education, and then either English or Afrikaans as a medium of instruction or mother tongue instruction throughout the student's education (Maartens, 1998, pp.32-33). English was chosen by Black schools as the language of teaching and learning.

The reasons that the Black masses in South Africa favored English over their indigenous African languages have been thoroughly discussed by various scholars in the field of sociolinguistics in South Africa. Alexander (1997), among others, argues that it was because of the apartheid government which used languages for its separatist policy that the masses perceived African languages as instruments used by the government to carry out its mission. Since the masses in South Africa were fighting for solidarity and unity for the attainment of their freedom, they would oppose anything that was intended to pull them apart.

Given this history of language issues in South Africa, it was not a surprise that in the early 1990s, when the apartheid government opened negotiations with

political parties in South Africa, the language issue was one of the items on the agenda. The new language policy of South Africa, enshrined in the new Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, was born out of the negotiations between the Nationalist Party (NP) and the African National Congress (ANC). During these negotiations, the NP was still in power. In these negotiations, the NP preferred a shift from segregation to assimilation in language policy. As Heugh (1994, p.4) reports, "Language still remains a problem but that instead of marginalising people by excluding them on the basis of inaccessible language codes, an attempt would be made to draw the marginalised group in and under the wing of the dominant language group(s)."

The primary intention of the NP was to protect the position of Afrikaans as an official language. It is for this reason that the NP fought for the retention of both Afrikaans and English, as well as all other languages, especially African languages, although the latter were to be accorded a lower status. Heugh (1994) also remarks that since the NP had no clearly defined strategy to maintain the status quo, i.e. retaining Afrikaans and English as the only official languages in South Africa, and to justify the sidelining of African languages, its proposal could not be taken. The ANC's position in this matter was that of multilingualism. However, it should be mentioned that Heugh (1994) in quoting Sello (1992) asserts that some political commentators suggested that the ANC's real commitment was to English as the official language. Nonetheless, ANC language policy favored the elevation of the nine major African languages spoken in the country to the position of English and Afrikaans.

As a result of the negotiations between the ANC and the NP, the new Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, adopted on the 8th of May, 1996, and amended on the 11th of October 1996 by the Constitutional Assembly, recognizes all the eleven major languages spoken in South Africa as national official languages. These languages are Afrikaans, English, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu. As mentioned, during the apartheid era, only the two colonial languages, Afrikaans and English, served as national official languages. These two languages, spoken by the minorities in South Africa, were accorded this status at the expense of the major nine African languages spoken in the country. The nine indigenous languages were only used as official languages in the different regions where they were dominant, and even there, they shared linguistic space with English or Afrikaans, or both. Thus, during the apartheid era, African languages in South Africa, as in many post-colonial African states today, were marginalized and relegated to a lower status, while English and Afrikaans continued to enjoy official and higher status. For nearly half a century, the reality of the linguistic diversity of South Africa was manipulated and exploited by the apartheid regime for the Verwoerdian divide-and-rule policy enshrined in the South African Afrikaner Constitution.

The new government of South Africa, the Government of National Unity (GNU) led by the ANC (African National Congress), is charged both explicitly and implicitly by the Constitution with addressing the problem of linguistic and linguistic hegemony in South Africa. The Constitution calls upon the State to take

practical and positive measures to elevate the status as well as to advance the use of African languages in South Africa. According to the new Constitution, all official languages are not only to enjoy parity of esteem, but to be treated equitably as well.

Unlike most post-colonial governments in Africa, which ignored and sacrificed the multilingual and multicultural nature of their societies for a Eurocentric monolithic approach to language and culture, the new South African government recognizes and embraces both multilingualism and multiculturalism, thereby granting all major languages spoken in the country equal status at the national level. In order to achieve this goal, the government, operating through the Ministry of Arts, Culture, Science, and Technology, established the Language Plan Task Group (LANGTAG). The charge to the Task Group was to eradicate the *multilingualism-is-a-problem-approach*, and to advise the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science, and Technology about mechanisms for devising a National Language Plan for South Africa. The LANGTAG Report (1996) may therefore be considered a document that lays out a framework upon which the National Language Plan can be based. The formation of LANGTAG was a symbol of the government's commitment to the implementation of the Constitutional mandate. Hence in presenting the final LANGTAG Report, Alexander (1996), who chaired the LANGTAG committee, wrote:

Knowing your commitment to the language principles enshrined in the Constitution, we are convinced that a democratic language policy based on the acceptance of the positive value of multilingualism will become a reality in South Africa. We do not want to relive the experience of other postcolonial states where all these noble ideals remained on paper; for this reason we would appreciate it if we could

be kept informed about the follow-up process to the completion of the work of the LANGTAG. (p.v)

Mateene Kahombo, Head of the Division of Language Policy for the Organization of African Unity (OAU), congratulated South Africa for being the first Member State to put in its Constitution a language policy similar to the one proposed by the OAU Language Plan of Action for Africa. In his presentation at an international seminar on Language in Education in Cape Town in July, 1996, Mateene Kahombo further indicates that other African states can draw lessons of democracy from South Africa (1996, p.13).

However, it remains open to question whether South Africa will live up to these expectations of linguistic democratization. As Maartens (1998) observes, it is

...becoming increasingly apparent that a considerable mismatch appears to exist between emerging language policy on the one hand, and actual language practice in the spheres of government and education on the other. Whereas language policy expressly professes to promote multilingualism in South Africa, language practitioners in languages other than English are complaining more and more that their languages are being marginalised to an even greater extent than in the past. (p.16)

Maartens's critique suggests that there is a contradiction between the Constitutional commitment to empower the indigenous languages, whose status was diminished by the apartheid regime, and the actual realization of such a commitment. The government's perceived lack of commitment towards the implementation of the multilingual policy was signaled early on by scholars like Heugh (1994 & 1995) who claims that the ANC has taken a *laissez-faire* position on the question of language. She argues that there is a policy decision but no

formulation of strategies for implementing that decision. Indeed, despite its new democratic language policy, South Africa is fast moving in the direction of becoming a monolingual English country.

English remains the sole language of teaching and learning in South African schools, other than a few cases where Afrikaans is utilized for this purpose. At the tertiary (university) level, institutions that used to teach in Afrikaans are being forced by the government to become dual medium to accommodate English as one of the languages of learning. However, the government seems to be exerting no similar effort towards accommodating African languages as media of learning despite what Article 6, Section 2 of the Constitution entails. Further, SABC (South African Broadcasting Corporation) television continues with its preference for English as the dominant language of broadcasting, and African minority languages, such as isiNdebele, Tshivenda and Xitsonga, rarely, if ever, appear on SABC television. Yet, the majority of those South Africans who speak English do so as a second or foreign language. In fact, in Desai's analysis of language rights in a changing South Africa, she reports that 74% of South Africans do not know English (Desai, 1994, p.24).

Statistical data provided by the censuses taken in South Africa present illuminating information on language distribution and use. To be sure, there are some inadequacies in the censuses taken in South Africa; for example, only information on the first home language is provided when in actual fact most South Africans can speak and/or write at least two languages. Nonetheless, the following table, based on the 1991 census, is fairly accurate in reflecting the

languages spoken in South Africa and the number and percentage of speakers of each of these languages (Krige, Cairns, Makalima & Scott, 1994):

TABLE A: 1991 Statistical Data for South Africa's Language Distribution

| Language | Number of Speakers | Percentage |
|---|---------------------------|-------------------|
| Zulu | 8 343 587 | 22.0 |
| Xhosa | 6 729 281 | 17.0 |
| Sotho languages (North Sotho & South Sotho) | 5 951 622 | 16.0 |
| Afrikaans | 5 685 403 | 15.0 |
| English | 3 422 503 | 9.0 |
| Setswana | 3 368 544 | 8.6 |
| Tsonga | 1 439 809 | 4.4 |
| Siswati | 952 478 | 2.6 |
| Venda | 673 538 | 2.2 |
| Ndebele languages (Northern Ndebele & Southern Ndebele) | 477 895 | 1.6 |
| Other | 640 277 | 1.3 |
| Total | 37 684 937 | 99.7 |

An interesting point to observe here is that according to this census report at least 16 503 261 of the South African population could speak Nguni languages (Nguni languages are isiZulu, isiXhosa, isiNdebele and siSwati and are mutually intelligible). And at least 8 320 166 of the population speak Sotho languages (Sesotho, Setswana and Sepedi) which like Nguni languages, are mutually intelligible. As mentioned in this introduction, most Africans are bilingual, if not multilingual.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

As stated, the purpose of this study is to investigate the language/s used by the new South African national government in executing its national duties, and to analyze the implications of this language use. Now that the South African national government has been charged by the new Constitution with the task of *inter alia*, the promotion of multilingualism and multiculturalism on the one hand, and the promotion and elevation of the status of African languages on the other, the question of the language/s used and preferred by the national government becomes crucial.

Although the Constitution requires and demands that the government monitor, through the Pan South African Language Board (PANSALB), and create favorable conditions for the equal use and enjoyment of all the eleven official languages, as a practical matter, it seems impossible for the national government to equitably run its affairs in all eleven official languages.

During the apartheid era, Afrikaans and English were used as gatekeepers for political power and dominance, as instruments for preserving certain privileges for whites, and ultimately as tools for unfair and unequal distribution of the country's economic resources. Although apartheid raised these inequities and injustices to an unprecedented level, with the institution of formal, written laws and policies about language, for decades before apartheid, language had been used as a tool of oppression, particularly with the 1910 union of the Boers and the English against the African population. Hence the language

question in South Africa became part and parcel of the struggle for both democracy and liberation.

Since language is both power and resource, the use of language has serious repercussions. Only the people whose languages are used (especially by those in power) are likely to become empowered, and it will be at the expense of those people whose languages are not used and who thus become marginalized. It is for this reason that Tollefson (1991) argues that there is a dynamic relationship between social relations and language policy. Tollefson contends that hierarchical social systems can be associated with language policies that ultimately give advantage to groups speaking particular varieties (Tollefson, 1991, p.17).

Negative attitudes will always develop towards languages that are not utilized by the government, which is what happened during the reign of the apartheid government in South Africa. During that period, Black South Africans preferred to use either English or Afrikaans, rather than their own languages, despite the fact that the majority of Blacks were not fluent in English and Afrikaans. Since the government's policy and practice was to use only the two official languages – English and Afrikaans – African languages became stigmatized and were perceived as unfit for providing access to education, politics, and the economy. Even the Black majority came to perceive of at least one of the official languages – English – as the language of success. Consequently, proficiency in English guaranteed upward mobility.

An overwhelming majority of South Africa lack command of English, yet the position of English is strongly entrenched and is rapidly becoming more hegemonic. English is required for success in the academic arena and for Blacks to compete for those prestigious, well-paying jobs once reserved by the apartheid government for whites.

As McDermott (1998, p.106) indicates, there are already numerous reports and claims that, in practice, English is daily coming closer to being the language of governance and national communication, despite the Constitutional mandate for official recognition and promotion of all eleven major languages. Thus, there is a developing outcry in South Africa about the mismatch between language policy and practice (Heugh, 1994; Maartens, 1998; Webb, 1998).

Most of the policy decisions made by governments, especially in language-related matters, tend not to be based on the empirical evidence drawn from particular experiments and experiences. Mateene Kahombo (1996, p.11) indicates that even in peace time, mental attitudes, ideologies, traditions and other sociocultural conditions are used to determine linguistic policies, more often than the recommendations and proposals put forward by sociolinguists or language experts. Without due consideration of the impact and effect of language choice and language use, African governments fall into the trap of simply adopting the ex-colonial language policy. The result has been continued downward underdevelopment of the majority, maintenance of the former colonial status quo, and the postmodern irony of an African majority speaking "foreign" languages in their own countries.

If South Africa uses an ex-colonial language as its sole language of communication, the disenfranchisement and economic disempowerment of the vast African-language-speaking majority will continue as they will be denied access to education, economic resources, and political power. Despite the failing of other post-colonial African governments in this regard, South Africa's national government is said to be moving in this direction in spite of the Constitution's multilingual policy. It is therefore inevitable that there will be major efforts at intervention, such as the study proposed here, and those that are sure to follow. This study thus has potential to inform and sensitize the State about the significance and implications of its language choice/s.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The main purpose of this sociolinguistic study is to investigate the extent to which South Africa's eleven official languages are used by the national government in carrying out its national duties, and to analyze the implications of this language use. One of the duties of the government is to implement the Constitutional mandate that the State must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of the indigenous African languages. In assessing the use of language by the national government in executing its duties, this study will also lead to an assessment of governmental efforts to comply with the Constitutional stipulation for advancing multilingualism in South Africa. An extensive review of the literature and works-in-progress indicates that the study proposed here is the first research project to investigate the translation

of South Africa's language policy, as determined by the new Constitution, into practice by the State.

The researcher proposes to share the results of this study with governmental officials through an executive report and summary. Thus, as mentioned, this study has potential not only to inform but also to sensitize the State about the significance and implications of its language use.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In order to establish the use and extent of use of the official languages by the national government, and to analyze the implications of this language use, this study intends to answer the following five (5) questions:

1. In which language/s are government records kept at national level?
2. In which language/s are Parliamentary proceedings conducted?
3. In which language/s do various portfolio committees conduct their affairs?
4. In which language/s do Members of Parliament deliver their public speeches?
5. What are the implications/effects of the South African national government using/not using the indigenous languages?

RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

The following were the research hypotheses of the study:

- (a) Ex-colonial languages (i.e. English and Afrikaans) are preferred and used over indigenous languages;
- (b) English is the most commonly-used language in Parliament and in national service;
- (c) African languages are marginalized in Parliament and in the MPs' conduct of national duties;
- (d) Official records and documents are originally written in English, and then translated into other languages;
- (e) Members of Parliament who lack English proficiency rarely contribute to deliberations in Parliament and in portfolio committees on which they serve;
- (f) Different organizations or parties have different policies about the language/s that should be used by the government.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The qualitative methodology was used in data collection for this study.

Data was primarily collected through in-depth unstructured interviews with Members of Parliament (MP). Parliamentary documents which could be classified as internal documents and external communication were used as primary sources. Internal documents include memos as well as other communications that are circulated inside an organization. Such documents can

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reveal information about the internal rules and regulations, i.e. issues of procedure and could provide clues about leadership style (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982, p.101). Such documents demonstrate the language/s that are preferred by the national government. In this study internal documents, such as minutes of different portfolio committees, agenda for meetings, written invitations for committee meetings, etc. have been collected and analyzed.

External communication documents are produced not only for the Parliamentarians but for public consumption as well. In the South African Parliament, such documents reports from various portfolio committees, reports from the NCOP (National Committee of Provinces), Bills and Acts of Parliament, newsletters circulating in Parliament, the Constitution, etc. Such documents became part of the data for this study. Systematic observations were made for the confirmation of the data obtained from both primary and secondary sources.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

A body of literature addressing the new South African language policy, as enshrined in both the interim and the new Constitutions, is already available. Such studies, although addressing issues of language policy and language planning in general, pay more attention to the language clauses in the Constitution. Issues such as the implementability and practicality of this language policy, language as a human right, language in education policy, promotion and development of African languages, costs incurred in developing languages and culture, and protection of minority rights in a multilingual situation are some of the

major themes that emerge in the literature that focuses on the new South African language policy. Heugh (1994 & 1995), Maartens (1998), McDermott (1998), Alexander (1997), Webb (1998), Verhoef (1998) are among the scholars who interrogated the implementability of the new language policy of South Africa and revealed the shortcomings that could occur as a result of the wording of phrases and clauses in this policy.

Some scholars in South Africa focus their attention on this language policy as it impacts on schools, thereby analyzing language in education policy as part of the major language planning-policy in South Africa. Language in education policy was entertained in *Multilingual Education for South Africa*, a book edited by Heugh, Siegruhn and Pluddeman. This book, as its reviewers maintain, argues that the success of multilingualism is dependent upon the interaction between theory and practice – hence the contributors address strategies for the implementation of the new language policy in South African schools (Smitherman & Thiba, 1998, p.322). de Villiers (1998), Prabhakaran (1998), Chick (1998), etc., in their contributions, edited by Extra and Maartens (1998) also focus on the language policy of South Africa as it appears in the new Constitution. They discuss the status of languages, especially that of English, Afrikaans, Indian languages, African languages, particularly isiZulu in KwaZulu-Natal. The arguments presented by these scholars point to the fact that the ANC-led government lacks the political will to implement the language policy as spelt out in the Constitution. The data used by these scholars to support their assertions

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was drawn from schools and informed by personal experiences as well as secondary sources instead of primary sources.

Since the adoption of the new Constitution there has been no study targeting policy-makers as “subjects.” Studies which were conducted after the adoption of the Constitution only critique the language clauses in the Constitution and the government’s endeavors to implement the new language policy. The present study investigated the extent to which the national government is putting into practice the Constitutional demands of the South African language policy.

The views of the policy-makers are captured and analyzed. The data collected in this study dovetail well with those data collected from educators, students, and others about language in South Africa.

The present study is significant for bringing another dimension or perspective, approaches, and insights into the literature that deals with language planning and language policy, particularly in the South African context.

ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

This study is organized into five chapters. Chapter One presents a brief socio-historical background of the language situation in South Africa. It focuses mainly on the status accorded to languages in South Africa, especially the position of African languages during the apartheid and post-apartheid era. This chapter also presents a statement of the problem to be investigated, the purpose and significance of the study, and definition of terms.

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Chapter Two is a review of literature that focuses on language planning-policy in both First and Third World countries. Literature addressing the South African language policy, particularly the eleven language policy as contained in Clause 6 of the South African Constitution, is reviewed.

Chapter Three describes the research design, methodology, and procedures used in this study.

Chapter Four provides analysis of the data. Data obtained through in-depth interviews, Parliamentary documents, reports and related sources, and systematic observation are presented and analyzed.

Chapter Five is the conclusion of the study. It provides a summary, conclusion, recommendations flowing from the research findings, and implications for future research.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

The following terms should be understood and analyzed within the context of sociolinguistics as well as within the field of language planning-policy in South Africa:

Afrikaner: An Afrikaner is a white person of Dutch descent whose language is Afrikaans. Legalized segregation in South Africa was introduced by Afrikaners.

Apartheid: This is an Afrikaans term which means “separateness.” Apartheid was practiced by the Afrikaner regime (the Nationalist Party) in order to divide the South African people into different geographical areas in accordance with the

languages they spoke. For example, isiZulu-speaking people and Tshivenda-speaking people were forced to live in KwaZulu and Venda, respectively.

Bantustan: This is an Afrikaans word used especially during apartheid in South Africa to refer to the so-called “homeland.” As the apartheid government divided Black South Africans and grouped them in accordance with their languages, a Bantustan would be an area in which a particular Black (Bantu) ethnic group lived or was ordered to live.

Black: This term is used in this study in the traditional South African way as referring to African people only, as distinct from the mixed-blood Coloreds, the Indians and Whites, and even from the San and Khoe people.

Boer: This is an Afrikaans word which means “farmer”. It is used in this study, as in the South African context, to refer to Afrikaners in general.

Constitution: The word ‘Constitution,’ in this study in several instances refers to both the interim (the Constitution which served from 1994 to 1996) and the final or new Constitution which was adopted in 1996.

Corpus Planning: This refers to the process of standardization of languages or simply codification of languages. Corpus planning involves internal, structural language changes, as opposed to social or political language promotion.

Dominant languages: These are languages that are accorded higher status at the expense of others. In Africa, ex-colonial languages, for example, English in Zambia, French in Cameroon and Portuguese in Mozambique, are the dominant languages. These are the languages that receive preference over African languages.

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Dominated languages: Dominated languages are those languages that are not used as official languages and which have lower status. Although these could be the languages of the majority, they are marginalized, especially in such important domains as government offices, education, economy, etc.

Ebonics: Smitherman (2000, p.19) defines Ebonics as a language spoken in the US and rooted in the Black American Oral Tradition, which reflects the combination of African languages (Niger-Congo) and Euro American English.

Indigenous African languages: These are native languages spoken in Africa. Most of these languages are related in terms of their syntactic, phonological and morphological structures.

Language attitudes: This term is loosely used in this study to cover specific attitudes toward a language, such as attitudes toward learning a new or a second language, language preference, attitudes toward learning a marginalized or minority language. Attitudes towards a language could be either negative or positive, depending on the reasons and circumstances for learning such a language.

Language Planning: Language Planning can be loosely defined as a process of conscious language change, which could involve, for instance, allocating functions to languages. However, the most widely accepted definition of language planning is the one given by Tollefson (1991):

...it refers to all conscious efforts to affect the structure or function of language varieties. These efforts may involve creation of orthographies, standardization and modernization programmes, or allocation of functions to particular languages within multilingual societies. (p.16)

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Language Policy: The decision that has been arrived at with regards to function allocated to a language or languages, especially in a multilingual setting.

Lingua franca: A language used among groups of different linguistic backgrounds as a language of communication. It is therefore a common language which people or groups of people who speak different languages use in their communication. English can be referred to as the international *lingua franca* since it is used as the language of science and technology worldwide, as well as because of its dominance in the UN. In almost all states in Africa, an ex-colonial language still dominates as a sole *lingua franca*.

Linguicism: This term refers to oppression and discrimination based on language. Linguicism may be in operation simultaneously with, as Phillipson (1993, p.55) says, sexism, racism, or classism but the term exclusively refers to ideologies and structures where language is the means for effecting or maintaining an unequal allocation of power and resources. Linguicism can therefore be effected intentionally (consciously) and unintentionally (unconsciously).

Linguistic imperialism: Phillipson (1993, p.55) maintains that this is a sub-type of linguicism. Using a foreign language in the place of local languages; for example, Portuguese being the official language in Mozambique while the indigenous African languages are denied the opportunity to serve as official languages. Linguistic imperialism is defined in Phillipson (1993) thus:

The phenomenon in which the minds and lives of the speakers of a language are dominated by another language to the point where they believe that they can and should use only that foreign language when it comes to transactions dealing with the more advanced

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aspects of life such as education, philosophy, literature, governments, the administration of justice, etc. ... Linguistic imperialism has a subtle way of warping the minds, attitudes, and aspirations of even the most noble in a society and of preventing him from appreciating and realizing the full potentialities of the indigenous languages. (p.56)

National language: A Language whose use is viewed as furthering sociocultural integration at the nationwide level (Fishman, 1972, p.215 cited in Phillipson, 1993, p. 41). Unlike official languages, national languages serve in domains such as home, religion, sports, and initiation or circumcision schools.

Official language: A language used in government legislative, executive and judicial domains. In most African states, official languages serve as media of instruction in education; for example, English is the medium of instruction in Zambia, Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa at tertiary level.

Pan South African Language Board: This is the Language Board which serves as the umbrella body for all language-specific boards in South Africa. It is an independent statutory body appointed by the Senate in terms of the Pan South African Language Board Act (Act No. 59 of 1995) which has to promote and create conditions for the development and use of all official languages and those languages specified in the Constitution. It was also established to ensure that languages which are non-South African in origin, such as German, Greek, Hindi, Portuguese, Urdu, etc., are respected.

Southern Africa: Countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. Some of these countries today constitute what is called SADC (Southern African Development Community). Some of the SADC members are as follows: Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Lesotho, Malawi, South Africa, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Kenya, etc.

Third World Countries: This term is used in this study as an equivalent term to “developing countries,” as opposed to the so-called “First World” countries, e.g. U.S.A. and England. Some of the developing countries are India, countries in the Middle East, African countries, and others.

Vernacular Language: This term is used to refer to a local nonstandard language which is usually the mother tongue of a group which is socially or politically dominated by another group speaking a different language (Phillipson, 1993, p.40).

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

The scholarly literature to be reviewed in this research project is of two types:

(a) work by scholars who provide critical analyses of the South African Constitutional language provision, and

(b) work by scholars on language attitudes towards African languages in African societies.

Most African states adopted language policy options belonging to one of the following broad trends outlined in Adegbija (1994):

(a) Policies that extol one exoglossic language, for example, English, French and Portuguese and belittle all indigenous endoglossic languages. As Adegbija (1994) says, in this situation indigenous languages grow “thinner and thinner” as they are despised and marginalized, while the exalted exoglossic language feeds “fatter and fatter” as it receives maximum attention and utilization. The Namibian situation is an example. English in Namibia is the sole official language (Heine, 1990; Cluver, 1993; Phillipson, 1993; Harlech-Jones, 1995; Beck, 1995; Geingob, 1995; Putz, 1995; Fourie, 1995; Swarts, 1996).

(b) Policies that extol one major endoglossic language and belittle both the exoglossic language and other endoglossic languages. Kiswahili in Tanzania is an example. Although the endoglossic language is exalted in Tanzania, Adegbija

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(1994) argues that there are political tensions and rivalries between the speakers of the marginalized languages and the speakers of Kiswahili. Again as Adegbija (1994) says, there are “the minority of educated elite power brokers and destiny shapers” who prefer the language of colonial dominance. In Ethiopia, although Amharic was not the only major language, it was exalted above all other languages including the colonial languages. Tucho (1992) in his study of an examination of language policy and strategies for the dissemination of Amharic in Ethiopia between 1942 and 1974, gives a critical exposition as to how Amharic was promoted to the level of being an official language at the expense of all other languages in Ethiopia.

(c) Policies that extol several selected endoglossic majority languages and just a single exoglossic language. Nigeria is an example for this situation. It was difficult in Nigeria to select one endoglossic language because of political rivalries between officially institutionalized major languages. As Adegbija (1994) mentions, the consequence of this situation is that the rest of the unexalted endoglossic languages tend to be belittled. As a result of the conflict among all the endoglossic languages, the single exoglossic language divides, rules, plunders, takes over and dominates as the only preferred language in all important domains. Adegbija (1994) further pointed out, “Its very presence and its concomitant dominant influence demobilizes language policy planners and blinds their eyes to the need to plan at all.” (p.157)

(d) Policies that create diglossic situations. In this case, an exoglossic language is extolled in official circles and domains whereas an endoglossic language is

extolled in unofficial and informal domains (Adegbija, 1994, p.158). This situation creates negative attitudes and feeling towards African languages.

THE LANGUAGE CLAUSES IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

In 1996 the ANC-led government, the Government of National Unity (GNU), adopted a Constitution (established by Act 108 of 1996) which guarantees the equality of all the eleven major languages spoken in South Africa. Unlike many countries in Africa, South Africa, while acknowledging the important role that English can play internationally (as a language of wider communication), has for the first time drafted a Constitution which recognizes the country's linguistic diversity. Satyo (1999) pointed out that there were proposals for official languages before the adoption of the Constitution in South Africa.

Such proposals were as follows:

- . Three official languages, namely, Zulu (22 per cent of the total population); Xhosa (18 per cent of the total population); Afrikaans (15 per cent of the total population)
- . Three official languages, namely, Zulu, Xhosa and one of the Sotho languages Pedi/Tswana
- . Three official languages, namely, Nguni, Sotho and Afrikaans
- . Four official languages, namely, Nguni, Sotho, Afrikaans and English. (pp.149-150)

Satyo says that instead of the government adopting one of these proposals, the government vied for a more generous language policy thereby recognizing eleven languages as official. With regard to this language policy, he contends:

This apparently very generous language policy comes after many years of non-recognition of any African language as one of the official languages. In fact, to even talk about the possibility of an African

language being one of the official languages sounds bizarre given the fact that Africans and other black people were not allowed to vote. The Othering of all the African languages, in spite of the demographic realities, is still worth noting. (p.150)

Unlike other scholars, for example, Makoni (1999) who are critical about the number of African languages accorded official status, Satyo (1999) argues that it was the shameful past, in which only Afrikaans and English were official languages, which prompted the ANC, NP and other parties during the negotiation for a new dispensation to accord official status to African languages as well. As he points out, the negotiated settlement between the ANC and the NP and other parties had to demonstrate sensitivity about language issues in South Africa (p.151).

Satyo (1999) considers the following as historical events that led to the realization of the South African language policy as it exists today:

- . The one-time dominance of English as the official language
- . The emergence of the Afrikaans language on the scene as a second official language
- . The 1976 riots which were caused among other things by the imposition of Afrikaans on African students as a medium of instruction
- . Ethnic divisions among Africans caused by the homeland system of the Apartheid government. (p.151)

According to Satyo (1999) these four major issues are factors which were still looming at the back of the minds of the negotiators and hence the eleven language policy in South Africa.

South Africa's New Language Policy: The Facts (1994, p.4) indicated that official status was granted to all the major languages because the vast majority of South Africans use African languages as their home languages or first languages. According to a survey conducted by the Human Sciences Research

Council in 1990, 43% of South Africans cannot speak, read or write Afrikaans or English, the two colonial languages which were used as official languages by the South African apartheid government.

Realizing that the indigenous languages had been marginalized by the apartheid regime, a provision is made in the new Constitution for the development, promotion, and elevation of the status of these languages. It is clearly stated in this Constitution that in recognizing the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages, practical and positive measures to elevate the status, as well as advance the use of these languages shall be effected. The Constitution obliges both the national government and provincial governments to use at least two of the official languages for governance. However, this can be seen as one of the flaws inasmuch as it leaves open the possibility of the two languages being English and Afrikaans and thus the exclusion of African languages from use. In presenting proposals for the promotion of African languages in South Africa, McDermott (1998) expresses her concern about this language clause in section 6 of the 'Founding Provisions' of the Constitution of South Africa. Her concern is that the position of English which is not a language of the majority in South Africa is being entrenched, while all other languages of South Africa are sidelined. She further argues that:

The phrase, 'taking into account *practicality, expense, ... the balance of the needs ... of the population as a whole*' ... is the one which in effect creates the loophole through which South African language rights are fast slipping. Only English is 'large' and 'robust' enough to remain behind. (p.117)

This observation was also made by Satyo (1999, pp.154 – 155) who states that paragraph 3(a) of the Constitution waters down the policy of eleven languages by raising the following issues: “usage,” “practicality,” “expense,” “regional circumstances,” “the balance of the needs of the population as a whole or in the province concerned.” Satyo (1999) further indicates that the clause “...but the national government and each provincial government must use at least two official languages,” can be a source of controversy, if for example, in a province like that of the Western Cape, which is NNP dominated, the two official languages used are Afrikaans and English. As Satyo explains, although in this region the majority of ANC supporters are Xhosas, the NNP could easily sideline their language (isiXhosa) as it is constitutional for the province to use two languages as official. In analyzing this situation, Satyo also pointed out that the status of isiXhosa, which the Constitution otherwise intends to promote, could be lowered as a result of this clause. He demonstrates how the situation could turn out to be:

... the speakers of Xhosa could find themselves default co-conspirators, by attaching more importance to Afrikaans and English for economic survival because the wealth of this country is still in the hands of the traditional voters, namely, Afrikaans and English speakers. Again because of economic imbalances, virtually all print media is in Afrikaans and English. In other words access to information is still in the two former privileged official languages. (p.155)

According to McDermott (1998) the aforementioned problematic phrases in the Constitution may cause the demise of a South Africa striving for multilingual and multicultural nationhood. She, however, cites lack of economic infrastructure and financial reserves which should have been put aside for transformation and

restructuring education, health as well as the housing schemes and the maintenance of road-network as some of the major problems that the country is currently faced with. It is for this reason that McDermott (1998) concludes that words such as *practicality*, *expense* and *needs* directly point to the fact that South Africa has difficulties in implementing its language policy as provided for in the Constitution.

Alexander and Heugh (1995) in their comments on the language policy enshrined in the interim Constitution, submitted to the Constitutional Assembly, Theme Committee One on the Subject of Language, expressed their concern about clauses which referred to languages other than those accorded official status. In challenging such clauses for listing some of the languages and not all of them as languages that should, among others, be respected and promoted, Alexander and Heugh (1995) warned that an impression could be created that those languages which are not mentioned are less important. They specifically pointed out that there are no clauses in the Constitution that refer to the South African historically important languages such as the Khoe and the San languages. Alexander and Heugh (1995) were of the opinion that the listing of languages could create problems and proposed a situation whereby names of languages would not be listed. However, this objection was effectively answered in the 1996 version of the new Constitution which mentions not only the Khoe and the San, but also the Nama as languages that should be promoted. As the new Constitution specifies, A Pan South African Language Board must create

conditions for the development and use of all official languages, the Khoe, Nama, San and sign languages.

Although Alexander and Heugh (1995) warned:

... this presents a serious oversight where a number of other languages are specifically mentioned under 3(10)(c). Furthermore, for many reasons, including migration, language usage changes naturally over time, therefore we would suggest that the Constitution does not make specific reference to any language by name ... (p.3),

the submission to the Constitutional Assembly by Alexander and Heugh (1995) was partially adopted and incorporated into the new and final Constitution in South Africa. While the mentioning of both the Khoe and San languages was done in the new Constitution, the Constitution instead of leaving all the other languages unmentioned, it listed them.

Alexander and Heugh (1995) criticized the Constitution for not specifying as to who should carry the responsibility for the implementation of the official language policy. The new Constitution, like the interim Constitution, does not specify how and who should implement the new language policy in South Africa. However Alexander and Heugh (1995) argued that a practical policy and implementation plan which is based on the view that multilingualism is a functional resource would cover the following issues:

- . which government documents need to be translated into all 11 or fewer languages: for instance not all government documents are of significance to the majority of people, or they may only apply to people in a particular province, in which case these documents only need to be translated into the languages of the people whom they affect;
- . which sections of documents need to be made accessible to people in different languages;
- . how to streamline translating and interpreting services which can cater for both government and other sectors as economically as possible;
- . how provincial/local language service centres can provide language

courses/programmes in languages other than the official ones (languages of minority communities, religious languages and languages of trade) for each particular province;
 . a time-frame which makes provision for the implementation of a fully-fledged multilingual plan in a graduated and economically feasible manner. (Specific time-frames to be described within which each of the relevant languages shall be enabled to be used for specific and increasing purposes/functions in the state and in society in general. Thus, for example, it might be possible to specify that the Nguni and the Sotho language cluster shall be used at national level for specific purposes within the next 5 – 10 years; Tshivenda and Xitsonga at provincial level immediately and at national level within 10 – 15 years, etc.) (p.7)

Chick's (1998) survey on the relationship between English and Zulu in KwaZulu-Natal found that English is dominant in high domains, for example, it is being used as the medium of instruction and it is also the medium of national and provincial political debate in KwaZulu-Natal. This does not come as a surprise, for Heugh (1994), in interrogating the language clauses in the interim Constitution, argued about the incompatibility of the clauses in the Constitution in relation to the effect on provincial language policy. She indicated that the non-diminution clause guarantees the status and position of both English and Afrikaans as official languages, whereas in upgrading the status of the nine indigenous African languages, each province may add other appropriate languages taking into account factors such as practicality and expense.

What seems to be disturbing and disappointing is that despite what the Constitution decrees, even today, most of the important work of government taking place in the standing or portfolio committees, is conducted in English (Heugh, 1994). She points out that even where Parliamentarians fail to express themselves in English, they have no other choice, but to use English or else

refrain from taking part in the deliberations (Heugh, 1994, p.7). However, if a Parliamentarian prefers to deliberate in an indigenous language, rather than Afrikaans or English in Parliament, the Parliament must be informed about the language to be used twenty-four hours prior to such deliberations.

Heugh strongly argued that the language clauses of the interim Constitution, which also appear in the new (final) Constitution, are being treated by the government as an issue of passive rights, and the government is adopting a *laissez-faire* attitude toward the implementation of the new language policy.

She therefore argues:

This is at odds with the overtly stated policy of integration which the State is espousing. Either the new government has no real intention of effecting integration and its approach to language policy is a reflection of its real intention to pursue a policy of assimilation in practice; alternatively; its failure to match integration with a congruent language planning process will ultimately subvert the integrative process. Either way, the language policy will inevitably, by default, result in the increasing hegemony of English. (p.11)

Makoni (1999, p.144) adequately and intelligently presents an analysis of what he calls language human rights in relation to the South African eleven language policy as enshrined in the Constitution. He points out that since there is a remarkable difference between language rights and language human rights, there is a possibility of attaching rights to languages. He therefore argues:

The notion of language attached to language rights is in itself problematic and furthermore, by assigning rights to languages, we logically end up with a situation in which languages have rights and speakers are deprived of those rights. This creates a weird sense of reality in which the rights of speakers to languages are subordinated to the notions of language. The Constitution subordinates humanity to constructed notions of language. (p.144)

Makoni (1999) critiques the Constitution for recognizing eleven official languages without realizing that some of the eleven languages are speech forms that could be harmonized. In declaring all the eleven languages official, the Constitution as Makoni argues, metaphorically divides speech forms into eleven separate and mutually exclusive boxes. It therefore creates a self-serving amnesia which ultimately encourages South Africans to unremember the history of the creation or development of their languages. In arguing that the Constitution of South Africa did not give due consideration of mutual intelligibility between languages, he mentions that through a process of legitimating a specific view about language, the South African Constitution conjures up an image of a South Africa not as a multilingual country but as a “poly-monolingual state.” Makoni (1999) regards that the latter (poly-monolingualism) is a linguistic model that could be equated to post-apartheid Bantustans. Makoni’s (1999) analysis of the South African language policy as enshrined in the Constitution, therefore, suggests that the interconnectedness and mutual intelligibility among some of the eleven official languages have been compromised to an extent that poly-monolingual model has been favored and multilingualism sacrificed.

Satyo (1999) unlike Makoni (1999) in analyzing and critiquing the eleven language policy of South Africa, perceives the recognition of all the eleven official languages as a justifiable undertaking. Satyo (1999) is of the opinion that since these languages already have substantial bodies of literature, they should be recognized as separate entities. He further indicates that there is already a tendency in the country for using English when members of different ethnic

groups want to reach each other and therefore recommends that instead of harmonizing some of the African languages for broadening communication, let English be given such a status (i.e. language of wider communication). Unlike Makoni (1999) who regards the language policy of South Africa as constituting what he (Makoni) calls poly-monolingualism, Satyo (1999) argues that the South African language policy enhances multilingualism and should therefore be implemented as such.

The inadequacy of the South African language policy is also challenged by Crawhall (1998) who asserts that the Constitution has provided a rights-based approach to language policy that is not backed up by political will to implement the rights. This approach, an attempt for compliance without using state power/force, as he indicates, has strengths as South Africa seeks to build unity, but it also has fundamental weaknesses. In relating this situation to the San and the Khoe, he states:

The experience of San and Khoe South Africans has already shown that rights do not imply implementation. Effective implementation of rights requires sufficient power to influence or execute the necessary actions. An impoverished, vulnerable minority, however just and clear its cause, evidently does not have the power to make government implement its rights, even where this is constitutionally guaranteed. (p.9)

Zungu (1998) critiques the language clause in the new Constitution for its lack of strategic planning and implementation procedures. She points out that “this is why English remains dominant. Generally speaking, Zulu is now being replaced by English in the corporate world as well as in the upper and lower-middle class African communities in KwaZulu-Natal.” (p.38).

Prabhakaran (1998), who also remarks that the language clauses in the Constitution contradict actual practice, demonstrates how some Indians waged a challenge to the language clauses in sections 6 and 9 of the Constitution. A group identified as Concerned South African Indian Citizens (CSAIC) led by a Mr. Beema Naidoo, a 76 year old retired school teacher, filed a petition with 4, 517 signatures with the Constitutional Court in May 1996. Their plea was that their civil and political rights had been infringed upon and violated by the Constitution. Their claim was that section 6 of the Constitution has racial overtones and discriminates against Indian languages in South Africa. This group argued that the five Indian languages which came to Natal two decades after the English take-over of Natal (where these languages are widely spoken) could not be put on par or “respected” along with German and Greek (Prabhakaran, 1998, pp.87-88). Unfortunately this petition was not taken seriously by the government and therefore, never yielded any fruits.

A Pan South African Language Board was established by national legislation. According to the new Constitution (1996, pp.4-5), this Board must:

(a) promote and create conditions for the development and use of:

- (i) all official languages;
- (ii) the Khoi, Nama and San languages; and
- (iii) sign language; and

(b) promote and ensure respect for:

- (i) all languages commonly used by communities in South Africa, including German, Greek, Gujarati, Hindi, Portuguese, Tamil, Telegu and Urdu;

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- (ii) Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit and other languages used for religious purposes in South Africa.

This Board has already been proven to be ineffective and the reasons for its failures point to a more general concern that the Constitutional clauses were not backed up by any plan for implementation (Crawhall, 1998).

In a report on the resignation of Dr. Neville Alexander from the position of Deputy Chairperson of the Pan South African Language Board (PANSALB) in March 1998, the Newsletter of PRAESA (1998) indicates that one of the reasons for his resignation was that there is more than sufficient evidence that the political leadership in government is not committed to the Constitutional principles of promoting multilingualism and the development of African languages. Alexander noted that it had taken the government more than two years since the establishment of the PANSALB for even a small office to come into being. Further, the Board still does not have the infrastructure to implement any of its decisions. Another critical reason for Alexander's resignation was the failure of the government to recognize that PANSALB is not a sub-department of the State. Rather, as the Constitutional statutes provide, it is to be an independent, autonomous body designed to bring about social transformation in the area of language policy and practice (PRAESA Newsletter, 1998, p.2).

Satyo (1999, p.156) who discusses the resignation of the deputy chair of the PANSALB, said that since all the nine African languages are marginalized in South Africa, it bears testimony to his suspicion that actually the policy of eleven

languages translates into $11=1+1=2$; and claims that “we are back to square one”

(p.156). He further argues that:

The recent resignation of the deputy chair of PANSALB demonstrates quite clearly that we are presented not with eleven official languages, but rather with a menu of eleven languages from which to choose the two formerly privileged languages. (p.156)

Heugh (1994, p.1) in presenting the media reaction to this language policy, records that the new language policy was a hollow gesture to appease the sentiments of Africans. And as she further discussed, the language policy was scorned as a policy impossible to implement across the country. She said that insufficient resources, including human and financial resources, were cited as stumbling blocks towards the implementation of such a language policy.

A positive move towards the implementation of this language policy could be seen from the establishment of the Language Plan Task Group (LANGTAG) by the then Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Dr. B. S. Ngubane. LANGTAG was formed to advise the Minister on the implementation of the language policy. LANGTAG formulated a National Language Plan – a statement of South Africa’s language-related needs and priorities. This plan was designed to achieve the following four major goals (LANGTAG Report, 1996):

- (i) All South Africans should have access to all spheres of South African society by developing and maintaining a level of spoken and written language which is appropriate for a range of contexts in the official language(s) of their choice.
- (ii) All South Africans should have access to the learning of languages other than their mother tongue.
- (iii) The African languages, which have been disadvantaged by the linguistic policies of the past, should be developed and maintained. Equitable and widespread language services should be established... (p.7)

LANGTAG's undertaking was cherished and hailed nation-wide by those who, as Alexander states in the letter to Minister Ngubane (LANGTAG, 1996) "... are convinced that a democratic language policy based on the acceptance of the positive value of multilingualism will become a reality in South Africa" (p.v).

Despite LANGTAG's recommendations, both long-term and short-term measures, proposals, and its subcommittees' implementation strategies for the new South African language policy, the government has been slow to implement these strategies. Hence now there is a mismatch between what the Constitution decrees about language in South Africa and what the government practices (Maartens, 1998; Crawhall, 1998; Webb, 1998; Prabhakaran, 1998).

ATTITUDES TOWARDS AFRICAN LANGUAGES

Research on attitudes towards African languages indicates that many African people attach little value to their own languages. Language attitudes should therefore be perceived as a central element in the formulation of language policy in African nations. Several states in Africa implemented language policies that the politicians felt would bring about development without looking at the impact of such policies on the majority of the indigenous African people. After independence Namibia fell to the same trap of marginalizing indigenous African languages in favor of English as its official language (Putz, 1995).

Swarts (1996) cites Brock-Utne (1995, pp.4-5) who made the following observations in relation to the Namibian language policy:

The Namibian languages are being marginalised. There should be more people fighting for the Namibian languages from official

positions. All languages in Namibia should be treated equally. The emphasis has been too much on English to the detriment of the other languages. People are developing a negative attitude towards their languages. The Ministry is doing nothing about this. And if you know English well, you are considered educated. If you just know Namibian languages even though you may know several of them and speak them well, you are considered dumb and uneducated. (p.11)

Haacke (1987) reports on a survey Harlech-Jones conducted in Namibia among teachers which shows that African languages are rejected by many Africans as undesirable for educational purposes even at the primary level. African languages are, according to Haacke (1987):

...not only stigmatised as being unfit to provide access to learning, employment and resources, but more crucially: they are seen as tools abused for the purpose of ethnic segregation. It would be a short-sighted and perhaps costly fallacy to shrug off this attitude as a passing one which is symptomatic of African states prior to independence. The reasons should be sought in the present practices of language and educational planning as well as in the socio-political dispensation. (p.198)

A survey on language attitudes was conducted in Zimbabwe by Mparutsa, Thondhlana and Crawhall (1992) among 100 secondary school students between sixteen and twenty years of age. 83% of the respondents spoke Shona, 11% spoke Ndebele and 4% spoke a language falling into the category of other, which could mean Nyanja, Chewa, Lozi or Tonga. Although these researchers pointed out that the questionnaire was not adequate as an instrument for data collection since it could not avoid some contradictions in the solicited data, the results of their survey showed that English was preferred as the medium of instruction (83% of the respondents favored English to remain as a medium of instruction in secondary schools) and not an indigenous language.

Chiwome and Thondhlana (1992), in studying the role that national languages play in nation building, conducted a survey in Zimbabwe concerning attitudes on the teaching of Shona through the media of Shona and English. Both a questionnaire and structured interviews were used as instruments for data collection to first year university students and teachers, respectively. At least 133 out of 143 students responded to the questionnaire. The responses from students demonstrated that although they preferred Shona as a medium of instruction in teaching and learning Shona, ironically the majority of them chose to write their first Shona university assignment in English. It was also found through the questionnaire that students from rural schools showed greater interest in learning Shona in Shona than students from multiracial schools (urban schools).

However, despite the advantages of using Shona in the classroom the survey showed that high school teachers viewed the following as areas of problem in using Shona as the medium of instruction (1992):

- (1) There is no standard academic register for Shona.
- (2) Students prefer to use ready-made material; they are not very creative.
- (3) The exclusive use of Shona leaves students unfamiliar with the English terminology used in examination questions, thus putting them in a disadvantageous position.
- (4) There is limited literary and linguistic terminology in Shona, and it is not standardised.
- (5) There is a general lack of interest in learning Shona, probably due to the colonial attitude towards the language; many people have been made to feel that their language is inferior to English.
- (6) Since high school teachers have themselves been trained in English at university, they do not question the rationale behind it.
- (7) The Ministry of Education has done nothing to encourage teachers to use Shona. There are no official circulars in Shona concerning terminology, syllabus, making schemes, and so forth. Official

discussions are also conducted in English, which is discouraging to the teacher.

(8) There is neither a Shona grammar nor any literary texts published in Shona.

(9) Since teachers are not trained in translation, they find it difficult to produce acceptable Shona equivalents of English terms.
(pp.253-254)

In this survey it was found that due to the colonial past, which marginalized African languages by making English the sole official language and the medium of instruction in all educational institutions, it was difficult to promote indigenous languages. However, they observed that in class students became more confident when using Shona (their mother tongue) as opposed to English (Chiwome and Thondhlana, 1992, p.257).

There is a paradox reflected in the results obtained from both the survey conducted by Mparutsa, et al (1992) and the one conducted by Chiwome and Thondhlana (1992). Although in both surveys, there is a huge support for the promotion and use of indigenous African languages among teachers and students, there is also strong support for the maintenance and retention of English as the dominant educational language as it is perceived as an international language which guarantees economic success and political power.

Siachitema (1992) is one of a few researchers in Africa who conducted a language attitude survey outside the school environment. In investigating and examining the extent to which Zambia's language policy has succeeded in promoting political integration and the extent to which its success or failure has had an impact at the level of socio-cultural unity and authenticity, Siachitema (1992) draws our attention to research that she concluded in 1984. Her survey

found that little political integration took place in Zambia on account of the fact that the masses were excluded from participation since their languages were neither recognized nor used. Her survey involved 352 socially differentiated respondents from 3 neighborhoods in Lusaka. 204 of the respondents had 0-9 years of education and over half of them lived in the shanty compound of Kalingalinga and half of this group (living in the compound of Kalingalinga) was unemployed. The majority of the unemployed group were residents of the shanty compound with the middle cost area claiming over a third. This group, i.e. the majority of the unemployed, in responding to questions that had to do with language attitudes, expressed more unfavorable attitudes towards English than did members of higher educational groups. Siachitema (1992, p.19) pointed out that it became evident during the course of her field research that the uneducated respondents (as their languages were despised) felt as if they lived within a system in which they were largely outsiders.

Siachitema (1992) explained how frustrating the use of English was to those at the shanty compound who could not express themselves in it:

One of the most frequent complaints made to the researcher against the English language during the course of the field research in the shanty compound of Kalingalinga was the division which many people felt it had created between the educated and the uneducated. Many people in Kalingalinga felt that the educated people looked down upon them and that they used English to show off their status. (p.19)

In Botswana, a language survey conducted by Arthur (1997) among 16 male and 39 female primary school teachers in six different schools found that English is overwhelmingly supported as the medium of instruction. 44 respondents (80% of the respondents) felt that English should be the sole medium of instruction

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throughout primary school. This view was expressed despite the fact that in Botswana, Setswana is used as a medium in the first four years of primary education.

Negative attitudes towards African languages are also created as a result of lack of commitment from the government to use and promote them. Adegbija (1994) mentions that in Nigeria important national issues such as budget broadcasts, National Day celebrations and speeches are often conducted in the language of colonial dominance. More than 95% of the newspapers and magazines are in English and 80% of radio and television broadcasts are also in English. As he points out, the Nigerian state has no single newspaper published in any of the indigenous languages. He therefore concludes that the subtle message which is being transmitted through this situation from generation to generation in most African countries is that socio-politically, the colonial language is the only one that matters.

In South Africa, surveys on attitudes towards African languages were conducted by researchers such as Young, et al. (1991), Dube (1992), Volbrecht (1993), Paulus (n.d), Chick, Broeder, Extra and Maartens (1998), Prah (1992) and Phaswana (1994). The respondents in the surveys conducted by Young, et al. (1991) and Phaswana (1994) were students at Western Cape secondary schools and the University of Venda, respectively.

Young, et al's (1991) language planning and language attitude survey found that 98% of the respondents "strongly agreed" that a knowledge of English is important and useful for getting a job. Over 70% of the respondents, including

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Afrikaans mother-tongue speakers, preferred English as a *lingua franca* and instrumental national communicative language (Young, et al, 1991, p.13).

It became evident that in the academic area, both students and their lecturers/professors at the University of Venda preferred English over indigenous languages in the learning and teaching environment (61.05% of the student population and 87.88% of the lecturers) (Phaswana, 1994, p.39). In this survey, which was intended to analyze the role of African language planning policies at the University of Venda, three questionnaires for students, lecturers or professors and heads of Department were drawn as data gathering instruments.

The respondents in this survey (190 students, 25 lecturers and 8 heads of Department) gave the following reasons to explain their preferences for English:

- . English is an international language (85% of student population and 86% of lecturers)
- . English prepares students for their future careers (83% of student population and 83% of lecturers)
- . Most of the books are published in English (83% of student population and 81% of lecturers)
- . African languages do not have a wide scope of technical terms used in most of the subjects (80% of student population and 80% of lecturers)
- . Students will be able to compete internationally (79% of student population and 78% of lecturers)
- . The multilingual composition of the student body at the university will make it very difficult to use any one of the African languages as medium of instruction

(79% of the student population and 77.77% of lecturers)

- . English is already an accepted general medium of instruction at all levels in many African countries (78.70% of student population and 77% of lecturers)
- . By far the most publications, certainly the most important and influential ones for all subjects (other than particular languages) are in English (45% of student population and 50% of lecturers)
- . Intellectual interaction with other institutions (40% of student population and 50% of lecturers)
- . Students should not be disadvantaged when they leave South Africa (30% of student population and 10% of lecturers)
- . Lack of qualified lecturers to teach all subjects in African languages (0.53% of student population and 12% of lecturers) (Phaswana, 1994, pp.39-40).

Volbrecht's (1993) language survey at the University of the Western Cape (UWC), found that most speakers of African languages are strongly committed to English as the only medium of instruction across curricula, rather than Afrikaans, or isiXhosa, an African language spoken by the majority of Black students.

Volbrecht notes that Afrikaans is despised and stigmatized as the "language of the oppressor" by African students at UWC. According to the respondents, Afrikaans is said to be, unlike English, lacking international and academic status.

The same goes with isiXhosa which was despised by the respondents as a means of perpetuating the apartheid policy of separate development where the promotion of ethnic languages accompanied the blocking of access to English.

Volbrecht (1993) also found that UWC staff and students saw the promotion of

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isiXhosa and Afrikaans at UWC as too costly and extremely difficult. However, he advocates, in proposing a language policy for UWC, that there should be a language statement which encourages and promotes code-switching and translation. His advocacy was therefore for instruction in African languages, together with English and Afrikaans, for this was observed as the only positive way towards a multilingual university. In charging the Department of isiXhosa with some of the responsibilities towards the promotion of African languages, Volbrecht said that there should be ways of raising the status of isiXhosa as an academic language encouraging co-operative projects among the three language departments, namely, Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English. The Department of isiXhosa, as Volbrecht proposed, should emphasize cultural production rather than cultural critique. Such steps could lead to a vibrant multilingual campus culture.

Negative attitudes towards African languages could also be perceived in the language survey of teachers' opinions about language use in schools conducted by the English Language Teaching Information Centre (ELTIC) and Read, Educate and Develop (READ) (Edusource, 1993). Although (73%) of the teachers in this survey felt that the majority of students in their class would do better if the languages used as media of learning were their mother tongue, only 29% of the respondents expressed that they would be comfortable with students learning in their mother tongue.

The findings from the survey conducted by ELTIC and READ differ remarkably from the findings of the language survey conducted on a small scale

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by Phaswana (1998) at the University of Natal (Durban campus). Phaswana (1998) investigated the language of learning as a major contributing factor in high matric failure rates. He collected data through interviews with 6 female and 6 male University of Natal African (Black) students who wrote the matric (Grade 12) exam in either 1996 or 1997, examiners, markers and an invigilator (a person who monitors students when writing their exam). 7 of the students were from African schools (schools which only have Black learners) and 5 had matriculated from racially mixed schools. The students who matriculated from racially mixed schools wrote the English first language paper in the exam. The 1997 KwaZulu-Natal Senior Certificate Examination Examiners' Reports were also part of the data gathered. With the exception of one student who had attended a racially mixed school, all the students agreed that writing their matric in English had posed difficulties and that they would have achieved better results if they had written the examination in their first language. All students expressed their concern for the development of African languages to be used as languages of learning. One of the students said in elaborating this view (Phaswana, 1998):

Although there should be some preparations for the matric examination to be written in our languages, to avoid all these problems, for the time being, the best thing to do would be that question papers should be in both English and our languages. In this way, all students will be given a fair chance to understand what the questions require, rather than one group of students being advantaged in that only their languages are used in teaching and in exams. For now, let the language of exam still be English while making sure that our own languages are developed for this purpose. (p.18)

In expressing the importance of the use of language two students said that it was unfair that Afrikaans and English-speaking learners are taught in their own

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languages while the Africans are not taught in theirs. Markers, examiners and an invigilator expressed the same sentiment that students have difficulties in using their L2 as a language of learning. The results obtained from the examiners' Reports confirmed the difficulties that students experience in learning in English.

Paulus (n.d) conducted a language attitudes survey to find out the various language groups' views about their languages versus English as an "international language," and a "key to success." A questionnaire to obtain such data was distributed in Athens, Ohio and in South Africa via e-mail, regular mail and fax; some were hand delivered. The same questionnaire was administered to citizens of Namibia, Lesotho and Swaziland staying in Athens. The researcher claims that since the citizens in these countries could seek employment in South Africa, the South African language policy could affect them.

Only 31 people out of 108 contacted responded. 8 of the respondents were not born in South Africa, but emigrated there at some point; 10 of the respondents were living in Athens either as students or as employees; while 21 of the respondents were living in South Africa. Of all the respondents, 15 were L1 speakers of English, 7 were L1 speakers of Afrikaans, 6 were L1 speakers of African and Asian languages: Tamil, Setswana, siSwati, Ewe, Sepedi and 3 were L1 speakers of other minority languages of South Africa such as German, Hebrew and Portuguese.

Although 87% of the respondents indicated that all African and Asian languages which are not accorded official status should be maintained in South Africa, an overwhelming majority (71%) in this survey agreed that all South

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Africans should learn one “national” language as a symbol of national unity and English was chosen as a unifying language. In spite of favoring English as a unifying language, the respondents in this survey also demonstrated a preference for African languages in other areas. For example, 61% of the respondents agreed that the media should cater for all major South African languages. 58% of all the respondents felt that governmental services should be provided in all eleven official languages, although 77% felt that it was going to be costly.

A comment given by the respondents in favor of the use of all eleven official languages in governmental services was that most Africans who do not understand either English or Afrikaans would be able to understand isiZulu, isiXhosa or Sotho. While Afrikaans L1 and other L1 speakers did not agree that knowledge of an African language should be a prerequisite for employment in South Africa, 51% of the English L1 speakers and African/Asian L1 speakers agreed. In analyzing responses to this question (Knowledge of an African language as a prerequisite for employment) Paulus (n.d) commented:

This question is a very emotional and possibly threatening one, as it cuts directly into the current power structure, where speakers of English have had the most advantages in the country where the vast majority is unemployed: in the work place. A language policy which promotes and rewards speakers of languages other than English would be a radical departure from the current status of English as the “key to success.” (p.154)

A preference for English above all other languages in South Africa was also realized when students responded to a question about the use of language(s) at national government, business and media levels. 74% of the respondents agreed

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that English should be the language used at the national government level, while 71% agreed that English should be the language of business within South Africa. However, the researcher pointed out that this was the feeling of those South Africans who were competent in English. In the area of education, Paulus's (n.d) findings were not different from the majority of surveys conducted thus far in Africa and South Africa in particular. In responding to the question about language (s) for educational purposes, all groups in her survey preferred the instruction to be done in English.

The findings obtained from Chick's 1996 survey also confirm that African languages are negatively looked upon as languages that cannot be used in education, politics and economy. In investigating whether or not African students preferred their mother tongue to serve as media in their education, Chick conducted a survey in KwaZulu-Natal through a questionnaire administered to 636 African students (50 of the respondents were matriculation level students and the rest were either at the University of Natal (Durban Campus), Natal Technikon, or at teacher colleges). The targeted population at tertiary level was in its first year of study. 79% of the total sample was isiZulu first language speakers. Only 10.3% of the respondents preferred the opportunity to write examinations in their mother tongue (isiZulu) and only 13.1% preferred to have their chapters translated into isiZulu. An overwhelming majority (73%) of the respondents preferred the status quo; i.e. preferred English as the language of instruction. 57.9% of the respondents in giving reasons for their preference for English indicated that English is the international language, while 29.8%

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indicated that English is the language of national unity. Only 3.3% of the total respondents indicated that English is the language of corruption, oppression or division. Chick (1998, p.99) remarks that this situation, whereby English receives preference over African languages, is informed by the respondents' life experiences where the pay-off for proficiency in English is greater than that for proficiency in isiZulu.

A language survey which was conducted at Durban primary schools by Broeder, Extra and Maartens also shows a preference for English. In this survey, a questionnaire was designed in three languages, namely, isiZulu, English and Afrikaans, to cover the major languages spoken in the KwaZulu-Natal province. The questionnaire, comprised of 19 questions, solicited data from children in Grade 1 and Grade 7 at 54 schools in Durban, Pinetown, Chatsworth and Umlazi districts. The former two, i.e. Durban and Pinetown, represented two ethnically mixed districts in the sample, while Chatsworth and Umlazi represented a predominantly Indian and Black district respectively. 117 student teachers of Edgewood Teachers' Training College who were instructed how to conduct an interview with a Grade 1 child, and to assist Grade 7 pupils to fill out a questionnaire, administered the questionnaire in different schools within these districts where they were conducting their practical work. Of the 6, 753 children who responded to the questionnaire, 5, 762 children filled out the English version, 851 filled out the isiZulu version, while 140 children filled out the Afrikaans version. Although Black children, those who speak isiZulu as a mother

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tongue seem to be under-represented in this study, which of course is the shortcoming of the study, English is regarded above both Afrikaans and isiZulu.

Broeder, et al (1998) comment on this choice made by these primary school pupils:

Any interpretation of this choice must be handled with circumspection, as interviewers reported that many children with Zulu as home language preferred to answer in English. One could speculate on the reasons for this, the most obvious one being the prestige attached to English, and the dominant role of English in the school environment. (pp.125-126)

The findings of this survey demonstrate that of the total sample of 6, 753 pupils, 47% indicated that they would like to learn English, 38% expressed that they wished to learn either isiZulu or one of the African languages, 22% of the total sample indicated that they would like to learn French or another European language. About 117 pupils wished to learn Latin and 3 pupils wanted to learn Sign language (p.131).

The researchers concluded that since South African children are generally offered English and Afrikaans, while a choice of African languages is limited at schools, their language choice will reflect this state of affairs.

Prah's 1992 survey on attitudes of university students in Southern Africa toward the relevance of mother tongue in science and technological education, unlike a majority of the surveys conducted in Africa to date, interestingly found that the majority of students preferred the use of mother tongue (African languages) in their education. The respondents in this survey were students at the Universities of Botswana (UB), Namibia (UN), Swaziland – Kwaluseni (US), the Western Cape – South Africa (UWC) the Transkei – South Africa (UNITRA)

and Lesotho (NUL). A questionnaire was administered to a random sample of 120 students at each university, who although indicated that they had no problems in studying in English (83%, 87%, 85%, 90%, 88%, and 84% at UWC, NUL, UN, US, UB and UNITRA, respectively) still preferred the translation of scientific and technological ideas into African languages. A greater majority of the respondents in this survey who indicated that it is easier to study in African languages rather than in English, expressed the following categories of opinions (Prah, 1993):

- Difficulties with translation.
- Scarcity of resources.
- Colonialism degraded African languages.
- Colonialism was interested in creating Africans who could serve the colonial purpose in colonial languages.
- Western culture was considered to be automatically superior.
- The expertise to do this is not present.
- All languages have not been given equal status. (p.67)

The respondents in Prah's survey believed that scientific and technological terms would only be effected when:

- (1) there is demand from the grassroots level
- (2) there is democracy in Africa
- (3) there is no longer poverty in Africa, i.e. when African countries are richer
- (4) Africans develop confidence in themselves
- (5) there is equal status among all languages
- (6) there is a realization among Africans that development cannot be achieved when they are still dependent on European languages

(7) Africans learn that all developed countries managed to develop through their own languages (Prah, 1993, p.68).

Positive attitudes towards the use of African languages in this study were also realized when the respondents gave the following as wider societal benefits that could only be achieved when modern scientific and technological ideas are translated into African languages (Prah, 1993):

- The rural masses will be rapidly educated.
 - Africans will gain more confidence in their cultures and history.
 - Africans will become inventive.
 - African society as a whole will come to understand scientific and technological ideas.
 - The power and influence of the present elite will be diminished.
 - Africans will do better in their studies.
 - There will be wider and broader job markets.
 - African languages will be greatly enriched.
 - There will be a great increase in African scientists and technicians.
- (p.68)

The respondents in this survey, properly matched the use of African languages as vehicles of scientific and technological education with the general socio-economic development of society. Students clearly perceived the relationship between (African) languages and development of those who speak them. This type of relationship was defined and described by the respondents as follows (Prah, 1993):

- Wherever African languages or pidgin/creole is used in factories, production is better.
- There is a better understanding of developmental issues.
- People would feel better empowered about developmental issues.
- People can take better initiatives.
- People would be more enthusiastic about developmental issues. (p.69)

It is no wonder that, in realizing the importance of language and development, an overwhelming majority (75% at UWC, 80% at NUL, 78% at UN, 81% at US, 81% at UB and 83% at UNITRA) believed that the task for translating scientific and technological ideas into African languages should be a key national issue.

LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AS DISCUSSED IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN LANGTAG (1996) REPORTS

The LANGTAG (1996) Subcommittee on Language Equity Report compiled by the Subcommittee chairperson, Q. Buthelezi, seems to be the only document that presents the government's (official) attitudes towards languages in South Africa. The Report discusses the official attitudes towards language equity in particular, at three different levels; namely, national level, provincial level and local government level.

(a) At national level

The Report indicates that although the interim Constitution favored language equity, very few departments adhere to and work towards the realization of this ideal. The Report points out that in both Parliament and Senate, English hegemony is overwhelming.

The following examples are given in the Report to demonstrate the national government's attitudes towards language equity LANGTAG (1996):

Even two years later after publication, the first seven major RDP documents are not available in any language but English. In Parliament and in Senate there are interpreting services, but only into English and Afrikaans, for the plenary sessions of these bodies

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and only for two of the 62 standing committees of Parliament. That is, even after two years, there are no interpreting services at most committees where the real work of Government policy making is being done. Besides this, there are no interpreting services into any of the nine new official languages. Some cabinet ministers and directors-general refuse to respond to documents unless they are in English. The blatant hegemony of English on SABC TV has not been addressed by Parliament, the Senate or Cabinet. At SABC TV, all other languages are being marginalised, thus flouting the principle of equity. (p.47)

(b) At provincial level

The Language Equity Report indicates that only a few provinces have tackled the official language issue and that language position in most of the provinces is still similar to what it used to be in the apartheid government. Correspondence between some of the provincial governments and national government is still conducted in the medium of English only.

(c) At local government level

In discussing the attitudes of councilors in various areas the Report shows how African languages, and in some other instances Afrikaans, are sidelined in favor of English.

Many City and Town Council meetings are held monolingually in English, because some councillors refuse to let other councillors speak in any other language. In order to achieve progress during deliberations, chairpersons of many City and Town Councils have had to make the ruling that only English be used for council business. (pp.147-148)

Complaints about the dominance of English in various Town Councils meetings continued as the languages of the masses faced oppression throughout the

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country irrespective of what the language policy articulates. In 1997 South African Press Association (SAPA) reported that PANSALB accused the government of heading towards monolingualism. PANSALB cited two instances in which the government demonstrated its move towards embracing English at the expense of other languages when even though, "The majority of people in this country do not speak, understand or function in English." (p.1)

The first instance cited by the Board was a High Court judgment which upheld a decision by the Germiston Town Council in Gauteng to conduct its affairs in English only. The second one was a move by the Free State provincial government to drop Sotho and Afrikaans from its name. In expressing the decision of the Germiston council and the Free State provincial government, the Board directed its anger toward the government:

We are concerned about this decision (in Germiston) because it is the very government violating the Constitution, and if the very government violates the essence of the Constitution, how can citizens be expected to honour it? (p.1)

GRASSROOTS ATTITUDES TOWARDS LANGUAGE EQUALITY

The Report mentions that attitudes towards language equity at grassroots level vary in different areas of the country and differ among speakers of various languages. However, the Report indicates that there is a general feeling that English is important for international communication. There is also support for the fostering of other languages as well, both as subjects at schools and for expression in the arts.

Dissatisfaction among all language groups about language use by the South African Broadcasting Corporation Television is reported as follows:

- (a) they cannot find enough that they can understand;
- (b) they have given up pushing buttons;
- (c) they have switched off their TVs, or, alternatively their TVs are on for very few hours per week;
- (d) the Deaf, in particular, have over the years had nothing at all that they could understand on SABC TV except the weekly 45-minute slot on Sundays when they view **SIGN HEAR**:
 - . they cannot find **anything** that they can understand;
 - . they have nothing to push buttons to;
 - . they watch the pictures without understanding the spoken language.In general, people feel disempowered by the new TV schedules (implemented since February 5, 1996). (p.48)

The LANGTAG (1996) Subcommittee on the Development of the (South) African Languages, instead of discussing negative attitudes towards language development, this Subcommittee recommends some measures that could be used to bring about positive attitudes towards African languages. The Report mentions and argues for the introduction of African languages as languages of learning and teaching as optional media in tertiary education (colleges and universities) (LANGTAG, 1996, pp. 82-83). When people realize that their languages are used as media of instruction at tertiary level, their attitudes towards them will be positive. LANGTAG identifies three strategies that should be used to change attitudes towards the use of African languages in education:

- (1) The introduction of (optional) university courses taught through the medium of an African language.
- (2) The translation of high quality literature into African languages, linked to incentives to produce original literature in those languages.
- (3) The promotion of African drama and literature by awarding prizes for the best of these works and by prescribing them in the schools. (p.83)

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It is because of English's perceived high status in South Africa that indigenous African languages are despised as languages largely associated with backwardness, ethnicity, poor standards, incapable of being poor media of instruction and international unacceptability. McDermott (1998) argues that attitudes such as these, where English is observed as an instrument for entering the international arena and its "superiority" as the medium of instruction, economic development, political development, etc. are no more than linguistic colonialism and ultimately are a denial of a basic human right – the right to use one's mother tongue. As McDermott contends, this has far reaching consequences for one uses a mother tongue to conceptualize. English should be perceived as a language of oppression for it is because of the "English is best" myth that many indigenous Africans want to get rid themselves of their Africanness as it (Africanness) has been so undermined and devalued by the colonial machine McDermott (1998).

In analyzing negative attitudes toward accepting African languages as languages for empowering Blacks, Msimang (1993) argues that since people's reactions are influenced by a variety of factors, and that since none of the African languages can at present be utilized as a bargaining tool in the labor market, indeed negative attitudes toward African languages will prevail. African languages are always utilized at the lowest domain, e.g. sports, agriculture, family, etc. Luckett (1993, p.39) indicates that African languages are marginalized as languages for both higher education and for serving the needs of

the modern state. van den Bergh (1968) shows that the Black South African intelligentsia, in conforming to westernization and attitudes of “cultural shame” toward indigenous cultures, contributed to negative feeling toward indigenous African languages. As he demonstrates, the South African freedom movements were unashamedly eclectic in ideology and organization, and antitraditional in tactics and aims. Indeed this situation turned out to favor and entrench the use and preference of colonial languages at the expense of African languages. de Kadt (1992) points to the South African apartheid regime as the main cause of negative attitudes towards African languages in South Africa. She argues that all languages in South Africa have been constrained in different ways by the apartheid regime. She observes that simply removing apartheid laws will not miraculously restore languages to freedom, just as it has not transformed the South African situation.

A number of the studies reviewed here have illuminated the complexity of the language issue in South Africa. Several have critiqued the Constitutional policy itself and the attitudes towards different languages, especially African languages in South Africa and elsewhere. However, to date, there have been no studies of the views and language practices of the new democratic national government and its role in promoting the Constitutional mandate of multilingualism. The study proposed here seeks to fill this void in the research literature.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY AND DATA GATHERING PROCEDURES

The main purpose of this study was to investigate the extent to which South Africa's multilingual language policy is being put into practice by the national government. The Constitution demands that all the eleven major languages spoken in South Africa be equally treated and calls for the promotion and the elevation of the status of African languages which were marginalized during the apartheid government.

UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEW STYLE

The interviewing method was the principal method used in data collection. The unstructured interviewing, as opposed to the structured interviewing method, was utilized in this study. The unstructured interviewing provided a relaxed and unhurried atmosphere which was neither stressful nor intimidating to the interviewees. Given the status and responsibilities of the interviewees, the unstructured interviewing style solicited relevant data that could not have been produced through structured interviewing. Further, this type of interviewing was more dependable than the case would have been with the structured interviewing. Structured interviews would have only succeeded in eliciting rational, controlled responses and would have failed to properly assess the emotional dimension that I found to be essential in data analysis and interpretation. Still another advantage of unstructured interviews is that they

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allowed for variation in responses. Some respondents took considerable time giving reasons why it is difficult to practice what the Constitution requires. Many of the respondents blamed the ANC for the difficulties of implementing of the eleven language policy in Parliament and the provinces in South Africa. When the respondents dwelt at length on such accusations and where such accusations were no longer contributing to the information that I targeted, that is, when the respondents drifted “off course,” I had to persuasively and intelligently redirect the interview to the research topic. In this way, through this method of interviewing, it was possible for me to determine where the real difficulties were.

With the unstructured interviewing style, it was easy for me as the interviewer to code switch and code mix. This linguistic flexibility was necessary in order to give my respondents an opportunity to freely use their mother tongue once they realized that the interviewer knows and understands their languages.

While structured interviewing is believed to control for such possible effects as interviewer bias and thus to lead to greater “objectivity,” it has the fundamental disadvantage of forced responses that often do not reflect the complexity, depth, and accuracy of the respondents’ views. Given the political sensitivities involved in the study proposed here, it would have been difficult to solicit the unanticipated data that might be of significance to this study.

In South Africa where the indigenous languages were marginalized and stigmatized during the apartheid period, and where the two ex-colonial languages were used as official languages, an unstructured interviewing style was a more reliable technique, particularly for unpacking sociolinguistic attitudes and for

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probing sentiments underlying the opinions of the respondents. For instance, in several cases, I was able to probe respondents' responses for clarification, consistency and follow up on statements that seemed contradictory.

The interviews solicited information that relates to:

- (a) The South African language policy enshrined in the new Constitution;
- (b) The language/s presently used by the South African national government in Parliamentary proceedings;
- (c) The present State's position towards the development of African languages as stipulated in the Constitution;
- (d) The implications of using some, rather than other, languages by the State, both in Parliament and in the conduct of its national duties.

All the interviews were recorded using a cassette tape recorder. Each interview took about 50 minutes to one and a half hours. The interviews were transcribed by a transcriber whose mother tongue is isiZulu. I transcribed the two interviews which were conducted in Tshivenda, my mother tongue, as the transcriber was not fluent in Tshivenda. I verified and edited the transcription of all interviews. Very few errors were made in the process of transcription. Such errors were in areas such as punctuation, spelling and omission of some words or expressions. Each interview was transcribed verbatim.

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INTERVIEWEES

Since the study aimed to investigate the language of use at the macro-level, only Members of Parliament were interviewed. During the interviews, the South African Parliament was made up of 400 members from different political parties and organizations. After the withdrawal of the NNP (New National Party) in 1997, which by then was known simply as NP (National Party) from the Government of National Unity, the IFP (Inkatha Freedom Party) remained the only party in cabinet with the ANC and its alliances, COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Union) and SACP (South African Communist Party). Representatives of all other parties, for example, PAC (Pan African Congress), DP (Democratic Party), FF (Freedom Front) and ACDP (African Christian Democratic Party) participated only as Members of Parliament and not as part of the Cabinet.

The interviewees in this study were not only Members of Parliament, each also represented his/her respective political party in the Arts, Culture and Language, Science and Technology Portfolio Committee. This Committee was chaired by a member of the ANC. As Members of Parliament dealing with language matters in Parliament, they were found to be the relevant interviewees in the study and most of them proved to have in-depth knowledge about and considerable experience in language issues, especially the historical background, of the South African language situation. About 96% of the interviewees had a university education and specialized in language planning policy as either a subject or as part of their education. It was interesting to realize

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that different political parties sent their representatives to different portfolio committees in accordance with their specialization and expertise. The Arts, Culture and Language, Science and Technology Committee was therefore no exception – members of this Committee were experts in language issues. During the interview process such members were able to articulate the language plan of their own parties and highlighted the successes and shortcomings of current language use in Parliament. As expected, the interviewees were able to reflect on the impact of South Africa's language policy on South African citizenry.

Although the initial plan was to interview 20 members from all parties (i.e. 8 members from the ANC and 2 from each of the six parties), only 16 Members of Parliament were interviewed. It was not possible to interview members of PAC and ACDP. Both the PAC and ACDP were the minority parties in Parliament and each had less than 5 members in Parliament. These members had to represent their parties in various portfolio committees in Parliament. Attempts to secure appointments with them never materialized. Their hectic schedules were exacerbated by the election campaigns as all the political parties were preparing themselves for the upcoming elections. Consequently, only 16 Members of Parliament were interviewed.

The interviewees were from diverse language backgrounds. This was purposefully done to find out if members from different language groups had different views about South Africa's language policy or the manner in which languages are used by the national government.

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However, mother tongue language had no bearing on the MPs' views about language issues and the Constitutional language policy. In fact, since I am fluent in most of the African languages in the eleven language policy, MPs were offered the opportunity to conduct the interview in the official language of their choice. Yet all of the interviews, except for two, were conducted in English by choice of the MPs.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

Number of the ANC respondents: 8

Number of the IFP respondents: 2

Number of the NNP respondents: 2

Number of the DP respondents: 2

Number of the FF respondents: 2

Number of respondents with African languages as L1:

isiNdebele: 0

isiXhosa: 1

isiZulu: 1

siSwati: 0

Sepedi: 1

Sesotho: 0

Setswana: 2

Tshivenda: 2

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Number of respondents with English as L1: 4

Number of respondents with Afrikaans as L1: 4

Number of female respondents: 4

Number of male respondents: 12

DATA GATHERING PROCEDURE

Interviews

The interview process took place from the 5th of February 1999 to the 31st March 1999 in Parliament in Cape Town – South Africa. This was the period when the Parliament of South Africa had its last sitting before the second democratic elections which were held in June, 1999.

Since the interviewees of this study were Members of Parliament, appointments for their interviews were made through their secretaries. Snowball sampling technique was also involved, where some of the interviewees recommended other MPs to be interviewed. Both methods, i.e. appointments through secretaries and referrals, were successfully and conveniently utilized. All interviews were arranged and conducted at the convenience of the interviewees.

Written Records

The data collected through the interviews was matched against written records, for instance, reports, official minutes and related sources such as notices, internal memoranda, minutes of meetings, programs and agenda of

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meetings, newsletter for Members and Staff of Parliament, newsletter of the National Council of Provinces, debates of the National Assembly, debates of the Senate, debates of the National Council of Provinces, acts of Parliament and bills, other Parliamentary documents, and recorded and written speeches delivered in Parliament and outside of Parliament. This enabled me to contextualize and draw inferences about language-related data that was not clearly and adequately captured in the interviews.

Secondary Sources

It became evident that it was not enough just to analyze the interviews, it was also equally important to understand the respondent's world and social forces that might have influenced their thinking. This observation was also made by Kahn and Connell (1957) cited in Fontana and Frey (1994, p.364).

Interviewees in this study might have been uncomfortable revealing their beliefs and attitudes as well as their motivations and feelings. Thus information obtained such as textbooks, published and unpublished dissertations and theses, and articles on language planning-policy also became reliable and dependable sources of information.

Systematic observation

The South African Parliament reconvened from the 5th of February 1999 to the 31st of March 1999 in Cape Town. I observed Parliamentary proceedings in order to determine the language/s used by the South African national

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government and to assess the language/s that are dominant in Parliamentary and standing committee deliberations. Such observations were made daily for four weeks. In order to get a representative glimpse of the language behavior of Parliamentarians, observations focused on both the entire Parliament and the different portfolio committees. The portfolio committees' schedules determined the time for such observations. Some of the portfolio committee meetings that I observed were the following:

Portfolio Committee on Finance – 9th of February

Portfolio Committee on Arts, Culture and Language, Science and
Technology – 10th of February

Portfolio Committee on Land Affairs – 11th of February

Portfolio Committee on Justice – 12th of February

Portfolio Committee on Communications – 15th of February

Portfolio Committee on Trade and Industry – 16th of February

Portfolio Committee on Finance – 18th of February

Portfolio Committee on Finance – 19th of February

Portfolio Committee on Public Enterprises – 23rd February

Portfolio Committee on Justice – 26th February

Portfolio Committee on Communication – 1st March

Portfolio Committee on Public Enterprises – 2nd March

Portfolio Committee on Communications – 3rd March

Portfolio Committee on Finance – 9th March.

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More attention was given to the Portfolio Committee on Arts, Culture and Language, Science and Technology since this was the committee that has been holding discussions on the Pan South African Language Board Amendment Bill, a Bill which will affect the language policy enshrined in the Constitution. The Pan South African language Board, among other things, sees to it that there is language equity and that the promotion of languages in South Africa, especially African languages, takes place.

The Pan South African Language Board Amendment Bill meetings took place on the 16th and 17th of February. The Pan South African language Board debate and the Heritage debate took place on the 18th of February. Parliamentary discussion of the Pan South African language Board Amendment Bill took place at the National Assembly on the 23rd of February.

PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED IN THE FIELDWORK

Although all the interviews conducted took 50 to 90 minutes, there was always the constraint of time. It was not possible for Members of Parliament to spend extended time doing interviews. Two members, for example, could not go beyond 50 minutes with the interview.

Since meetings of various portfolio committees would take place at the same time, it posed difficulties especially during observation periods where it was necessary to attend such meetings as scheduled.

The fact that all the political parties were heading towards the elections, Members of Parliament found themselves with tight schedules as they, in

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addition to their duties in Parliament, had to address and organize their constituencies as well.

In order to provide anonymity to the MPs, as promised in the Interview Consent Form, they will be identified simply by number, from #1 through #16, throughout the text.

CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

This chapter presents and analyzes the data under three main sections.

The first section presents and analyzes the data collected through in-depth interviews. The data in this section is divided into various themes that emerged during the interviews. The second section of the chapter presents and discusses the data collected through annual reports, speeches, acts and bills, newsletters, HANSARD documents, agenda and minutes. The third section presents and analyzes the data collected through systematic observation.

4.1. DATA COLLECTED THROUGH IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

Since the unstructured interview style was used in this study, all the interviewees (MPs) were asked whether or not there was a mismatch between what the Constitution demands and what they as Parliamentarians practice in Parliament. In other words, the Parliamentarians were asked to account for their practice *vis-a-vis* what the South African language policy requires. Although this question was central to all the interviews conducted, some interviewees, instead of addressing themselves specifically to the question, gave the reasons for the difficulties in the implementation of such a language policy at national level. As a consequence I had to infer their position.

The data collected through this method is categorized into the following themes which are related to the research questions and research hypotheses of the study:

4.1.1. Languages used in domains of the political apparatus: the mismatch

between Constitutional demands and Parliamentary practice

4.1.2. Obstacles in the promotion and elevation of the status of African

Languages:

4.1.2.1. Affordability

4.1.2.2. Attitudes towards African languages

4.1.2.3. African languages and corpus planning

4.1.2.4. Problem of mindset

4.1.3. The government's efforts to achieve the Constitutional demands

4.1.3.1. to encourage multilingualism and national unity

4.1.3.2. to promote and develop African languages

4.1.4. Harmonization of Nguni and Sotho languages

The data in this section is presented and analyzed under each main theme.

4.1.1. Languages used in domains of the political apparatus: the mismatch

between Constitutional demands and Parliamentary practice

In response to this open ended question, Respondent #11, an NNP representative, acknowledged that 80%-90% of the speeches delivered by the Members of Parliament in Parliament are in English, while 10% are in Afrikaans, and the balance in the other languages (African languages). In addressing and acknowledging that there is a mismatch between the Constitutional demands and the language practices of Parliament, he pointed out that there is always a

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difference between theory and practice. He further explained that the Constitution contains theory, ideas and what should be strived for by a nation. He gave an example of what the Constitution says with regard to education where it stipulates that every person has the right to free education up to a certain age, when in actual fact the education is not free. Respondent #11 states:

But you see our Constitution says the education is free up to a certain age. Now there is a problem between what is the ideal theory and what is happening in practice. So, the language policy is very much the same. The Constitution says equal attention to every language; we support that. Our official policy is to support that because we voted for the Constitution; on that issue we did not disagree. We disagree with some other issues in the Constitution but not this one. But in practice it [*the use of all eleven languages – my emphasis*] just does not work.

This position for the support of the language policy is also echoed by another NNP representative, Respondent #12, who said that since the NNP was involved with the ANC in drawing up the present Constitution, the NNP is bound to support it until such time that amendments which the NNP could not align itself with are made. Respondent #12, however, acknowledged that time has already proven that there is something fundamentally and inherently complicated about the approach to the South African language situation set out in the Constitution.

Like Respondent #6 of the ANC, who argued that the eleven language policy is an ideal policy which practically cannot work, she said that there is no way that the eleven official languages could be used equitably as the Constitution demands. She challenged the adopted approach and proposed her own:

The ideals embodied within the Constitution do not work. To my way of thinking, the approach that there should be eleven official languages universally across South Africa is an impractical approach. The more practical approach would have been an incremental approach.

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Although Respondent #12 recognized the mismatch between the Constitutional demands and what is being practiced in Parliament, she however, supported the maintenance of the status quo; i.e. that Afrikaans and English be the two official languages. When asked to give reasons for what she was alluding to, she further argued that the dominance of English and Afrikaans could be justified in that these two languages, unlike African languages, are already completely developed. According to Respondent #12, African languages, which she considered under-developed, are cultural languages whereas English and Afrikaans, which she considered developed, are practical languages which should be the ones used in Parliament.

Respondent #1 of the ANC, in responding to the question as to whether or not there is a mismatch between what Parliamentarians practice and what the language policy requires, indicated that since English and Afrikaans are the two languages which are still privileged in South Africa, they are likely to dominate all other languages in Parliament. He said that this situation (where Afrikaans and English are privileged) can only be alleviated when the following are in place: structures, resources and expertise, for the promotion of African languages. He said that these three elements could guarantee the realization of what the Constitution decrees; i.e. all official languages to be used equally. When asked whether the marginalization of African languages would be continued in Parliament, he emphatically stated that the eleven language policy was spearheaded and initiated by the ANC at the World Trade Centre (Kempton Park) during negotiations and that the ANC will never shift from, or abandon,

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such a policy. However, Respondent #1 pointed out that the ANC has to be pragmatic in the application of this policy.

In acknowledging that some Parliamentarians refrain from using their mother tongue (which are official African languages), which shows that Parliamentarians do not affirm what the Constitution demands, Respondent #1 gave the following explanation:

... we must remember that there has been a very systematic and conscious oppression of African languages in this country. Also, there has been a very systematic and conscious discrediting of anything African in this country. Of course in this short space of time, it will be reflected.

Although Respondent #1 agreed that English is still dominant in Parliament, and that some Parliamentarians rarely use their mother tongue even if they are official languages, he pointed out that there is remarkable progress in that some do. He said in support of his point:

But I want to say this to you: many times when we attend either committees or when the house is sitting, I promise you that here many many languages are used. For instance, the Minister of finance, Trevor Manuel, yesterday, delivered the national budget speech in three languages: English, Afrikaans and Sesotho. And many times when you go to Parliament when there are heated debates you hear all these eleven official languages. I am not saying we have arrived at the point at which we will use all the languages, but I think this is the beginning. It will be much more so especially when a democratic process actually entrenches itself...

Respondent #1 argued that since the ANC government had only been in power five years, many of the policies that have been put in place are just beginning to work. He said that he is optimistic that South Africa is going to set an example of how the language issue in a multilingual country could be handled. Respondent #1 stated:

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I am very sure it (South Africa) will become a model; not to say it is the only model, but it will become one of the models in the world of possibilities of engaging the question of languages such that it is a positive tool rather than a negative tool.

Respondent #4, also of the ANC, in responding to the question as to whether or not there is a mismatch between what the Parliamentarians practice and what the Constitution demands, said that the implementation of the 11 language policy is not possible in Parliament. He said that it was after realizing that this language policy was unimplementable that an agreement about the so-called “functional language” had been reached in Parliament. Although he acknowledged that Parliament is still using only Afrikaans and English, however, he mentioned that English has been chosen to be the language of record in Parliament.

When asked whether he supported the decision which favored English as the sole language of record and communication in Parliament, Respondent #4 pointed out:

We are not speaking English just because we want to speak English, but because it is convenient...We are speaking English because we want to communicate, not because we want to be Englishmen. ... We are not using English because we want to sound educated. ... It is easy and it is cheap. It is a *lingua franca*.

In arguing for the continuation of the use of only English in Parliament, he emphasized that at higher levels (national or Parliamentary level), people must use the language that is going to work, which he regarded as English.

Respondent #4 pointed out that there are ongoing negotiations about how the government could give equal attention to all languages in a practical way. He also mentioned that it is particularly the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology which is working hard to find how the government could best put the

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demands of the Constitution into practice as far as languages are concerned. He said that the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology should be the one responsible for the implementation of the new language policy, rather than the PANSALB.

In responding to the question of a mismatch between the Constitutional demands and the Parliamentarians' practice, Respondent #9 of the IFP supported the use of English as the only language of Parliament. He made the following argument about the position of only English in Parliament:

But we are already noticing what is happening in other countries of the world; that the English language is the one that is the most robust and generally pushes all other languages to one side whether it is in India, whether it is in Australia, and whether it is in America.

In his argument for the maintenance of this situation, where English monopolizes and dominates as the language of Parliament in South Africa, he said that this is due to the fact that, "English has now become the global language and that there are so many varieties of English that people have made their own."

Respondent #9 further advances the use of English only in the South African Parliament by stating that when people have a need to communicate among themselves locally, nationally and internationally, English would be dominant partly because science and technology, internet and computers and all these modern technologies utilize it more than any other language. He mentioned that where people from different language backgrounds come together, one language which is Eurocentric is always going to dominate all other languages. A Eurocentric language, as Respondent #9 stated could be used

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cross-culturally and for the purposes of educational research as well as for communication with the outside world.

In giving an explanation as to why Afrikaans is sidelined in Parliament, he pointed out that although political leaders such as General Viljoen (FF leader) and Martinus van Schalkwyk (NNP leader) are extremely proud of Afrikaans, and that their constituencies are predominantly Afrikaans speaking, they frequently use English in Parliament. He further indicated that these two political leaders make a few statements in Afrikaans only so that people outside do not accuse them of having given up the use of Afrikaans altogether.

Respondent #9 argued that the new language policy, which he contends is not practical, emanated as a result of President Mandela who, as he said, was very anxious not to cause anyone to rock the boat, but wanted the language matter to be settled over time, rather than settled the way the apartheid government did – through force and by compulsion.

Respondent #9 also pointed out that allowing language use in Parliament to occur as it does, is a diplomatic way of allowing language use to dictate language policy in the long run.

In defense of the status quo, Respondent #9 concluded that although the Constitution spells out the eleven official language policy, the Constitution does not confine the government to a certain time frame. He presented his argument as follows:

...the Constitution has not limited anyone of us to a time frame; it has not said that all these things must be done in one year or four years. It said to us this is the direction that we should take and like a ship which leaves a harbor, it is going to take its time before it reaches its

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destination. And it may come back again to the port from which it set, but along the way, it is going to touch many other ports. So, what we have done was to look at the Constitution. We can tick off many places and say, yes, this is done; this is almost done; this is finished; but here we have hardly scratched the surface.

Respondent #9 said that each Parliament which is going to come after the 1999 election will have certain areas that it will have to give attention to. He pointed out that in the future language might become more and more an issue which receives serious attention. It is not a matter that is going to be resolved within the next five years, but could take twenty years.

In his explanation as to why Parliament does not always comply with Constitutional demands, he stated:

We recognize all that, but what we will do is rather than causing things to happen quickly, and therefore causing resentment, let us allow the process to unfold more gradually. Let it happen bit by bit so that communities that are not represented, slowly find the way of being represented.

Respondent #10 also of the IFP, makes a distinction between status and use. He pointed out that although the Constitution guarantees the equal status of all eleven languages, the use of these languages might not be equal.

A rationale for the dominance of English was noted in terms of the drafting of the new Constitution. Respondent #11 pointed out that because of different language backgrounds, it was imperative that CODESA delegates at Kempton Park choose English as the medium of communication as it was the only common language among the majority of delegates. Respondent #11 further supported the use of only English in Parliament by arguing that there is nothing wrong with using English as the dominant language for it is a language

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understood by everybody. He further argued that although the policy of his party is that everything should be done in the eleven languages, it should be noted however, that there is a time constraint in terms of Parliamentary deliberations.

Respondent #15 of the FF, who was on the language committee in the drafting of the new Constitution, in addressing himself to the question of the mismatch between what the Constitution demands and what the Parliamentarians practice, argued that it was for the sake of being politically correct to say eleven languages are “official.” Hence, as he said, not all of those who were in the language committee were in favor of the eleven language policy. His argument is that the eleven language policy was meant to retain English and make it the sole official language as all other languages could not be promoted or developed to a position equal to that of English. He asserted that those who argued for the eleven language policy knew from the beginning that it was not going to be practical to use all these languages.

Respondent #11 points out that in the committee rooms (where according to Respondent #16, also of the FF, “big debates are taking place”) there are no interpreting facilities. Thus only English is used while other languages are seriously sidelined.

Respondent #16, like Respondent #15, mentioned that what the Constitution says is quite a symbolic thing. Multilingualism is not practiced at the highest level of the government. In pointing out the existence of the mismatch between the Constitutional demands and Parliamentary practice, he argued that it should be English instead of Afrikaans that should be downgraded in

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Parliament since Afrikaans, unlike English, is a legitimate South African indigenous language. He stated:

How many years have we (Afrikaners) been here? We have been here for so many years. I mean English is not the indigenous language. English is from Britain and wherever, but Afrikaans has been written here as an indigenous language. So, we actually talk of ten indigenous languages and one foreign language, which is English.

Respondent #16 blamed the national government for sidelining indigenous languages and moving into a policy of monolingualism where English dominates in Parliament. He pointed out that the main reason for sidelining Afrikaans is that it is regarded as a language of oppression since it was used by the apartheid government. He counters this point with the argument that Afrikaans is an indigenous language of South Africa, not only spoken by Afrikaners, but by Blacks as well, and that it was also oppressed by the English, many many years ago.

Respondent #14 and Respondent #13, both of the DP, in addressing themselves to the key question central to the interview, that is, is there a mismatch between the Constitutional demands and the practice in Parliament, expressed no problems in having English dominant in Parliament. However, Respondent #14 acknowledged that in spite of what the Constitution demands, only a few languages are heard in Parliament. As he said, this makes a “mockery” of the Constitution. Respondent #14 further acknowledged that Afrikaans is also used in Parliament though to a lesser extent.

PERSONAL REFLECTIONS AND CRITIQUE

In addressing themselves to the key question central to the interview, that is, the mismatch between Constitutional demand and Parliamentary practice in terms of language use, the interviewees expressed the view that the new South African eleven language policy is not easy to implement in Parliament. All conceded that Parliament is definitely not affirming the Constitution in putting its demands into practice. There was unanimous agreement among the interviewees that theoretically, the policy sounds good, whereas practically, it could not be implemented.

It should be pointed out that the argument postulated by the interviewees, which supports the ideals embodied within the Constitution, but denies the implementation of these ideals, can lead to the justification of having only one language, English, to serve practically as an official language, while the rest of the languages are only theoretically kept as official languages. Thus there is a high possibility of the dominance of English as the only official language in the South African Parliament since the majority of the MPs argue that it is not only difficult, but impractical, to use all the official languages simultaneously in Parliament. This position was clearly articulated by Respondent #12 of the NNP who argued that time has already proven that there is something fundamentally and inherently complicated about the approach to the South African language situation as set out in the Constitution.

Some of the interviewees, for example, Respondent #9 and Respondent #12, proposed that the incremental approach be adopted. The proponents of this

strategy (where the official languages are gradually added to the one in current use) favored Afrikaans and English to serve as the only two official languages.

This approach was, among others, proposed by the NNP whose constituency is Afrikaans speaking. It makes a lot of sense, therefore, for the NNP to vie for Afrikaans and English as the NNP was the leader in the apartheid government where English and Afrikaans served as the only two official languages. The NNP constituency which of course is Afrikaans speaking, could maximize its benefits when Afrikaans is being used in Parliament and elsewhere.

The proposal by Respondent #12 of having Afrikaans on par with English in Parliament demonstrates her understanding and insight of what some of the linguists in South Africa and elsewhere have pointed out, that language cannot be divorced from power as language is the instrument which is required to express power and authority. As Alexander (1992) stresses, language policy, language practice and language usage reinforce power relations in a particular society.

Although Alexander saw this as relevant for the South African situation where there has been a shift of power relations as Africans (Blacks) are taking political power as well as, to a certain degree, economic power from the White minority, however, the ANC government is seen to be supporting the entrenchment of English as the only official language in Parliament at the expense of all other official languages.

Respondent #1 mentions that it is because of this history, i.e. where Afrikaans and English have been utilized in Parliament that invariably English

and Afrikaans dominate the African languages in Parliament today. Like all the MPs that were interviewed, Respondent #1 says that there should be structures, resources and expertise for the African languages to be equally used with the other two official languages in Parliament. It should also be mentioned that since language is both a conceptual and analytical tool, and that it could be used to express a more sophisticated content, it cannot as de Kadt (1992) argues, be taken for granted as simply a neutral instrument for passing on information about reality, but rather is closely implicated in the power relations of society that sidelining it on the basis of lack of structures and resources as the interviewees postulated, would be denying the speakers thereof freedom of expression in Parliament. If the South African government was willing to develop the structures to enhance the use of African languages, it would have done so some years back. The denial of the use of African languages on account of lack of structures could be interpreted as lack of political will and commitment towards the use of African languages in Parliament.

Although there was unanimous agreement among the interviewees that English is dominant and African languages are sidelined in Parliament, some MPs, for example, Respondent #9 and Respondent #1, indicated that there are some MPs who try to use their mother tongue (African languages). It is unfortunate that only a few of them do it.

Respondent #4 and others argue that English should monopolize in Parliament for it is convenient to use it, it is easy, it is cheap, and it is a global national *lingua franca*.

The fact that English is easy should be treated as an ideology which works against the appreciation of all other languages. The truth is that Africans find it easy to learn African languages as they are related to each other, rather than learning English or any other foreign Eurocentric language. English, Portuguese and French remain difficult for the majority of Africans to master. Kunene (1992) indicates that only 24% of the Mozambican population, as per the National Census conducted in 1980, speaks Portuguese, which is the only official language of the country. Webb (1998a) points out that in South Africa, only 25% of Black South Africans have a reasonably effective proficiency in English. Less than 10 per cent of the entire Namibian population, according to Cluver (1993) knows English. As a result, the introduction of English as national, official language in Namibia disempowered the various Namibian indigenous ethnic groups which this policy otherwise intended to unite.

The Namibian language situation, as analyzed by Cluver, clearly shows that when a new foreign language has been introduced as an official language in a multilingual setting, it renders the other languages insignificant. This is especially ironic because the introduced language is intended to unify a nation. This will also ultimately happen in South Africa if English continues as the only language of communication and records in the South African Parliament.

Contrary to what Respondent #4 alludes to, i.e. it is cheap to use English, renowned African sociolinguists, such as Heugh (1997 & 1998), Webb (1998), Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1989 & 1998), Mateene Kahombo (1996), Alexander (1995 & 1997), Kunene (1992) and Prah (1995 & 1997) envision a larger picture. Their

argument is that there won't be real development in Africa without the integration of national languages and the consequent full participation of the citizens.

The fact that English is a global language should therefore not be used to dominate the national indigenous languages as the masses will only develop when their languages are used. For example, the LANGTAG Report (1996, p.93) points out that research in Australia demonstrated that invaluable expertise which people have is under-utilized because employers cannot recognize such expertise when ideas are limited to transmission in one language.

In both South Africa and Namibia, citizens seriously challenge the marginalization of their languages. Motau (1993) strongly expresses how he perceives language as a tool for his empowerment and what he expects the government to be doing as a result:

... I want to communicate with the government in my own language, in the language I understand best. I want to listen to Parliamentary speeches in isiZulu. I do not wish to hear big, bombastic English or Afrikaans words that I do not understand, and I do not like interpreters. ...How the government will provide for isiZulu as a national official language is a matter that needs their attention and it will be resolved by them. I have merely stated my language needs as a citizen of a future South Africa. (p.218)

Swarts (1996) says that where English is given preference and allowed to dominate all other languages in a multilingual and multicultural setting, the indigenous African languages stagnate and fossilize. A Namibian citizen recorded in Swarts (1996) makes a case for his/her language to be used:

Our politicians should not speak to our people in English. Our languages have no official role anymore. We experience the strange situation that a politician originally from the north and Oshiwambo-speaking goes to the north and delivers his speech in English and is translated into Oshiwambo! (p.15)

Since science and technology as well as internet and computers are in English, as Respondent #9 pointed out, Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1998), in responding to a situation where this technology is not available in African languages, argues that a whole people are denied access as this technology is stored in foreign languages. Ngugi wa Thiong'o encourages and motivates African scholars to interpret and translate the knowledge they have accumulated from foreign countries (which he says are still stored in European granaries) into African languages for proper accessibility to the latest developments in science and technology, for the development of African masses.

Respondent #4's position is not different from the one that he expressed in arguing for English as a functional language in South Africa. Despite the contributions made by sociolinguists in South Africa, for example, de Kadt (1992) who sees the ever increasing dominance of English as running the danger of contributing to a perpetuation of the constraints on the autonomy of the South Africans, Marivate (1993, pp.342-343) is of the opinion that only English in South Africa could serve in cross-cultural communication as a "functional language". In arguing for the ex-colonial languages as the languages that should dominate the indigenous African languages, he said that in other countries French or German or Spanish could be utilized depending on the colonial powers which dominated those cultures in their early histories. He stressed that English is the means of acquiring knowledge and therefore the only language which is, "a window through which one can peep at the international arena."

Respondent #4 is not the only politician in Africa who regards a colonial language to be the only language adequate to serve as the sole official language. The Prime Minister of Zambia, Nolumino Mundia, in congratulating SWAPO of Namibia for the choice of English as the sole official language, used both the cost and conflict as the basis for his argument. He said:

I am glad that SWAPO has opted for English as an official language, for basic practical reasons. It has, I feel, been correct in resisting the costly, futile, and potentially divisive option of giving pre-eminence to one local African language. (Quoted in Phillipson, 1993, p.284)

It should be mentioned that Respondent #4 and the Zambian Prime Minister Nolumino Mundia do not understand that the languages that are being used empower those who speak them. Africans will not be fully empowered through a second or a foreign language. It is not only political power that goes with language, but also, economic and educational power. To endorse colonial languages as official languages is denying Africans proper political participation and depriving them of their economy, as language is also a resource (Webb, 1994; Matsela, 1995). Both Respondent #4's and Prime Minister Nolumino Mundia's perceptions differ greatly from views of opponents of the English-Only movement in the United States of America. Combs and Lynch (1990) contend that it is English Plus and not English-Only in the USA that holds better promise for a unified society. They indicate that linguistic and ethnic differences are a positive force. They ultimately argue for a multilingual policy as against a unilingual policy where English is regarded as the only official language.

The argument for gradual implementation of the eleven language policy was advanced by a number of MPs, such as Respondent #9 and Respondent #1.

They contend that the process of using all languages should not be speeded up for it may cause unnecessary resentment. Therefore, the Constitutional policy should be allowed to unfold more gradually. The danger about this scenario would be that while all the other languages are sidelined, English would be entrenching itself to such an extent that bringing back the other languages at a later stage would be more difficult (if not impossible) than trying to use them together with English now. People will always develop a preference for the language that has been in use. The status quo will be difficult to change once it has solidified.

The same outcome could result if the implementation strategy advocated by MPs such as Respondent #9 were allowed to prevail. This would be a scenario, considered “diplomatic” by Respondent #9, whereby the current language practice in Parliament would be allowed to continue so that Parliament’s dictates would be used to determine Parliamentary language policy in the long run. However, if this scenario is entertained, only English will continue to serve as the language of Parliament as it has already been endowed with such a function, for example, it is already the agreed-upon language of record.

The language situation in Parliament could lead to what de Kadt (1992) regards as the most dangerous power of language, the “signitive” power, which she defines as covert power that language exercises over its speakers. de Kadt (1992) further describes the signitive power of language thus:

Although this power is inherent to any language, in a given society a dominant language may become ‘imperialistic’ and prescribes ‘its’ reality to speakers of other languages. (p.10)

This is the power that derives from the fact that reality can be constructed at a subconscious level. When one particular language is used, a spontaneous impression could be created that the dominant language is dominating by consent and not by coercion. If the South African Parliamentary language situation is neglected or allowed to continue as it is, the signitive power of English would amass to an extent that individual Parliamentarians and citizens would deny any language other than English an opportunity to be utilized in Parliament.

Respondent #9 is of the opinion that the language issue in South Africa is so delicate that it should not be settled through force or compulsion as happened during the time of apartheid. While Respondent #9 makes this observation, one must take cognizance of the fact that in some cases, especially where ex-colonial languages had entrenched themselves and where negative attitudes towards African languages had amassed, a policy to enforce people to learn a language of the majority should be established and implemented. What happened during the apartheid era was inhuman that people were forced to learn the languages of the minorities as it is the case today with English. English is imposed both implicitly and explicitly on the South African Parliamentarians while their languages remain silenced and sidelined.

Again Respondent #9 argues in terms of the weakness of the Constitution for not stipulating and confining the government to a certain time frame to have the language policy implemented. This also demonstrates a lack of willingness to implement such a democratic and multilingual language policy as enshrined in the Constitution. The absence of time frame for the implementation of this policy,

if the government was willing to implement it, would be used as a strength rather than a weakness; for such a vibrant language policy could be implemented within a short space of time. In other words since there is no specified time frame for this language policy to be implemented, it could be implemented sooner than it would have been stipulated.

The FF (the Afrikaans conservative wing in Parliament) representatives who were interviewed strongly challenged and attacked the government for its language policy. Their claim is that this policy ended up granting English the status which is perceived to be official at the expense of the other ten languages. Both Respondent #15 and Respondent #16 argue that instead of having English becoming the language of record, it should be Afrikaans, because Afrikaans and not English, is one of the South African indigenous languages. What is interesting in their argument is that both of them believe that only the indigenous languages should serve as official languages. To pursue this reality, i.e. the fact that only indigenous languages deserve to be official languages, they had to prove and justify that indeed Afrikaans is one of the legitimate indigenous languages in South Africa unlike English. Respondent #16 argued:

... English is not the indigenous language. English is from Britain... But Afrikaans has been written here as indigenous language. ... We actually talk of ten indigenous languages and one foreign language which is English.

Although both Respondent #16 and Respondent #15 argue that Afrikaans is one of the South African indigenous languages, it must, however, be pointed out that while it originated in South Africa, linguistically it does not belong to the Bantu language family in which all the South African indigenous languages are

classified. In terms of its linguistic features, it could be classified as one of the Germanic languages.

4.1.2. Obstacles in the promotion and elevation of the status of African languages

Various Members of Parliament argued that for now, and for the foreseeable future, it is going to be very difficult to utilize any one of the African languages extensively because there is no one African language that is commonly shared by all Parliamentarians. This section will discuss the obstacles which are perceived as barriers to the promotion of African languages as enshrined in the Constitution.

4.1.2.1. Affordability

The majority of the Parliamentarians indicated that although they would support what the Constitution demands, it should be borne in mind that it is costly to publish every document in eleven official languages. Respondent #9 proposed that South Africa should consider what Namibia and the other African countries are doing, i.e. to have one language used for official purpose, as now tens of billions of Rands are already spent annually in publishing in two languages (Afrikaans and English). He further asked if money should not be spent on the health care system, education, and in clamping down crime, rather than spending it on duplicating documents in eleven languages. This issue arises, he argued, because money is scarce and limited. Consequently, the government has to

make proper choices and come up with projects that are priority. Respondent #9 elaborated:

Now you can take all the money that you want; use it in one place or somewhere else, but there are so many competing needs. And if we consider that in this country, as I told you earlier on, 63% of the Black people, 38% of the Colored people, 5% of the Indian community and 1% of the White community are below the poverty line ... Now what is the government's responsibility? To look at the most basic needs? Or is it to make sure that people have food, people have jobs...

Respondent #9 emphasized that although there was an uproar of disapproval in Parliament when an announcement was made that English will be the only language of record in Parliament, the decision was made in order to minimize the cost that would be incurred had all the official languages been accorded this function.

The point that Respondent #9 is making here, is similar to the view held by Respondent #4 who argued that having all the eleven languages as official is just but too expensive, that the government does not have money for the translation of documents into eleven languages.

Respondent #10 who perceived cost as one of the essential factors in determining the status of languages, said that since Parliament is using taxpayers' money, it should not be extravagant in using it to have documents in all the eleven official languages. Respondent #10, like Respondent #9, regards the decision for English as the only language of record in Parliament as the most appropriate one. Respondent #10 also pointed out that languages are not used equally in Parliament or elsewhere in South Africa because of the lack of an efficient interpreting system that would require a lot of money.

Respondent #14, in support of the view that it would be extremely expensive in Parliament to translate all the documents into eleven official languages, pointed out that his party settled for one language of record, which is English, in order to avoid a huge cost that the government would otherwise incur. He said that the government should begin to direct money towards the development and promotion of languages. Respondent #14 further said that the catering budget in Parliament should be cut in half to fund the process of development and promotion of languages in Parliament.

Respondent #2, elaborating on the financial impossibility of using all eleven official languages in Parliament, indicated that the implications would be enormous, for there would need to be big libraries and archives in Parliament to store all the documents that would be in different languages.

In recognition of the cost-conscious reality that only one official language has been chosen as the language of record, Respondent #2 made a call to academics to provide a practical solution, so that this situation would not lead to the marginalization of other official languages.

She suggested that one strategy for minimizing cost and at the same time using all the languages would be to alternate the languages monthly. Her “language of the month proposal” might have Xitsonga in January, in February, Afrikaans, in March, Setswana, and so on. At the same time English would remain a common denominator; i.e. all the languages used on a monthly basis would be translated into English.

This idea was also echoed by Respondent #11 who maintained that English should remain the language of record throughout the year, while all other languages rotate monthly. He further indicated that when money becomes available, then more languages could be utilized each month.

Respondent #2 indicated that there are some political parties in Parliament, especially the Afrikaner dominated parties, which are opposed to the choice of English as a language of record in spite of the minimization of cost. In opposing and challenging what such parties are fighting for, she argued:

...but we are saying if every material has to be printed in Afrikaans, then it has to be printed in isiXhosa or in Tshivenda [*and all other official languages as well* – my emphasis] because this is a national government.

Respondent #15 also mentioned cost to be a stumbling block towards using and elevating the status of all other official languages except English in Parliament. He believed that it is not possible to have a document like HANSARD translated into all eleven official languages. As he further pointed out, it is even financially difficult to have the committee rooms equipped with the interpreting facilities.

Respondent #3 of the ANC and Respondent #16 of the FF took a different view and pointed out that cost should not stop Parliamentarians or the government from implementing the demands of the Constitution. Respondent #16 said that those who were responsible for the drawing of the Constitution knew before it was finalized and adopted what it would take to have all the languages equally promoted. He went further to say had government taken the issue of cost as a stumbling block towards the realization of what the Constitution requires, then there would be a legitimate argument about cost. Although

Respondent #16 acknowledged that it could be expensive to promote and use all eleven official languages equally in Parliament, he maintained that since the government is already spending a lot of money on worthless projects (for example, he says that R28 Million was spent on the building of a tarred road to a monument subway), such funds should be channeled to the promotion of languages and for the development of the interpreting facilities that would not only promote, but enhance and bring about the elevation of the status of languages other than English in Parliament.

Respondent #12 blamed the government (ANC) for failing to have the priorities set right in the budget. She identified three areas which the government should target; knowledge creation, job creation, and safety and security. She explained that knowledge creation would include areas such as the field of language planning as well as language development. She argued that if cost was an issue in the development and promotion of languages, the government should have begun with four languages as official languages. These languages should have been English, Afrikaans, one of the Nguni languages and one of the Sotho languages. She claimed that it is not a question of cost, but a lack of political will to promote and develop the African languages.

Respondent #4 who emphasized that English should not only serve as the language of record, but of communication as well, pointed out that this policy is the only one that would be sustainable in terms of cost and time in Parliament.

4.1.2.2. Attitudes towards African languages

Respondent #3 indicated that one who speaks in Tshivenda or any other African language in Parliament is perceived as uneducated and uncivilized, while those who invariably speak in English are said to be well informed and better educated. He regarded colonization as the primary cause of negative attitudes towards African languages. He stated that people do not feel honored when using their African languages. It is not only those who are in power who denigrate African languages as languages of communication, commerce and education, but the educated elite as well.

Respondent #7, like Respondent #8, also argued that because of colonization, Black South Africans see themselves as inferior to their white counterparts. He said that apartheid also created negative attitudes towards African languages since languages were used as tools for a divide and rule policy. As he elaborated, the government created homelands and the so-called independent states (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (TBVC)) within South Africa using language as the basis for creating these political entities. He explained that now that people are building a new South Africa, they no longer feel at ease when using their African languages because they feel that they are perpetuating the apartheid policy. Consequently, they regard a European language (English) as superior.

Respondent #2 argued that people, including Parliamentarians, tend to think that they look more dignified when they communicate in a language other than their native African tongues. She said that such attitudes could be traced

back to the history of South Africa where elevated status was associated with proficiency in English. Respondent #2 argued that such perceptions are difficult to eradicate.

Respondent #5 made a similar point when stating that there are still perceptions that emerged as a result of the South African historical past, that those who speak in English are civilized. She said that because of these attitudes, many Parliamentarians do not use their mother tongue in Parliament but prefer to use English. Respondent #5 furthermore stated that although one cannot be comfortable expressing himself or herself in a language other than one's mother tongue, it is surprising that in Parliament, even where there are interpreting facilities, Parliamentarians still ignore their mother tongue for English. She expressed her disappointment in the top leadership of those parties whose supporters are Blacks. They go to the villages and sideline village languages, using English in order to look and sound different from their communities. She indicated that this situation in which the top leadership is marginalizing African languages, does not motivate an ordinary MP to use the indigenous African languages in Parliament.

4.1.2.3. African languages and corpus planning

Respondent #12 maintained that since African languages, which she called "cultural languages" are still underdeveloped, they could not be utilized in Parliament. She said that African languages lack the vocabulary that could be used in various fields – hence it becomes difficult to use them in Parliament. A

similar observation was made by Respondent #7 who said that one of the constraints in using African languages is lack of the terminology required in the deliberations and speeches in Parliament.

In further justifying why English should be a dominant language in Parliament, Respondent #9 cited the underdevelopment of African languages as the main obstacle to their use. He stated that since the Parliamentarians' talks are not always on the level of social conversation, even where there are translating facilities it becomes difficult for translators to do this task efficiently. He stated:

...we are dealing with technical and intricate aspects. Therefore, to be able to translate technical terms, legal terms quickly and efficiently, so that everyone understands, is not always possible.

He illustrated how cumbersome translation could turn out to be by citing an example in which a Minister has to respond to a question posed in a language (other than English) which he/she does not understand. He demonstrated that such a Minister would quickly look around for the earphone, press the right button for the translation, and try to work out what it is that the Member is asking. Sometimes it happens, as Respondent #9 elaborated, that the translator fails or the translation services fail because of a technical problem, to such an extent that the speaker has to repeat the question, usually in English for the Minister to properly understand such a question. Respondent #9 stressed that the translation barrier is that minutes, records and all other official documents are highly obtainable in either English or Afrikaans in Parliament, and consequently,

those who have low proficiency in these two languages find it difficult to translate into their mother tongue.

Respondent #2 blamed the education system designed by the Afrikaner regime for Black people as the major reason that Black people in South Africa did not develop formal communication or conversation in their own languages. The marginalization of African languages in Parliament, as she said, can be attributed to the fact that these languages were never used in formal conversation. Thus, they never grew with culture. New concepts were introduced in another medium, which happened to be either Afrikaans or English.

In addressing the question of the development of African languages, Respondent #2 states that there should be an Africanization of the new concepts, which would require the conscious participation of the masses. She further pointed out that in Parliament Black people find it difficult to translate some of the concepts which are only in English or Afrikaans into their own languages.

Respondent #2 argued that since Parliamentarians are always under time constraint, they end up resorting to English instead of their own languages, as it is difficult to have the relevant concepts that they would otherwise use in their deliberations in Parliament. She stated:

It means you must sit; you must give yourself extra time to look for those concepts and for those words that you are going to use ... In addition it requires extra concentration.

Respondent #2 argued that it is not only demanding and taxing to a Parliamentarian to prepare his/her speech in an African language, it is also difficult for interpreters and translators to interpret and translate such a speech

into English because of the lack of relevant and sufficient jargon in African languages. At times interpreters and translators are confronted with expressions or terms in African languages that they have never seen or heard before. Since Afrikaans and English, unlike African languages, developed with the culture, it is not difficult to make speeches in them for they have the required terminology.

She strongly emphasized:

The Afrikaner does not have to write the speech in advance and give it to the interpreter. We (*those who speak African languages* – My emphasis) have to do that; otherwise your message won't reach the people you're talking to. So, it is a double job, and people outside do not understand this aspect. They just think that because I am a Muvenda, if I want to make an address in Parliament, I must speak in Tshivenda and I must flow. It is not like that; it means I must prepare in Tshivenda and give my speech to an interpreter in advance, which means if I want to change my ideas, I can't change... I have to stick to what I have written, which is unfair. If you want to add, you can't; you can't deviate. There is no flexibility when you speak in our own mother tongue...

Respondent #2 explained that the interpreters and the translators who work in Parliament are not formally trained. There is no formal accreditation for interpreters in South Africa. This is a major problem. Further, she argued that Black people (those who speak African languages as their mother tongue) have not developed the skill to express themselves formally in their own languages. It is easy for them to give colloquial speeches, but not formal speeches in Parliament, which will require very technical terms and a different style from the colloquial one. Respondent #2 states:

... Parliament speeches are not colloquial speeches; they are formal speeches which must be dignified like our fathers when they speak in our traditional courts. The type of language that they use to bring forth the message is the type of language that we have to use in Parliament. How many of our people have that rich background?

Respondent #3 and Respondent #8, both of the ANC, held a different view. To Respondent #3, it is difficult to deliberate in English in Parliament since English has words that, according to him, are difficult to understand and apply to local situations. He said that words like *globalization*, *workshop*, etc., are not only difficult for some of those in Parliament, but also to a larger extent to those that voted the MPs to represent them in Parliament. Respondent #3 argued that it would be easy and simple to use African languages in Parliament if the Parliamentarians would not spend a lot of time searching for words whose meaning they do not understand.

According to Respondent #3 and Respondent #8, African languages have been fully developed and therefore have all the necessary words that could be used by Parliamentarians if they so wish. Both of these Parliamentarians indicated that the obstacle in Parliament today is not the lack of development of African languages, but negative attitudes towards these languages. African languages were utilized as languages of Parliament in Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei, Gazankulu and Lebowa during the apartheid era. Yet there was no problem related to the development of these languages until now that we have a democratic government. Both interviewees said that there is no empirical evidence to justify the lack of scientific terms in African languages. One must therefore look elsewhere to account for their marginalization in Parliament.

4.1.2.4. Problem of mindset

Respondent #3 said that the thinking of the Africans has been crippled by colonization. He argued that colonizers not only degraded everything African, but created conditions in Africa that forced the Africans to hate and look down upon themselves as people, and subsequently despise their customs, their culture and their languages. Although Respondent #3 strongly pointed out that it would be easy and simple for the Parliamentarians to discuss issues of concern in their own languages (African languages), he said that unfortunately some of the Parliamentarians have a different understanding. Discussing the consequences of this mindset in his African language, Tshivenda, Respondent #3 argued:

Vhurereli na pfunzo ye ra newa yone zwo diswa kha rine zwo shandiwa. Zwino ndi ngazwo zwine vha vhona na namusi hafha Phalamenndeni muthu u pfa u nga ri hezwi musi a tshi amba nga Tshivenda kana nga Tshizulu, u nga ri ha khou pfiwa; ngeno hu na uri ndi lwone luambo lune a pfiwa ngalwo. Na vhathu hangei nnda, vha pfa dzenedzo nyambo u fhirisa Tshikhuwa; ngauri ri tshi amba nga Tshikhuwa hafha Phalamenndeni, vhathu nnda a vha ri pfi; vha vhona zwifhatuwo zwashu na mivhili yashu fhedzi, zwine ra khou amba a vha tou zwi fara u fhirisa arali ri tshi khou tou amba nga Tshivenda, Tshibeli, Tshitshangana, kana Tshizulu kana Tshithoza; ngauri arali ri tshi amba nga hedzi nyambo, vhathu vha a kona u ri pfesesa zwavhudi.

[TRANSLATION INTO ENGLISH]

Both religion and education given to us were brought to us twisted. That explains what you see here today in Parliament. A person feels that when he or she speaks in Tshivenda or in isiZulu, it is like he or she is not understood. Yet it is the language through which he or she could be understood. And people outside understand those languages better than English, for when we speak in English here in Parliament, people outside there do not understand us. They only see our faces and our bodies. Unlike when we speak in Tshivenda, Sepedi, Shangaan or isiZulu or isiXhosa they do not understand us, because when we speak in these languages (Tshivenda, Shangaan, isiZulu or isiXhosa) people understand us better.

In conclusion Respondent #3 mentioned that true liberation and democracy will only prevail when people have the rights and freedom to use their own languages. As he further pointed out, as long as people do not change their mindset and begin to use their own languages, the attainment of liberation and freedom will remain artificial.

Respondent #2 pointed out that the use of languages in Parliament has been traditionally associated with the use of “languages which are not ours” (non-African languages). Colonial languages have been used and accepted as official languages and consequently, languages used in Parliament.

Respondent #10, who talked about the decolonization of the mind if ever African languages were to be used and promoted in Parliament, indicated that people still prefer the use of English. He said that a person who stands up in Parliament and speaks in his or her mother tongue, an African language, such a person would appear less than a human being. Respondent #10 indicated that as a result of this type of mindset, when such Parliamentarians stand up to speak in Parliament, they apologize for their use of a language other than English or Afrikaans. Respondent #10 explained the challenge of this type of situation:

...The person stands up and apologizes that he will speak in Zulu. Why apologize? Why is he being apologetic? You see, such mentality we must get rid of if we want to promote our languages.

PERSONAL REFLECTIONS AND CRITIQUE

Tollefson (1991, p.33) maintains that the neoclassical assumption that language planners base their decisions on costs and benefits ignores, and at the same time undermines, the political structure that might explain the composition of language planning bodies, their interests, as well as their goals. In language planning, therefore, other variables come into play when the choice of language to serve as either official or national language is made.

As Tollefson argues, it is not necessarily resources that determine language choice. This could be clearly related to what Respondent #9 implicitly was referring to when questioning whether money should be spent on clamping down crime, creating jobs, health care, education or promotion and development of languages. Respondent #9 revealed that these are competing needs that the government has to be sensitive and careful about when it comes to its prioritization. He also pointed out that the majority of South Africans are still living below the poverty line. This by implication means that although the government might have enough money, other projects, and not language promotion should receive more serious attention.

Respondent #16 confirmed what Tollefson says in indicating that money should not be used as a stumbling block towards the implementation of the eleven language policy in South Africa since the government knew what it would take financially before the finalization and adoption of the Constitution in 1996. He further said that a lot of money is used for something not as important as language promotion and development. While acknowledging that money is

essential in the promotion and elevation of the status of the historically marginalized indigenous South African languages, it should not be used to justify the marginalization of African languages in Parliament as the majority of MPs could participate meaningfully when their languages are used.

Alternatives have been mentioned to minimize the cost of languages in Parliament and the government does not seem to entertain them. For example, a “language of the month” proposal could, as the interviewees mentioned, be economically viable and feasible.

Another proposal was for adding two African languages; one from the Nguni languages and another one from the Sotho languages to English and Afrikaans.

If cost was a factor that prohibits the government from using African languages, the government would (if it was willing to use African languages) adopt these proposals that appear to be well thought out and relevant to the South African language situation, especially at the national level.

Respondent #1 mentioned that the budget for the PANSALB would be doubled in the year 2000 for it to be more effective in its responsibility for the development and promotion of languages in general. However, the PANSALB does not seem to have any programs directed towards the promotion and development of languages in Parliament. The broad scope of language development and promotion that this body is intended to cover remains an arduous task that ultimately renders the PANSALB ineffective. For example,

there are many languages in South Africa apart from the official ones that need serious attention, some of which face possible extinction (Crawhall, 1998).

African languages will only be used in Parliament when there is a political will to do so. Otherwise costs will be used as a stumbling block towards the implementation of the South African language policy.

Negative attitudes towards African languages have been created since African languages have been downgraded even by those who are supposed to promote them as the interviews in this study demonstrated. Unfortunately the denial of the use of the African languages due to negative attitudes towards them makes the promotion and elevation of the status of such indigenous languages difficult, not only at the national government level, but in the provincial and local governments as well.

It is paradoxical to have MPs who are supposed to implement the South African language policy with negative attitudes towards the languages that the Constitution has deemed official languages. It is because of English's perceived high status in South Africa that indigenous languages are denigrated as languages associated with backwardness, ethnicity, poor standards, poor media of instruction and international unacceptability. McDermott (1998) argues that attitudes such as these, where English among others, is considered an instrument for entering the international arena and its "superiority" as the medium of instruction, economic development, political development, etc. are no more than linguistic colonialism and ultimately a denial of a basic human right – the right to use one's mother tongue. As McDermott indicates, this has far reaching

consequences for one uses a mother tongue to conceptualize. English should be perceived as a language of oppression for it is because of the “English is best” myth that many indigenous Africans want to rid themselves of their Africanness which has been so undermined and devalued by the colonial machine (McDermott, 1998, p.111). English should be challenged for its position as an international language in relation to the South African situation since the average South African does not need access to the international arena to fulfil himself or herself.

Negative attitudes towards African languages also prevailed in Namibia after independence where African languages were marginalized in favor of English as the sole official language (Putz, 1995). Swarts (1996) argues that people in Namibia continued to develop negative attitudes towards African languages as English was the only official language while the Ministry was doing nothing about the situation. In Namibia if you knew English well, you would be considered educated, whereas if you knew Namibian languages, even though you knew several of them and spoke them well, you would still be considered dumb and uneducated (Swarts, 1996, p.11).

It is self-evident that there won't be any preference for African languages in national, provincial and local governments if the judicial, legislative and executive arms of the African state and bureaucracy are conducted in European languages. Colonial languages would be perceived as passports to success in politics, economies and education (Swarts, 1996; Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1998).

The Afrikaner apartheid regime contributed to a situation in which African languages are looked down upon. African languages were abused for the purpose of ethnic segregation. Haacke (1987, p.198) argued that, "It would be a short-sighted and perhaps costly fallacy to shrug off this attitude as a passing one which is symptomatic of African states prior to independence." A similar observation was made by de Kadt (1992) who stated that although the South African apartheid regime was the main cause for the negative attitudes towards African languages in South Africa, simply removing apartheid laws will not miraculously restore languages to freedom, just as it has not transformed the South African situation.

van Bergh (1968) argued that negative language attitudes in South Africa were not only created by the apartheid government, but also by the Black intelligensia who conformed to Westernization and adopted attitudes of "cultural shame" toward indigenous cultures. van Bergh stated that the South African freedom movements were unashamedly eclectic in ideology and organization, and anti-traditional in tactics and aims.

Smitherman (1997), like other sociolinguists, believes that Members of Parliament can bring about positive attitudes towards the use of African languages. After realizing that 87% of the speeches delivered in the first parliamentary session of newly-Democratic South Africa were in English, she warns that this should not become a pattern. She, however, states that Black Members of Parliament should take leadership in using the languages of their

nurture in Parliamentary deliberations and discussions (Smitherman, 1997, pp.30-31).

It is only when the government of the day demonstrates its love and appreciation for African languages that positive attitudes towards African languages could develop. When the top leadership of the parties in Parliament begins to use African languages in speeches and in discussing political matters, the subordinate members will become motivated and encouraged to use African languages.

The decision for making English a language of record in Parliament was arrived at partly because of the positive attitudes towards English, and negative attitudes towards other official languages. It won't be easy therefore to reverse this decision because of the embedded negative attitudes towards both Afrikaans and the indigenous South African languages that are supposed to serve as official languages in Parliament. The former, i.e. Afrikaans is still perceived as the language of the oppressor, while African languages are associated with the discredited and rejected policies of apartheid.

To create positive attitudes towards all other languages, the government will have to take very aggressive steps and perhaps require each Parliamentarian to have knowledge of at least one African language. Otherwise without incentives or motivation for learning and using African languages in Parliament, there is absolutely no reason why Parliamentarians would feel compelled and motivated to learn or at least to use these languages in

Parliament. The Parliament must therefore see to it that such negative attitudes towards African languages are addressed.

The interviewees presented different views as to the development or underdevelopment of indigenous African languages. Respondent #12, Respondent #2, and Respondent #7, among others, argued that African languages are still underdeveloped and because of that cannot be utilized in Parliament. Respondent #12 argued that both Afrikaans and English can be the only languages used in Parliament as a result. Although Respondent #2 maintained that English and Afrikaans are developed languages, she, however, maintained that only English be utilized in Parliament. Respondent #2 like the majority of South Africans, perceives Afrikaans as the language of the oppressor. On the other hand, Respondent #3 and Respondent #8 expressed that the nine African languages that have been accorded official status are fully developed and must therefore be used in Parliament. Respondent #3 and Respondent #8 indicated that it is difficult to deliver speeches in English since English is not a mother tongue of the majority in Parliament.

While acknowledging that some of the South African languages are not as yet fully developed, as Respondent #3 and Respondent #8 perceive it, all the nine indigenous South African languages that have been accorded official status are fully developed. These nine indigenous South African languages were used during the apartheid era in the homelands as official languages. The apartheid government established the so-called independent states and in the Parliaments of such states, African languages, rather than colonial languages, were

dominant. The fact that African languages were never used at the Parliamentary level and in formal conversation as Respondent #9 and Respondent #2 said, therefore, remains a fallacy that should be dismissed. In some of these states, for example, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, and Venda, African languages served as official languages for more than a decade. Even before the status of being "independent states" was allocated to these Bantustans, other homelands like Lebowa, Gazankulu and others were using African languages as official languages. The use of African languages in such homelands was imperative as the apartheid regime, in most cases, only appointed chiefs and headmen who hardly spoke English or Afrikaans, to be leaders in the respective homelands and the so-called independent states.

During this period of apartheid, African languages proved their worth as languages of education, economy, religion, law, etc. Speeches, bills and acts were made and discussed in African languages in homeland Parliaments. New terminology emerged. Although apartheid was a problem, Africans could discuss their affairs in their own languages. Nowhere in the homeland Parliaments did the problem of terminology exist, nor were there any reports of such a problem. It is only after the democratic government of South Africa was ushered in that the officials excluded African languages from use on account of lack of terminology. This reflects a deeper problem than just lack of terminology.

Another important indicator of the fact that African languages are fully developed is the translation of the Bible into African languages. Long ago the Bible was translated into all the nine indigenous South African languages that

have been accorded official status. Interestingly enough, the Bible was translated into African languages by the missionaries who were not trained in linguistics. Such missionaries, who got assistance from some individual Black Africans, managed to produce documents that testify to the viability and adequacy of African languages in expressing whatever context or setting of any period of human history.

There is a lot of literature, especially fiction, in the indigenous African languages. There are outstanding scholars of these languages. These languages have been taught in more than twenty institutions of higher learning in South Africa. Some of these languages, for example, isiZulu, Sesotho, and Setswana have been taught abroad for a long time.

The belief that African languages are still underdeveloped is an ideology designed to keep not only African languages, but Black people who speak those languages, from participation in politics and economies. Unfortunately even high ranking MPs believe that African languages are not as yet developed. For example, Respondent #1 believes that the language policy of the apartheid government contributed to the underdevelopment of African languages as he argues that there has been a very systematic and conscious oppression of African languages in South Africa. Contrary to this belief, the South African regime, through its divide and rule policy, ended up developing African languages. Ironically, these measures provided a space for the continued development of African languages. The South African regime established language boards for each and every major language spoken in South Africa in

1962 in order to keep Africans divided and independent from each other.

Although it was not the intention of the apartheid government to develop African languages as such, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) which accommodated individual languages, did much for the development of African languages. The underdevelopment of African languages, therefore, cannot be used as an excuse for not utilizing them in Parliament.

Comparison should be made to the history of Afrikaans which became an official language in 1925 (Cluver, n.d.; Alexander, 1989; Moodie, 1975; McDermott, 1998). The level of development of Afrikaans, when it became official, was far much below that of the South African indigenous languages today. Cluver (n.d.) reported that Afrikaans was actually written fifty years after some of the South African indigenous languages were written. Yet there was no imposed halt on it for its development to take place before it served as an official language. It is only when African languages are to serve as official languages in Parliament that questions as to their development arise. It must also be pointed out that the struggle to recognize Afrikaans as an official language was waged long before 1925.

Respondent #9 and Respondent #2 argued that translation and interpretation are difficult; i.e. it is difficult to interpret and translate into African languages. This statement reflects the linguisticism of English speakers as it unambiguously demonstrates that translations and interpretations should only be done from English into African languages. It reflects a mindset which in itself becomes a problem towards the use of African languages in Parliament.

The new government of South Africa must strive to have translators and interpreters trained. Those who work in Parliament are not formally trained, as there has never been formal accreditation for interpreters and translators in South Africa. The eleven language policy will require trained and professional translators and interpreters for its implementation to be effective at the national level.

The colonized mind of the Africans is discussed and challenged by Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1989) who metaphorically writes that there is a deliberate disassociation of the language of conceptualization, of thinking, of formal education, of mental development from the language of daily interaction in the home and in the community in Africa. He sarcastically pointed out in defining this situation that it is like separating the mind from the body; so that they are two unrelated linguistic spheres occupying the body of the same person. On a larger social scale, as he further explains, it is like producing a society of bodiless heads and headless bodies. Ngugi wa Thiong'o asserts that his struggle is therefore to restore the harmony between all the aspects and divisions of language for the development of humanity.

Respondent #4 believes that it is the religion and education that were given by the missionaries which colonized the mind of the Africans. Africans began to develop negative attitudes towards everything African and developed "foreign is better attitudes." Exoglossic languages were favored as they are even today, while endoglossic languages were despised. It is no wonder why in the South African Parliament today English is being used when the languages of the

majority are marginalized by those who are not only supposed to promote them, but more importantly, by the L1 speakers of those indigenous African languages.

4.1.3. The Government's efforts to achieve the Constitutional demands

The interviewees acknowledged the difficulties and stumbling blocks that impede the implementation of the South African eleven language policy at the national or Parliamentary level. However, the Parliamentarians also pointed out the government's accomplishments during the first five years in which it has been in power.

According to the interviewees, the government has been engaged in projects for the development and promotion of African languages and in eradicating the false perception that multilingualism is a problem.

The government's endeavors have been largely in the following areas:

4.1.3.1. to encourage multilingualism and national unity

4.1.3.2. to promote and develop African languages

4.1.3.1. Encouraging multilingualism and national unity

The interviewees maintained that the Parliament, acting on a requirement of the Constitution, setup the PANSALB which functions as an interactive agent through which all communities and role players will be committed to advance the use of various languages of the country. All the interviewees regarded multilingualism as a valuable asset that should be encouraged in South Africa.

Respondent #9 said, "The government is very conscious of the fact that all languages should be promoted because we see language as an asset belonging to the nation. We see each language as having a significant purpose in the cultural life of our people..." The interviewees pointed out that the PANSALB was established as an instrument to encourage and promote multilingualism in South Africa; and as they argued, once people begin to learn and speak each other's language, they will reconcile and unite.

Respondent #16 also mentioned that in South Africa there is diversity of cultures and that there is no other way to know each other except in learning each other's culture and language.

According to Respondent #1, one of the major roles of the PANSALB is to ensure that multiculturalism and multilingualism are protected. He said that the PANSALB should see to it that there is a promotion of diversity in the country.

This observation was also made by Respondent #12 who said that the duty of the PANSALB is to promote multilingualism which she considered to be a wonderful and a very necessary thing to do in South Africa. She stated that the fact that there are people who do not know and understand Afrikaans and English, as well as other languages, compelled the government to establish a Board like this. She said that people would be deprived linguistically and materially if their languages are not used in a multilingual society like that of South Africa. She therefore called for the development and promotion of African languages for the masses in South Africa to use them in all areas including Parliament.

Respondent #2 acknowledged how PANSALB, which according to the new Bill, has to report quarterly to Parliament, should promote multilingualism:

... Promotion of multilingualism means provision of interpretation so that people can speak [*people could freely use their different languages in their deliberations or speeches* – my emphasis]. The PANSALB itself does not go about all over the country and establish such a goal (provision of interpretation). It must encourage other bodies to establish such a goal ... It must encourage institutions like universities to have courses on interpretation and it must monitor it. It must also encourage and monitor industry to introduce interpretations and also to introduce human resource or in-service training courses in the different languages ... Industry needs skill production, not English. There are people in industries who are there to write reports on the basis of production, but a mechanic, a spanner person does not need English proficiency. This is what the PANSALB must encourage.

4.1.3.2. To promote and develop African languages

The Constitution demands that the government, in recognizing the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous African languages of South Africa, must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages (South African Constitution, 1996). Some Parliamentarians, like Respondent #4 and Respondent #9, pointed out that just to recognize and accord nine African languages official status should be perceived of as a positive step towards the realization of what the Constitution decrees.

Respondent #16 referred to the PANSALB Amendment Bill which was recently passed (February 1999) by Parliament. According to Respondent #16, the Bill empowers the Board to subpoena anyone who violates the expectations and demands of the South African language policy as defined in the Constitution.

As he indicated, it is through this Board that the position of English in Parliament could be challenged.

Respondent #4 perceives language equality, defined in the Constitution, as a remarkable step in the promotion of African languages. He, however, mentioned that the real promotion of African languages must take place at provincial level, rather than national level.

Respondent #16 argued that the promotion of languages, particularly African languages, should take place in various provinces where they are used as official languages. He mentioned that the languages in South Africa should be promoted all at once. He said that for Afrikaans and African languages to survive, promoted and recognized, there should be a joint struggle waged against English.

Respondent #2 said that some countries might only recognize the existence and use of African languages but never accord them official status. She argued that the move towards elevating and promoting African languages to the official level, as the ANC government has done, was never taken anywhere in the world. She pointed out that this status (official status) is always given to one language which is in most cases a colonial language in Africa. In South Africa, as she claimed, "We have given all the languages the same status." She also indicated that although the Constitution decrees that all the eleven major languages be official languages, practically not all of these languages could be used in Parliament. She emphasized that although there is a language of record,

no impression should be created that the official status of other languages has been reduced.

The Parliamentarians indicated that National Lexicography Units (NLUs) will serve as the institutes for the development of African languages. The NLUs are dictionary units that the government is planning to establish throughout the country.

Regarding the significance of these units, Respondent #9 indicated that Afrikaans has had a very dynamic dictionary unit at the University of Stellenbosch, and English has had one at Rhodes University in Grahamstown. Both dictionary units were funded by the previous regime to advance the use of these two languages. He said that isiZulu was “poorly” developed and promoted at the University of Natal. He disclosed the intention of the new government towards the development of African languages:

When we came to Parliament in 1994, we recognized that each one of the universities could play an essential role in developing the languages of several ethnic groups within our country. So, we identified that the University of Transkei in Umtata could, for example, become the pivotal point for research into isiXhosa, and the University of Venda could play such a role for Venda and in this way we could help to empower these universities to become central to research and development of the languages.

Respondent #9 considers the development of languages as the step that precedes their promotion or elevation of their status. This observation was also made by Respondent #3 who added that language development itself should be preceded by language preservation (which according to him is to be done through dictionary making) followed by promotion.

Respondent #3 mentioned that although the PANSALB is charged with the responsibility of seeing to it that languages are developed and promoted in South Africa, the development of languages will only be realized when people outside Parliament motivate, encourage and strengthen the government to implement the language policy as enshrined in the Constitution.

PERSONAL REFLECTIONS AND CRITIQUE

Although in most cases, Constitutions of various governments in Africa reflect the Western experience and character where multilingualism and multiculturalism are considered a problem, the interviewees in the South African Parliament reflect a very unique character and understanding of how unity could be enhanced in a multicultural and multilingual country. The common view upheld and cherished by the interviewees is that the observation and promotion of multilingualism and multiculturalism guarantee unity.

The fact that a monolithic approach in a multilingual country brings about national unity has been dismissed by linguists such as Bamgbose (1994), Bourne (1997), Putz (1995), Cluver (1993), Siachitema (1992), Beer (1985), Hartig (1985), Judd (1990), Sledd (1990), Frick (1990), Smitherman (1990 & 1992), Jacob and Beer (1985), Alexander (1995), and McDermott (1998).

Bamgbose (1994) argues that there are two complementary myths developed as a result of the perceived solidarity function of language. The first myth is that multilingualism is always divisive, and the second myth is that monolingualism unites. Bamgbose observes that the first myth is often

associated with African languages which are said to be keeping the people apart, perpetrating ethnic hostilities, weakening national loyalties, etc. The second myth suggests that nationhood requires linguistic unity. As Bourne (1997) indicates, the problem lies with the authoritarian states which frequently use the “national language” as a point of unity and social cohesion, and consider linguistic diversity as a threatening element that should either be kept or be eliminated - depending of course on what favors the government of the day.

In South Africa, as the language policy demonstrates, the government is geared towards achieving unity in diversity. As Alexander (1995) said in analyzing the role or the position of language in the building of a nation, especially in building the new South Africa, the future of South Africa as a nation is indisputably a multilingual one. As Alexander further stated, all suggestions of a monolingual future go against the global trends and have within themselves the dangerous seeds of future ethnic conflicts rather than unity. Putz (1995) and Cluver (1993) observed that the main intention of the SWAPO government to opt for English as the sole official language was to unify the Namibians. African languages are always stigmatized as languages that could bring about conflict and disunity in a multilingual country. Unfortunately, as Cluver (1993) said, the move towards legislating English as the only official language in Namibia had detrimental effects. Since less than 10 per cent of the entire Namibian population knows English; the introduction of this new language disempowers the Namibians which it is otherwise intended to unite.

A similar argument was made by the Zambian first Minister of Education, Mwanakatwe, who argued that in order to celebrate unity in diversity without exacerbating inter-tribal conflicts and suspicions in Zambia, English (which he ironically acknowledges is a foreign language and the language of Zambia's former colonial masters) has a definite, unifying role to play in Zambia (Siachitema, 1992, p.18).

It is, however, interesting to note that contemporary studies on the success of colonial languages in uniting people who speak different languages have shown negative results. Rather than achieving unity, the use of ex-colonial languages has resulted in creating an elite alienated from the entire population (Phillipson, 1993, p.281).

Bokamba (1995) maintains that the view that the monolingual policy fosters unity is unsupported by facts as political and social diversions occur in countries like Japan, Korea, Ireland, and others, where a monolingual policy has been adopted.

Bamgbose (1994) who argues that conflicts between groups of people within the country have little to do with linguistic differences, sees some of the real causes of conflicts in African countries as exploitation of ethnicity by the elite for both political and economic gains, the problem of sharing scarce resources, and external instigation based on nationalistic, ideological or religious motives.

Judd (1990) presents a similar argument in his opposition to the ELA (English Language Amendment). He argues that where groups are denied an

opportunity to use ethnic languages, feelings of resentment prevail, and as he points out, this leads to political and national instability.

Any attempt to marginalize and suppress the rights of languages will inevitably give rise to resistance (Alexander, 1995, p.40). In his interview with the Mercury newspaper (1996) as quoted in McDermott (1998, p.116) Alexander remarked that it is a myth that national unity is promoted by a situation in which only one language is accorded official status. He says that democracy can only be achieved and maintained when people are able to use their own languages in their lives. Since the vast majority of South Africans do not have access to English, Alexander argues that the policies that could empower the South African majority should be promoted.

The South African government as the interviewees indicated, and as the address in Parliament by the Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Brigitte Mabandla on the 23rd of February 1999 entails, intends to promote and elevate the status of the indigenous South African languages, especially the nine major African languages that have been accorded official status. Mabandla in her address pointed out that the framework for language reform in South Africa has been provided for in both the interim and the new Constitution. The Deputy Minister indicated that the creation of the PANSALB in 1996 was for the provision of an institutional framework for the delivery of the Constitutional demands; namely, that the language policy as enshrined in the new Constitution of South Africa be implemented.

The PANSALB Amendment Bill, which the address of the Deputy Minister (1999) was referring to, was formulated in Parliament with four major and broad objectives:

- (a) to amend the PANSALB Act in respect of the composition of the Board and the appointment of its members
- (b) to adjust the provisions relating to the Board's powers and functions, staff appointments, the duties of the chief executive officer, and contacts with experts engaged to perform specialised services;
- (c) to regulate the financing of the Board and the utilisation of its funds; and
- (d) to make certain amendments necessitated by the supercedence of the interim Constitution by the new Constitution. (pp.2-3)

The Amendment Bill demonstrates that the government did not abandon the demands of the Constitution. The Amendment Bill came as a result of the revised principles towards the realization of the language policy as defined in the interim Constitution. The revised principles are enshrined in section 6 of the new Constitution.

Another factor that brought about this Bill was the disbandment of the Senate which in terms of section 5(3) of the PANSALB Act was responsible for the appointment of members and the termination of membership. Most of the duties that the Senate used to perform have been transferred to the line-function Minister who works in consultation with the Portfolio Committee on Arts, Culture and Language, Science and Technology.

An Amendment was also necessary with regard to the appointment of the administrative staff of the Board. The Chief Executive Officer of the PANSALB in consultation with the Minister of Finance used to appoint staff. This has been amended so that staff may be appointed by the Chief Executive Officer in

consultation with the line-function Minister (Mabandla, 1999, pp.3-5). The membership of the Board, which should be not less than 11 and no more than 15, should represent the different official languages. Mabandla further stated that the Bill required, where possible, that the Board should include persons with interpreting, translation, terminology and lexicography, language and literacy teaching, and language skills and experience.

The establishment of the national lexicography units (NLUs) in South Africa as the PANSALB Amendment Bill stipulates, is now the duty of the Board. According to this Bill, the units will operate as companies under section 21 of the Companies Act of 1973. The PANSALB shall allocate the necessary funds to the units to enable them to function and fulfill their mandate (Mabandla, 1999, p.6). Mabandla furthermore pointed out that the inclusion of the units under the PANSALB should be perceived as a significant step in the process of creating an environment for the affirmation and growth of all languages in South Africa.

The PANSALB Amendment Bill could be perceived as part of the determination of the government to achieve the demands of the Constitution. However, much remains to be seen as the Bill can also be viewed as part of the planning process or policy formulation rather than policy implementation. There is a vast difference between policy formulation and policy execution or implementation. A lot of policies remain in policy documents and Constitutional documents, abandoned or forgotten, as there has never been a will to put them in practice.

Although the establishment of the national lexicography units demonstrates the eagerness to develop African languages in South Africa, it should be realized that operation of the units as companies under section 21 of the Companies Act of 1973 could trigger some problems in the long run. It may happen that the two colonial languages, Afrikaans and English, will continue to receive more funding than African languages (Afrikaans and English units used to receive funds from rich companies in South Africa and abroad).

4.1.4. Harmonization of Nguni and Sotho languages

In explaining how the eleven language policy could be implemented, some of the Parliamentarians consistently referred to the use of one of the Nguni or Sotho languages together with English and Afrikaans as a viable option. Such Parliamentarians argued that once one of the languages within these language groups (Nguni and Sotho) is used, the majority of Black people in South Africa will be able to understand and follow whatever is being discussed in Parliament.

In articulating the DP language policy Respondent #13 explained that there should be four languages serving as official languages at national level. Such languages should be Afrikaans, English, one language from Nguni language varieties and one language from Sotho language varieties. He pointed out that once these four languages are entrenched as official languages, the other languages, which he calls minority languages, could then rotate on a monthly basis to serve with the four official languages. Respondent #13 claimed

that it is because of the lack of political will and vision that the government does not support the DP language proposal.

Respondent #12 also pointed out that the choice of four languages (Afrikaans, English, one African language each from Nguni and Sotho varieties) as official languages would be the most viable option. She said that since the government (ANC) declined this proposal, it will become extremely difficult to develop and promote all the languages demanded by the Constitution.

PERSONAL REFLECTIONS AND CRITIQUE

Language harmonization in South Africa has been an issue since the 1940s when Jacob Nhlapo proposed that Nguni and Sotho languages be harmonized since they are mutually intelligible. Nhlapo said that there need be only one grammar for Nguni and one for Sotho and that making different words for the parts of speech in Xhosa, Zulu and so on is foolish and should stop. Nhlapo argued for Sotho and Nguni as the only two tongues which should be codified (Cluver, 1992). Brown, 1992; Alexander, 1989 & 1992a; Satyo, 1999; Makoni, 1999 and Msimang, 1992, among others, discussed the harmonization of Nguni and Sotho languages in South Africa. According to Makoni (1999), Alexander (1989 & 1992a) and Msimang (1992), harmonization of the Nguni and the Sotho languages would reduce the South African major languages that have been accorded official status to no more than six languages; namely, Afrikaans, English, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Nguni and Sotho. According to Makoni (1999) and Alexander (1992a), this would be a manageable number as opposed to eleven

languages, which include, according to Makoni, community speech forms that have been accorded the status of languages. Such community speech forms, as Makoni pointed out, are isiZulu, isiXhosa, isiNdebele and siSwati that should comprise the Nguni language. Sepedi, Setswana and Sesotho should comprise the Sotho language.

Although the question of harmonizing Nguni and Sotho languages seemed to be an abandoned task as the language policy of South Africa was already part of the Constitution, the resurrection of the harmonization debate, especially during this time of implementation, cannot be taken for granted. The debate of harmonization of Nguni and Sotho languages existed among the academics, particularly the linguists, but not the government. Now that it is an issue that some Members of Parliament often refer to, it is imperative that scholars revisit it.

4.5. Data obtained through written reports, speeches, newsletters, acts and bills, HANSARD document and agenda and minutes

Data collected through primary sources, such as reports, speeches, newsletters, acts and bills, HANSARD document also demonstrate high preference for English in Parliament. The LANGTAG (1996) Subcommittee on Language in the Public Service reports that the RDP (Reconstruction and Development Programme) document was never written nor translated into any other language but remained accessible only in English. Paradoxically, while this Subcommittee of the LANGTAG makes this accusation, all the LANGTAG

Reports including the final comprehensive LANGTAG document appear in English only.

Other documents reflecting the dominance and preference for English only are as follows:

4.5.1. Governmental/Departmental annual reports

The following Reports are some of the Reports sent to Parliament on an annual basis. These Reports are usually sent through different ministries:

4.5.1.1. *Report of the Auditor-General on the Dairy Board Liquidation*

Account (Verslag van die Ouditeur-Generaal oor die Suiwelraadlikwidasierekening) (1996, 1997 & 1999), is in both English and Afrikaans.

4.5.1.2. *Report of the Auditor-General on the Accounts of Vote 31 –*

South African Revenue Service (Verslag van die Ouditeur-Generaal oor die Rekenings van Begrotingspos 31 – Suid-Afrikaanse Inkomstediens) (1996-97), is in both English and Afrikaans.

4.5.1.3. *Report of the Auditor-General on the Local Authorities Loans*

Fund for 1997-98 (Verslag van die Ouditeur-Generaal oor die Leningsfonds vir Plaaslike Besture vir 1997-98), is in both English and Afrikaans.

4.5.1.4. *Report of the Auditor-General on the Financial Statements of*

Vote 9 – Constitutional Development (1998), is only in English.

- 4.5.1.5. *Report of the Auditor-General on the Accounts of Vote 30 – South African Police Service (Verslag van die Ouditeur-Generaal oor die Rekenings van Begrotingspos 30 – Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie)* (1996-97), is in both English and Afrikaans.
- 4.5.1.6. *Report of the Auditor-General on the Secret Services Account, the Related Departmental Accounts and the Security Services Special Account (Verslag van die Ouditeur-Generaal oor die Rekening vir Geheime Dienste, die Verwante Departementele Rekenings en die Spesiale Rekening vir Veiligheidsdienste)* (1996-98), is in both English and Afrikaans.
- 4.5.1.7. *Report of the Auditor-General on the South African Medical Research Council (Verslag van die Ouditeur-Generaal oor die Suid-Afrikaanse Mediese Navorsingsraad)* (1995-96), is in both English and Afrikaans.
- 4.5.1.8. *Annual Report of the Department of Correctional Services for the Period 1 January to 31 December 1997* is only in English. It is however, stated in this Report that should one require a letter (which forms a preface of the Report) in any other language, the office concerned should be contacted.
- 4.5.1.9. *CSIR Annual Report (Technology Impact)* of 1998 is only in English.
- 4.5.1.10. *1996 Report of the Attorney-General: Eastern Cape on the*

Annual Report, is obtainable only in English.

4.5.1.11. *National Training Board Annual Report of 1997* is only available in English.

4.5.1.12. *South African Communication Service Annual Report of 1997* is only available in English.

4.5.1.13. *Report of the Auditor-General on the Annual Financial Statements of the Foundation for Research Development for (Verslag van die Ouditeur-Generaal oor die Finansiële Jaarstate van die Stigting vir Navorsingsontwikkeling) (1997-98)* is in both English and Afrikaans.

4.5.1.14. *Report of the Auditor-General on the Re-insurance Fund for Export Credit and Foreign Investments for the Financial Year Ended 31 March 1996 (Verslag van die Ouditeur-General oor die Herversekeringsfonds vir Uitvoerkrediet en Buitelandse Beleggings vir die Boekjaar Geeindig 31 Maart 1996)* is in both English and Afrikaans.

4.5.1.15. *1996-97 Medical Research Council Annual Report* is in English, although its vision, mission and goals are also in Afrikaans, French, German, Ndebele, Portuguese, Setswana, siSwati, Northern Sotho, South Sotho, Spanish, Tsonga, Venda , Xhosa and Zulu.

4.5.1.16. *Report of the Public Investment Commissioners for the Financial Year Ended 31 March 1997 (Verslag van die*

- Openbare Beleggings-Kommissaris vir die boekjaar geëindig 31 Maart 1997*), is in both English and Afrikaans.
- 4.5.1.17. *South African Law Commission Project 90 The Harmonisation of the Common Law and the Indigenous Law: Report on Customary Marriages, of August 1998*, is written only in English.
- 4.5.1.18. *South African Law Commission Project 94 Arbitration: An International Arbitration Act for South Africa Report, July 1998* also appears in only English.
- 4.5.1.19. *South African Human Rights Commission Third Annual Report of 1997-1998* is only in English.
- 4.5.1.20. *Report of the Auditor-General on the Financial Statements of Vote 1 – President for the year Ended 31 March 1998* is only in English.
- 4.5.1.21. *Report of the Auditor-General on the National Supplies Procurement Fund for 1996-97 (Verslag van die Ouditeur-Generaal oor die Landsvoorradeverkrygingsfonds vir 1996-97)* is in both English and Afrikaans.
- 4.5.1.22. *Report of the Auditor-General on the Urban Transport Fund for 1996-97* is obtainable in English only.
- 4.5.1.23. *Report of the Auditor-General on the Accounts of Vote 29 – South African National Defence Force for 1996-97 (Verslag van die Ouditeur-Generaal oor die Rekenings van Begrotingspos 29*

– *Suid-Afrikaanse Nasionale Weermag vir 1996-97*) is in both English and Afrikaans.

4.5.1.24. *Report of the Auditor-General on the National Zoological Gardens of South Africa for 1996-97 (Verslag van die Ouditeur-Generaal oor die Nasionale Dieretuin van Suid-Afrika vir 1996-97)* is in both English and Afrikaans.

4.5.1.25. *Report of the Auditor-General on the Accounts of Vote 1 – President, Vote 2 – Executive Deputy President, Vote 3 – Executive Deputy President from the Largest Minority Party for 1996-97 (Verslag van die Ouditeur-Generaal oor die Rekenings van Begrotingspos 1 – President, Begrotingspos 2 – Uitvoerende Adjunkpresident, Uitvoerende Adjunkpresident vanuit die Grootste Minderheidsparty vir 1996-97)* is in both English and Afrikaans.

4.5.1.26. *Report of the Auditor-General on the Department of Communications for 1996-97 (Verslag van die Ouditeur-Generaal oor die Department van Kommunikasiewese vir 1996-97)* is in both English and Afrikaans.

4.5.1.27. *Report of Auditor-General on the Maize Board for 1996-97 (Verslag van die Ouditeur-Generaal oor die Mielieraad vir 1996-97)* is in both English and Afrikaans.

4.5.1.28. *Report of Auditor-General on the Council for Mineral Technology for 1996-97 (Verslag van die Ouditeur-Generaal*

oor die Raad vir Mineraaltegnologie vir 1996-97) is obtainable in both English and Afrikaans.

4.5.1.29. *Report of the Auditor-General on the Accounts of Vote 12 – Environmental Affairs and Tourism for 1996-97 (Verslag van die Ouditeur-Generaal oor die Rekenings van Begrotingspos 12 – Omgewingsakeen Toerisme vir 1996-97) is obtainable in only English and Afrikaans.*

4.5.1.30. *Report of the Auditor-General on the Accounts of the J.L.B. Smith Institute of Ichthyology for the Financial Year 1 April 1996 to 31 March 1997 (Verslag van die Ouditeur-Generaal oor die Rekenings van J.L.B. Smith Instituut vir Viskunde vir die Boekjaar 1 April 1996 tot 31 Maart 1997) is in both English and Afrikaans.*

4.5.1.31. *Report of the Auditor-General on the Council for Nuclear Safety for 1996-97 (Verslag van die Ouditeur-Generaal oor die Raad vir Kernveiligheid vir 1996-97) is in both English and Afrikaans.*

4.5.1.32. *Interim Report of 1998-97: Heath Special Investigating Unit is only in English.*

4.5.1.33. *Annual Report of 1996 by the Attorney-General: Natal, to the Minister of Justice for Submission to Parliament of 1996 (Jaarverslag van 1996 deur die Prokureur-Generaal: Natal aan die Parlement) is obtainable in both English and Afrikaans.*

4.5.1.34. *1996 Annual Report Submitted by the Attorney-General of the*

Cape of Good Hope in Terms of Section 5(6) (a) of the Attorney-General Act No. 92 of 1992 is only in English.

4.5.1.35. *1997-98 Annual Report of Independent Complaints Directorate* is only available in English.

4.5.1.36. *1996 Annual Report from the Department of Housing* is only in English.

4.5.1.37. *Airports Company South Africa Annual Financial Statements Report* is available only in English.

4.5.2. Speeches by the government officials

Although some Parliamentarians deliver their speeches in the languages of their choice, some high officials, for example, Ministers and Deputy Ministers, constantly deliver their speeches in English. For instance, the address to Parliament by Brigitte Mabandla, Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, on the Pan South African Language Board Amendment Bill on Tuesday the 23rd of February 1999 was entirely in English.

The Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Dr. B.S. Ngubane, also delivered his speech in English. Interestingly, with the exception of a few Members of Parliament who delivered speeches on the Pan South African Language Board on this day (February, 23, 1999) the majority of them delivered theirs in their mother tongue. Among others, Tsheole, Gamdane, Tshivhase and Mulder delivered their speeches in their mother tongue.

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President Nelson Mandela's last and final address of Parliament of the 5th of February 1999 never included any single expression of an indigenous African language; it was entirely in English.

4.5.3. Acts and bills

Several acts and bills in Parliament still reflect the past language situation in Parliament; i.e. English and Afrikaans are still the only two languages in which acts and bills appear.

The following acts and bills are in English or in English and Afrikaans only:

4.5.3.1. *Pan South African Language Board Amendment Bill (B 107 – 98)*

(Wysigingswetsontwerp op die Pan-Suid-Afrikaanse Taalraad) is in both English and Afrikaans.

4.5.3.2. *Public Investment Commissioners Amendment Bill (B 8 – 99)*

Wysigingswetsontwerp op die Openbare Beleggingskommissarisse) is in both English and Afrikaans.

4.5.3.3. *Domestic Violence Bill (B 75D – 98) (Wetsontwerp op*

Gesinsgeweld) is in both English and Afrikaans.

4.5.3.4. *Witness Protection Bill (W 130B – 98) (Wetsontwerp op*

Getuiebeskerming) is in both English and Afrikaans.

4.5.3.5. *Criminal Procedure Amendment Bill (B 132B – 98)*

(Strafproseswysigings-Wetsontwerp) is in both English and Afrikaans.

4.5.3.6. *Pan South African Language Board Act No. 59 of 1995* is in

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English, but it is stipulated in this document that the version was signed by the President (Statutes of the Republic of South Africa – Cultural Institutions, p.371).

4.5.4. The HANSARD documents

The HANSARD documents contain the debates of the National Council of Provinces, which replaced the Senate, and the debates of the National Assembly. Some of the HANSARD documents contain interpellations, questions and replies, where a Minister is asked short questions and expected to respond there and then without any prior consultations. The two HANSARD documents: *Debates of the Senate Second Session – First Parliament (No. 9) of the 6th to the 13th of June 1995* and *Debates of the National Assembly Second Session – First Parliament (No. 14) of the 5th to the 6th of September 1995* contain the interpellations, questions and replies. All the interpellations, questions and replies in these two documents are only in English.

Although the debates in the HANSARD documents are recorded in the languages which the MPs use in their deliberations, since English is the language of record in Parliament, such languages are immediately translated into English. However, very few MPs express themselves in any language other than English. For example, of the 117 MPs who made their contributions to the discussion about the bills as documented in the *Debates of the Senate Second Session – First Parliament (No. 9) of the 6th to the 13th of June 1995* only 2 of them were in Sepedi, while only 1 was in isiXhosa.

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All 350 MPs, as *Debates of the National Assembly Second Session – First Parliament (No. 14)* of the 5th to the 6th of September 1995 reflects, used only English in their discussion about bills such as the *State of Emergency Bill*, *Social Work Amendment Bill*, *National Building Regulations Building Standards Amendment Bill*, *Public Holidays Amendment Bill*.

About 237 MPs used only English in their debates and discussions about various bills in Parliament on the 18th to the 21st of November 1997 (*Debates of the National Council of Provinces First Session – Second Parliament (No. 8)* of the 18th to the 21st of November 1997).

Debates of the National Assembly First Session – Second Parliament (No. 5) of the 15th to the 18th of April 1997 records 224 MPs who deliberated about bills in Parliament. Of the 224 MPs who took part in the discussion, only 1 MP used Xitsonga as a medium of his discussion, only 1 MP code-switched from English to Tshivenda, 2 MPs used isiZulu as a medium, 1 MP code-switched from English to isiNdebele, 1 MP used both English and isiZulu, i.e. code-switched from English to isiZulu and from isiZulu to English, 2 MPs used isiXhosa as a medium, while only 1 MP code-switched from English to isiXhosa.

4.5.5. Newsletters

Both *the Newsletter of the National Council of Provinces (NCOP News)* and *the Newsletter for Members and Staff of Parliament* are only in English.

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4.5.6. Agenda and minutes of meetings

The agenda and minutes of the meetings are always obtainable in both English and Afrikaans. For example, *the National Assembly Order Paper (Nasionale Vergadering Ordelys)* of the 9th of February 1999, *National Assembly and National Council of Provinces Meetings of Committees (Nasionale Vergadering en Nasionale Raad van Provinsies Vergaderings van Komitees)* of the 9th of February 1999 also appears in English and Afrikaans.

Although English and Afrikaans are used alongside each other in the agenda and minutes of the meetings, African languages are not.

PERSONAL REFLECTIONS AND CRITIQUE

In all the reports that have been accessed in this study, the dominance of English is telling. As discussed in the forthcoming section that deals with systematic observation, despite the language in which a report is written (some of the reports are in Afrikaans), all the portfolio committees use only English in discussing such a report. There is no report that was found written in an African language during the period of this study. This shows that although the Constitution demands that the status of African languages be elevated, the fact remains that contrary to what the Constitution decrees, African languages are still sidelined and have no role to play in Parliament. This situation leads to the disempowerment of the majority of the MPs while the elites that understand and speak English dominate in discussions and debates, and ultimately their views receive very little challenge from the majority.

A deliberate effort to exclude African languages from the writing of such reports could lead to a false impression that African languages have no scientific terms that could be used in creating such reports. Yet during the apartheid era African languages were used as official languages in the so-called TBVC states; i.e. Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei. Since the apartheid government appointed chiefs and headmen who did not finish their high school education, such puppets could only use African languages as dominant languages in their governments. African languages, during this period, proved their worth and capability in serving as official languages. The governments in these “states” could discuss annual budgets, legal issues, political matters, education, and their economies in African languages without any linguistic hiccups. One could argue, therefore, that it is not on linguistic account that African languages are marginalized in the writing of Parliamentary reports.

These Reports are of great value as they are not only intended to elicit meaningful responses from the national government, but more importantly they are used as documents to present a proper assessment and evaluation of the successes or failures of the government in running its affairs. Thus the marginalization of African languages in the discussion of such important documents could therefore not only be a hindrance, but could affect the whole government delivery of service as proper planning is always associated with meaningful discussions and debates.

The Medical Research Council Report of 1996-97, by accommodating all the official languages in its preface where the vision, mission and the objectives

of the Council are presented, demonstrates some sense of language awareness despite the fact that in the development of the entire Report, all other languages apart from English were left behind. It would be extremely interesting and a valuable service to have the Report in all the languages that the citizens speak, especially in this important field of medicine.

The only weakness in the Report is that while it accommodates nine African languages accorded official status, it leaves out other important indigenous African languages that are listed in the Constitution (for example, Khoi, San and Nama languages). It also uses some of the European languages, even those which the Constitution does not mention, for instance, Spanish and French. Unlike the 1995-96 Report which had Afrikaans alongside English, the 1996 -1997 Report relegates all other languages, including Afrikaans, to the same inferior position, while English becomes the language used in the entire Report.

The speeches delivered in the National Assembly are in most cases in various official languages, although English is dominant. Most of the MPs displayed a tendency to code-switch. Either a Parliamentarian starts with his/her speech in English or his/her mother tongue and ends up with English or a mother tongue. The bulk of the speeches of those who code-switch are always in English. MPs rarely code-switch from an African language to another African language. Officials like Deputy Ministers, Ministers and Deputy President and President deliver most of their speeches in English. For example when the PANSALB Amendment Bill was debated in the National Assembly in February

1999, the Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Brigitte Mabandla delivered her speech in English. One would have expected her to deliver such a speech, which focused on the promotion of African languages, at least in one of the African languages. Her speech pointed out that the challenge facing the government was to give the Constitutional principles content and meaning by translating them into action. She singled out the immediate elevation of the nine major African languages to the status of official languages as the most important step to be taken (Mabandla, 1999, pp.1– 2). Ironically, in arguing for the promotion and elevation of the status of African languages, she ended up further marginalizing them in presenting her speech in English in a forum with a potential to promote African languages.

The speech delivered by Dr. B. S. Ngubane in support of the PANSALB Amendment Bill was also presented in English.

As mentioned, President Nelson Mandela's last speech in Parliament during his Presidency was also entirely in English. His address captured the attention of the whole country, as it was the last speech of the first democratically elected President, a man who spent 27 years in prison fighting for democracy and human rights. However, only those who had benefited during the apartheid era (able to access a speech written in English) were able to understand Mandela's speech.

The address by Nelson Mandela was simultaneously interpreted into nine (South) African languages and Afrikaans in Parliament, as there are interpreting facilities in the National Assembly, but it remains to be translated into African

languages in hard copies. Since the government never took initiatives to have speeches by Parliamentarians translated into all other languages, the majority of the people in the country remain uninformed.

Mr. S. Kotane, head of the South African Communication Services, referring to a situation where people are marginalized through language use, warned that, "Good governance is impossible if you are governing an uninformed community, because people will continue to be restless, suspicious, anxious and uncertain" (LANGTAG, 1996, P.157).

In one of the chapters of Ngugi wa Thiong'o's book, *'Penpoints, Gunpoints, and Dreams'* (1998) entitled, "*The Allegory of the Cave: Language, Democracy, and a New World Order*," he metaphorically presents the role of the three interpreters. One of the kinds of interpreters he discusses in this chapter achieved a lot of success in abolishing slavery and obtaining independence from colonial rule. This interpreter, despite his outstanding achievement, fails dismally to empower his own people. His failure is attributed to the perception and ultimately the handling of the language of his people. Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1998) goes on to write about this painful situation:

Thus instead of empowering the tongues of those in the cave, the tongues which had really given him the power to prophecy and leadership, he now stood behind the English and French screens haranguing his people to come out of the darkness of their languages into the light of European tongue. He also started talking to them through interpreters because, in reality, he had never learnt how to speak to the people, how to hold a genuine dialogue. His real dialogue had been with the metropolitan bourgeoisie in London or Paris or at the United Nations. (pp.87-88)

The situation portrayed in the Parliamentary reports and speeches delivered by President Nelson Mandela, and by the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Dr. B.S. Ngubane, and his Deputy Minister Brigitte Mabandla, is a direct confirmation of Ngugi wa Thiong'o's (1998) point that the African intellectual elite refuses to interpret and translate what they have required through colonial languages into African languages. Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1998) says with regard to this:

The chorus is the same: let them first learn European languages. In the meantime, the game continues: knowledge researched by sons and daughters of Africa, ... is stored in Europe-language granaries. (p.90)

It can be said that newsletters are important documents which are intended to keep Members of Parliament informed and abreast of current events and issues in Parliament and in the nine provinces. They seem to target, language wise, only those whose L1 is English. Newsletters contain very important reports that are crucial to Parliamentarians. The majority of the MPs and staff of Parliament (most of the ordinary staff members in Parliament, because of the past geo-political arrangement, speak Afrikaans, while a reasonable number has isiXhosa as its L1) are therefore not properly reached by the newsletters.

4.6. Data obtained through systematic observation

Observation was conducted to determine whether or not English is dominant in Parliament. Observations made in both the committee rooms and the National Assembly proved the linguisticism of English in the South African

Parliament. All the fourteen meetings of various portfolio committees which I attended were conducted in English.

In some portfolio committee meetings, for example, when the Pan South African Language Board Amendment Bill was discussed, very few Members of Parliament who serve on this portfolio committee contributed verbally. Although their deliberations might have been hampered by the subject, as bills involve some legal aspects that need experts in the legal field, lack of proficiency in English could also be singled out as a stumbling block, for one could detect from some of the few who contributed to the discussion that they were not that proficient in English.

In the National Assembly, where there are interpreting facilities, speeches and responses were made in different official languages. Although the majority of the MPs are Black Africans who have African languages as their L1, speeches and deliberations are often made in English, even though there are interpreting facilities.

I observed that English remains the only language used by the MPs in the portfolio committee rooms. The reason given for the dominance of English in the portfolio committee rooms is that there are no interpreting facilities in such rooms. Another reason given is that English has been chosen as the language of record in Parliament. The use of only English in the portfolio committee rooms prevents a lot of Parliamentarians from participating.

In the National Assembly, few Members of Parliament participate because, firstly, they are not fluent in English, and secondly they do not want to

be seen by their constituencies presenting their speeches in their mother tongue – African languages. During my observation in Parliament, one MP who delivered a speech in the National Assembly in Setswana reported that she was rebuked by her senior for having presented a brilliant speech in Setswana instead of English.

PERSONAL REFLECTIONS AND CRITIQUE

The dominance of English in Parliament is clearly separating those who are articulate in English (elite group) from those who are not (the majority). This will ultimately lead to what de Kadt (1992) entitled, “the dangerous power of English,” and demonstrates that since language and power are inseparable, those whose languages are used only in the private sphere will not be empowered.

Dua (1994) also discusses language as an instrument of communication that involves class, power and knowledge. With reference to the Indian language situation Dua (1994) says that unless the newly emerging class associated with the Indian languages organize themselves to counter the hegemony of English, and fight for a different political, social and cultural arrangement of power and knowledge, they will not only fail to curb the dominance of English, they will also contribute to the marginalization of their languages and cultures. As he further says, they will betray the cause of language and cultural renaissance and the destiny of mankind (Dua, 1994, p.133)

Situations like these where the majority are excluded from participation on account of lack of the chosen language have been discussed by Lanehart (1997) among others. Lanehart analyzed the American situation and compared it with that of France and England where the standard language was the language of the political centers. Lanehart (1997) is of the opinion that people who do not speak "standard" English could be excluded from politics. Prah (1995) points out that the historical fortunes of languages are tied to the political power of the users. He further mentions that while some languages expand in usage, others die. This situation, where languages could die while other languages thrive, could be compared to that of South Africa where African languages are always pushed out of the center onto the periphery.

The choice of English as a language of record in Parliament reduces the status of all other languages to the extent that the speakers of other languages become disempowered. The selection of the norm determining the choice of a language to be accorded a higher status normally benefits and favors the political or economic elites who establish it and this tendency ignores the desires of the dominated people (Hartig, 1985, p.68).

Situations like the one in the South African Parliament where the majority of the MPs do not have a meaningful participation as they are expected to deliberate in a foreign language is challenged by Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1997) who argues that when African languages are sidelined in Africa, there is no freedom of expression as the majority of Africans have to have interpreters in the political and economic affairs of their own land. According to Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1997)

the right to a language is a precondition for the freedom of expression. He strongly emphasized:

By being deprived of the use of their languages for whatever reason, the voice of African people is being effectively silenced. Thus although my own struggle to express myself in my own language has led me to prison and exile, I have always to remember that the majority of Africans live in conditions of linguistic prisons and exiles in their own countries. What meaningful participation can there be in the economic, political and cultural life of the country if this is only mediated by a handful of the educated, the corpus of interpreters who have been lucky to get a formal education? (pp.80-81)

A similar observation was made by Cluver (1993) who analyzed the new language policy enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of Namibia. Cluver pointed out that Article 3(1) of the Namibian Constitution does not recognize any of the 21 indigenous African languages as official languages. He argued that in this scenario, speakers of indigenous African languages have fewer rights compared to speakers of English, for they cannot fully express themselves in a foreign language.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY OF THE STUDY, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

The main aim of this study was to explore the language or languages used by the South African national government with the goal of determining whether the new democratic language policy, as set out in the Constitution, is put into practice by Members of Parliament.

Chapter One of this study provided a socio-historical account of the South African language policy. The language policy of South Africa was traced from the Seventeenth Century to the Twentieth Century. From this history, it is evident that African languages have been sidelined and marginalized since the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck at the Cape in 1652. English and Dutch remained the two official languages until 1925 when Afrikaans replaced Dutch to serve as an official language alongside English. The position of Afrikaans as an official language was further strengthened and entrenched in 1948 when the National Party came to power.

In 1953 the Bantu Education Act was established to promote Afrikaans and to reduce the influence of English in Black schools. The Bantu Education Act was also intended to impose on Black schools the use of English and Afrikaans on an equal basis as languages of teaching and learning and to extend mother

tongue education from Grade 4 to Grade 8. The outbreak of the Soweto uprisings in 1976 was a reaction against the implementation of the Bantu Education Act. Black Africans resisted the use of Afrikaans as a language of teaching and learning in Black schools until the government succumbed to their demand about language in education. Although in July of 1976 Black schools were given leverage by the apartheid government to choose their language of teaching and learning, no school chose an African language. English was selected as the language of teaching and learning from Grade 4.

African languages have been rejected by Africans as the apartheid government used them to divide the Black ethnic groups from each other. Since Afrikaans was the language of the apartheid government, it was regarded as the language of the oppressor and therefore became undesirable among Black communities. This meant that although Afrikaans was an official language with English, only English received high preference from the Black South Africans.

When the new dispensation was negotiated in the early 1990s after the unbanning of political organizations in South Africa, the new South African language policy became one of the items of the agenda. The interim Constitution embodied the eleven major languages spoken in South Africa as official languages. Nine of the eleven official languages happened to be the (South) African indigenous languages to be accorded official status for the first time in South African history. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa adopted in 1996 also provides for the eleven language policy as did the interim Constitution.

Chapter One, which gives the socio-historical background of the South African language policy, forms the basis for the pursuit of the language question about language or languages of use by the South African national government.

Chapter Two presented a review of the literature. The literature reviewed in this chapter focused on two main areas: language policies as defined in the South African Constitution, and language attitudes towards both indigenous African languages and colonial languages. Most of the sociolinguists who analyzed and critiqued the South African language policy as it appears in the Constitution pointed out that some expressions in the language policy could be interpreted in favor of certain languages while others are marginalized. Such linguists argue that the flaws in the new South African language policy make the whole Constitution a mockery. However, there are those linguists who argue that the Constitution provides for too many languages without realizing that some of these “languages” are in actual fact community speech forms. Community speech forms such as isiZulu, isiXhosa, isiNdebele and siSwati are said to constitute the so-called Nguni language, while community speech forms such as Sepedi, Setswana and Sesotho form the Sotho language (Makoni, 1999; Alexander, 1992a). These linguists argue that this situation, where South African community speech forms have been accorded the status of language, was created by missionaries who had their own agenda and who were not trained as linguists (Cluver, n.d. pp.2-3). It could be argued that if the arguments advanced by such sociolinguists are correct, it would mean that such a mistake, of raising community speech forms to the level of language, has been Constitutionalized by

the ANC-led government. The repetition of the missionary mistakes by the South African government would make it extremely difficult to reduce the speech community forms to their rightful position, i.e. that of being community speech forms, as they have now been accorded an official status and developed as well as promoted as independent full fledged languages, not only in South Africa, but in other countries as well. For example, isiNdebele in Zimbabwe, siSwati in Swaziland, Setswana and Sesotho in Botswana and Lesotho, respectively, are recognized as languages and not as community speech forms.

The government is also taken to task by scholars in the field of sociolinguistics for not putting into practice the demands of the Constitution. The government is criticized for becoming monolingual. English is said to be promoted above all other languages in Parliament as it is the language of record in Parliament.

The majority of the language attitude surveys reviewed in this study demonstrate that colonial languages are preferred over indigenous African languages. African languages are despised as languages associated with poor academic standards, ethnicity and underdevelopment as well as lack of education, while Afrikaans is despised as the language of the oppressor and associated with the oppressive apartheid government. African languages are said to be devoid of scientific terms that could be used in Parliament.

Furthermore, African languages are said to be divisive. Some of the leadership in some African states point out that using one of the indigenous African languages as a sole official language would create unnecessary conflict

and hostilities as other ethnic groups, whose languages are not used, could resent the language that has been accorded official status. Such politicians argue that English or any other colonial language should be used as the sole official language, for such a language would not only be neutral and bring about stability, it would also disadvantage every ethnic group in the country.

Chapter Three of this study presented the methods used in data collection, a description of the interviewees and the description of data gathering procedures. It became evident in this study that various methods could be used to supplement each other in data collection and data analysis. Three methods that were used in data gathering for this study yielded similar results.

Although the unstructured interview method was adopted as the main method of data gathering, additional evidence for the use of languages as provided for in the Constitution was also derived from pertinent secondary sources. Official documents (e.g. newsletters, bills and acts, HANSARD document, etc.) and systematic observation were made to ascertain the reliability of the views and responses given by the interviewees.

The findings of this study are analyzed and discussed in Chapter Four. The data analyzed in this chapter reflects that there is a mismatch between what the South African national government practices and what the Constitution demands. Instead of the government affirming the observance of multilingualism and multiculturalism celebrated in the Constitution, the data showed that the South African government is becoming monolingual, using only English as the language of record and communication in Parliament. Lack of explicit details as

to how and when the South African language policy as defined in the Constitution should be implemented, is exploited and manipulated by Members of Parliament, as the interviews revealed, to justify the use of English at the expense of all other official languages in Parliament.

The interviews conducted in Parliament show that English is the dominant language in Parliament. The views given by the Parliamentarians also point to the fact that English could remain dominant for a long period. Such a viewpoint was common among members of different parties in Parliament. Members of Parliament pointed to the historical language background as the main contributing factor to negative attitudes towards other official languages and a preference for English.

It is evident, as the data in this study revealed, that this monolingual situation in Parliament is being challenged and seriously opposed by the political parties which have Afrikaners in the majority. These political parties (namely, the NNP and the FF) argue that English does not deserve to be the official language since it is not one of the South African indigenous languages. As the representatives of these two parties argue, Afrikaans is one of the South African indigenous languages as it originated in South Africa. It became evident that some other political parties, for example, ANC, IFP and DP, are not as aggressive as the NNP and the FF in opposing the dominance of English in Parliament. It is, however, not surprising for the DP to support the dominance of English since its constituency is mainly English-speaking. On the other hand, the IFP leadership, especially the IFP president, always addresses his constituency

in English, even in the deep rural areas of Zululand where almost all the members and supporters of IFP have isiZulu as L1. The ANC, which is the majority party in Parliament, also supported the dominance of English in Parliament.

The data collected through systematic observation confirm the dominance of English in debates and discussions in various portfolio committees.

Further, although other official languages are used at the National Assembly when deliberations and speeches are made, the dominance of English remains paramount. The majority of the Parliamentarians who deliver their speeches in indigenous languages have a tendency to code switch from either English to indigenous African languages, or from indigenous languages to English. This tendency confirms the dominance of English over all other official languages in Parliament. Taken with the interview data on African languages, this tendency also confirms the negative attitudes toward African languages. It has been already pointed out that English dominates in the HANSARD document, newsletters, bills, acts, written speeches, etc.

Although there are some annual reports that appear in both Afrikaans and English, the discussion of the reports in the portfolio committee meetings are conducted only in English. It should be realized that it remains absolutely redundant to have annual Parliamentary Reports appearing in both Afrikaans and English, while the discussions thereof are conducted only in English. While some of the annual reports are in both Afrikaans and English, none of them are obtainable in any indigenous African languages. This becomes an indictment of

the fact that not only are indigenous African languages pushed to the periphery in Parliament, but Afrikaans as well.

CONCLUSIONS

Although the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa embraces a democratic language policy which reflects the multilingual nature of the country, there is enough evidence that the national government is moving towards monolingualism, with English as the dominant language in Parliament and as the only language of record.

Despite the complaints and resistance against using only English in the portfolio committee rooms, English remains the only language used. What disturbs in this instance is that meaningful and significant discussions, which in most cases are followed by crucial decisions, are conducted in English in committee rooms devoid of interpreting facilities.

The dominance of English in Parliament is not only observed internally, but external communication is mainly done in English. While almost all the internal memoranda, notices and minutes are in English, and a few of them translated into Afrikaans, external communication, for example, annual reports from government departments, speeches addressing issues of national interest made by Members of Parliament, and documents for public consumption, for instance, white papers, discussion documents and the RDP (Reconstruction and Development Programme) document, are only obtainable in English. As the LANGTAG Subcommittee on Language in the Public Service reported, the

government failed to have the RDP document in any language other than English. This Subcommittee in discussing the importance of the RDP document in relation to the development of the masses in South Africa exposes that, "The lack of an explicit acknowledgement of the crucial role of language in the process of redeveloping the human resources of our multilingual country is extremely problematic." (p.156)

The new language policy is intended to eradicate, "multilingualism is a problem" notion. However, controversial clauses within the Constitution, such as the ones captured in (3a) indicating that "*the government and provincial government may use any particular official languages ... taking into account usage, practicality, expense, regional circumstances,*" could not only be used to the detriment of some languages which have been accorded official status, but it also undermines and underestimates the impact of apartheid on the South African masses. Apartheid succeeded in brain washing the South African masses as well as in discrediting everything Black to an extent that they, among others, developed negative attitudes towards their indigenous (South) African languages. In other words Black South Africans, as surveys demonstrate, could continue marginalizing and despising their languages in favor of English. Of course this could have far-reaching consequences: a province may choose to use the two ex-colonial languages (English and Afrikaans) at the expense of African languages and still be Constitutionally correct.

The adoption of an "English-only policy" in a multilingual Parliament disempowers the majority of the MPs and consequently only a few of them are

able to participate in the affairs of their own country. Once the majority of the MPs are deprived of their rights of expression, it is subsequently their constituencies that eventually suffer the most.

The choice of English as the language of record by the South African Parliament testifies that invariably language planning and language policy could be determined and be effected by those who are in power. Politicians tend to ignore and undermine the Constitution and continue with the maintenance of the status quo. Situations like this always insinuate hostilities and conflicts in countries.

Politicians prefer languages that will empower them as an elite and ignore the impact of such a language policy. Lanehart (1997) who discusses the position of African American Vernacular English (Ebonics) and education in the USA, as well as ideologies that people hold about language and the repercussions of those ideologies, argues that one can control who gets in and who stays out of power by just controlling how one is to talk and by establishing the rules in favor of the elites who have power. In cautioning about the danger and the ideology underlying so-called "standard" English in the USA, she points out that the ideal of "standard" English can be used as a means of control and thus, it is political. "Standard" English as a result belongs to those in power and to those who determine what is acceptable. As she indicates, "It is safer and better suited for those in power to direct how society is to be structured which insures that those in power will stay in power."(p.5).

Alexander (1992b) argued that unless one has a good command of standard English or standard Afrikaans, he or she is simply eliminated from competition for jobs that are well remunerated and from consideration for certain positions of status and power. It is for this reason that Alexander proposes an approach which involves the masses or the majority in the language planning process. He proposes what he calls "language planning from below" as the only viable approach in language planning. It is only when this exercise is adopted in language planning that individuals feel through their participation and recognition that they are part of the whole process of liberation. This approach differs from the "top down" process in language planning which tends to impose language decisions and preferences on the masses. The latter approach always provokes oppositions and endless language problems. It is simply exclusive in nature in favor of those who are in power

There were hopes and dreams in South Africa, when a Black government took political power that African languages, either standard Nguni or standard Sotho, could take over from English as the *lingua franca* in South Africa. The choice of English as the language of record in Parliament and the position of English in Parliament seem to shatter off such dreams and hopes in South Africa. The move towards monolingualism rekindles the struggle for respect and the use of official languages as defined in the Constitution. Both the Afrikaner dominated parties and some members of the ANC are vigorously opposing the dominance of English in Parliament.

Luckett (1995), who was also of the opinion that those who are in political power determine which language/s should serve as official or national languages, concluded with reference to the South African situation:

...it is worth bearing in mind that languages and the values we attach to them are only social constructions. In a given social context, the meanings of languages are usually determined by those in power... and of course language works to keep them in power. In our current context of social and political change, the black middle class is gaining control of the social and political institutions in our society. This group will be given some opportunity to redefine South African language practices. Whether this opportunity will be used to widen access to power and opportunity for the majority by developing the African languages as languages of education and power, or whether it will be used to consolidate the power of an English-speaking black elite, remains to be seen. If the latter is the case, then it is likely that South Africa will follow the long road of most post-colonial African states, where even after thirty years of independence it is clear that the dominant metropolitan languages cannot facilitate national development. (pp.77-78)

The South African language policy at national government level is likely to filter down to both provincial and local government levels. If this happens, as seems likely, the South African government shall have not only betrayed its citizenry, but shattered off the hope of the whole continent of Africa as most African states look up to South Africa as the role model for African democracy and true human empowerment. The democratic government of South Africa is perceived as an example of the government that intends to empower its people (African masses) through among other processes, the recognition, development, and promotion of African languages to the level of official status and through use of the indigenous languages as tools towards empowerment. The Constitution of South Africa symbolizes the multilingual and multicultural nature of African states. It is incumbent upon those who are in power and the masses in South Africa to see to

it that this democratic language policy is implemented and honored for the development of the majorities in South Africa.

RECOMMENDATIONS

There is sufficient empirical evidence that past linguisticism, instituted and perpetuated by the apartheid government, created negative attitudes towards African languages and Afrikaans. The “new” language policy of South Africa should not only be perceived as sensitive, but also as a terrain which is highly contested and poses several challenges to the government which is obligated to develop clearly defined mechanisms for the implementation of such a policy.

The national government, as evident from the data presented in this study, is seen to be implicitly and explicitly promoting English above all languages in South Africa. Since the promotion of only one language in a multilingual situation has detrimental effects, the national government should, as a way of demonstrating its commitment to the demands of the Constitution, adhere to the following:

- (a) depending on its plans and agenda, the national government should have short term and long term measures in its endeavors towards the meaningful implementation of the democratic language policy enshrined in the Constitution of the country;
- (b) the national government should become exemplary in carrying out the demands of the Constitution. The national government must make sure that all MPs have a deeper understanding of the Constitution in order to avoid

misinterpretations and contradictions of what the Constitution decrees. Since the Constitution spells out which languages should serve as official, the malpractice or the mismatch between what the Constitution demands and what is being practiced by Parliamentarians, may destroy the confidence and trust that the citizens have in the government;

(c) although some MPs might be aware of the fact that language cannot be separated from power, there should be some debates focusing not only on language choice, but on the ideology of language as well as on the role of language in politics, education, commerce, and society in general. MPs' use of language gives enough evidence to account for their lack of knowledge of the significant role that language plays. During the interviews it became evident that the concern of the majority of the interviewees is the viability and adequacy of the language to serve official functions, rather than language as an instrument for total emancipation and empowerment of the majority of South Africans. Once Members of Parliament are conscientized about the importance of language, their attitudes towards African languages will change and ultimately African languages could be perceived as indispensable languages of Parliament;

(d) taking the diversity of the MPs' language backgrounds into account, there should be a language institute in Parliament to teach languages to MPs. The institute could, apart from teaching for language acquisition and language proficiency, teach the MPs theories in language planning and policies. Some of the MPs demonstrated their willingness to learn at least one other

language. Others mentioned that apartheid deprived them of the opportunity to learn each other's languages. Such Parliamentarians, especially whites whose education system did not demand or require them to learn African languages, strongly expressed the need for such a language institute in Parliament. Learning each other's language might sensitize and inform the process of language choice as well as help to change the negative attitudes towards certain languages. Incentives for learning other languages could be effected through recognizing and allowing some members to express their views in Parliament in the acquired L2 from the language institute;

- (e) drawing from the inferences and proposals made by the majority of the interviewees whose L1 is a non African language, harmonization of Nguni and Sotho "languages" should be given serious attention by the national government. The interviewees across the linguistic spectrum expressed their genuine interest in and desire to learn either Sotho or Nguni language.

Although the present study was never intended to explore and examine the possibility of language harmonization and the perceived advantages thereof, it could be possible in the long run to have such a language or languages to serve in the domains that are today dominated by English, for example, education, commerce, and at both provincial and local government levels. The national government should therefore seek advice from the experts in the field of sociolinguistics, particularly from specialists in language planning and language policy, on how a project of language harmonization could be carried out. The South African government should have a sound relationship

and partnership with the NGOs (Non-Government Organizations) which have done research and those that are researching the feasibility and viability of harmonizing both Nguni and Sotho community speech forms. The project of harmonization should therefore become a national project in order to avoid the unnecessary emotions that might jeopardize its success. The South African apartheid government developed otherwise similar speech forms as separate languages (as did the missionaries) thereby emphasizing the small lexical differences for its own agenda. For too long a time ethnic groups speaking these community speech forms have been separated from each other on account of speaking different “languages.” These ethnic groups speaking different community speech forms have been linguistically and geographically separated from each other to an extent that they conservatively developed a primordial attachment to their speech forms;

- (f) there should be a Language Code of Conduct in Parliament to prevent any tendencies that could lead to the dominance of a single language as a medium of communication in Parliament. Guidelines should therefore be drawn as to how and when African languages are to be used in Parliament.
- (g) since the Constitution maintains that in recognizing the historically diminished use and status of the (South) African indigenous languages, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of those languages, the national government is therefore obliged to use the indigenous languages in conducting its own affairs. This means that the national government should see to it that African languages are utilized at

national level; for the use of a language at the highest level by those who are in the leadership position would unarguably raise the status of such a language;

- (h) the decision and the choice of English as the language of Parliament; i.e. the language of record in Parliament, should be revisited and be defined within the confines of what the new democratic language policy spells out. This means that any decision with regard to language choice should be done within the context and spirit of the new Constitution. Since the decision for English as the language of record not only undermines and contradicts the new Constitution, but also perpetuates the disempowerment of African languages and ultimately Africans who constitute the majority of MPs, such a decision should be reversed and a more Constitutional one be accordingly effected;
- (i) African languages should not only be used in Parliament by the MPs, but also on all official and important occasions outside Parliament where the MPs are involved. Campaign speeches, especially in rural areas where only Black Africans reside, should be conducted in African languages. Any MP who knows an African language should be encouraged to use it even where other languages, for example, English and Afrikaans, could be utilized. The MPs should, as a result, deliver their speeches in African languages and have them interpreted and translated into either Afrikaans or English, but not the other way around;

- (j) the national government should see to it that the interpreting facilities are available in the committee rooms as they are at the National Assembly.
Serious discussions and debates about bills and annual reports take place in different portfolio committee rooms where ideally all the official languages should be in use;
- (k) the national government should ensure that funds are available for the training of adequate numbers of translators who will be able to translate bills, annual Parliamentary reports, HANSARD documents, interpellations, newsletters, speeches, etc., into different languages. Interpreters should also be trained to serve in Parliament and to interpret for MPs outside of Parliament;
- (l) the national government should take some of the proposals and recommendations laid down in the LANGTAG document (1996) into account and where necessary have them implemented. The LANGTAG document is intended to achieve among others the following major goals:
 - (i) the development and maintenance of the African languages which have been disadvantaged by the linguistic policies of the past
 - (ii) the establishment of equitable and widespread language services;
- (m) language of the month proposal, where each of the official languages could alternate on a monthly basis should be revisited and where possible modified and implemented to eradicate the continual use of one language

(linguicism) as the language of record and communication in Parliament.

This could be done until such time as an appropriate language policy has been arrived at and put in place.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This study provokes several other questions for areas of future research.

One implication for further research is an investigation of languages of use at both provincial and local government levels. Other related research questions or themes that should be investigated in future studies are as follows:

- (i) Exploring alternative language policy for the South African national government
- (ii) The impact of the current South African national government language policy on the political participation of the Members of Parliament whose mother tongue is not English
- (iii) How to challenge the dominance (linguicism) of English in the South African Parliament
- (iv) The implementability of the South African language policy in the South African Parliament

APPENDIX A:

EXCERPTS FROM INTERVIEWS:

RESPONDENT #9

You are touching on a very important aspect of our Constitution. The fact that it appears right up in front is indicative of the fact that the new government is in fact very serious about helping the marginalized languages. To that end the Parliament acting on the requirement of the Constitution set-up the PANSALB, which functions as the interactive agent through which all communities and role players will be committed to advance the various languages of our country. What the Constitution has done is to ascertain those primary languages used by the largest minorities in our country. These languages are, isiZulu, isiXhosa, English, Setswana and Sesotho, and these languages are listed accordingly. Then there are secondary languages also used by much smaller minorities and these languages are Hindu, Hebrew, Arabic, and so on. The government is very conscious of the fact that all languages should be developed and promoted because we see language as an asset belonging to the nation. We see each language as having significant purpose in the cultural life of our people. The Portfolio Committee of Arts, Culture and Language, Science and Technology, of which I am a member, has been looking at the language problem very intensively and very extensively over the last four and a half years.

... So, if it is going to be four languages serving as official languages, the language like Venda might be cut off. So it is mostly likely that it will be one of the

Nguni languages, isiZulu, because it is spoken by more people than any other language. It is the language that is going to be given a step up. And so it would probably become the first Black language in this country to start becoming recognized as an official language.

RESPONDENT #10

The difference is only when it comes to HANSARD. In which language will HANSARD appear? Imagine having HANSARD appearing in all the official languages; it could be very expensive.

Parties have submitted their proposals. The popular one is that the two languages that are being used must remain, that is, Afrikaans and English, and African languages alternate in the printing of the HANSARD document. Unfortunately this proposal was not accepted. When it comes to debates in the National Assembly, I am free to use isiZulu, isiXhosa and any other official language. Although we are allowed to use these languages, I mean African languages, how often do you see them in use?

Again remember that we are dealing with eleven official languages and each language group is proud of its own language. Now which of these African languages should be used? If say, the HANSARD document is published in Tshivenda, do you think other language groups will encourage it? I do not think so. There will be a lot of opposition and conflict. That is why we are still debating the languages of use in Parliament even today. In the meantime English is serving as the language of record in Parliament.

RESPONDENT #1

Now you were there yourself when the portfolio committee was dealing with Amendments of the PANSALB Language Board Act. Now largely speaking, the Act enshrines language rights for people, but most importantly the Act establishes the parastatal charged with the responsibility to ensure that what the Constitution decrees is actually realized by the nation. One of the major responsibilities of the PANSALB is the promotion of multiculturalism and multilingualism in the country. The PANSALB encourages and promotes the observance of cultural diversity in the country. One of the things that the PANSALB does is to monitor those institutions as far as possible, implement what the Constitution decrees. So, in other words what I am saying is that although within the past four years we have not been able to implement this language policy, but we have laid a very important ground in this regard. Also in adding further responsibilities to this Board, for instance, the establishment of dictionary units for all eleven official languages, we also had to add money. Up to now the PANSALB was receiving 11 million Rands, and I think we will double this amount to ensure that the PANSALB does the work. More than that we paid a lot of attention in our Amendment to ensure that there is also specialized expertise which assists in the implementation of what the Constitution decrees. I do not think that the PANSALB is toothless as you say, it is a very empowered parastatal.

... The ANC is the one that spearheaded and initiated the discussion around the eleven language policy at the World Trade Center during the

negotiations. It is the policy that we have put forward which we believe in, for it is a reality of our country. So, there is no way that the ANC can shift from that. Of course the ANC has to be very pragmatic and practical in the application of the policy, and we will do that.

RESPONDENT #4

The government declared those languages official languages. And declaring a language official, I mean declaring a language an official language is a very good start in the promotion of such a language.

Previously there were two official languages in South Africa. But the Constitution today says that the nine indigenous languages are also official languages. They are on par with English. That is the first step that the government made in the promotion of those languages. The promotion of African languages to official level will help improve the self-image of the speakers of those languages and make them realize and feel that they are part and parcel of this nation. The second thing that the government did was to create a Board, they call it PANSALB, and "PAN" means for everyone. This Language Board sees to it that it brings on board those languages which were marginalized. That is why yesterday we were debating about this Pan South African Language Board Bill which is intended to arm this Board to teeth. So, you can't say the government is doing nothing. It has done a lot and it is still in the process of developing these languages.

... We all decided and agreed that we use English as the functional language. You must understand, underline, *functional language*. The whole of South Africa speaks English. We are Vendas, Xhosas, Zulus, Tsongas, and so on, which language would be used to unite us? I think we want to communicate ideas even when we have so many languages. What language should be used in this situation where we have such a large number of languages?

We speak of a regional language. Different ethnic groups in South Africa are concentrated in a particular region. For example, Vendas are in Venda, and when you communicate with them in their region, use Tshivenda, their language. Xhosa is not spoken in Venda, it is spoken in another area. When you go to the area in which Xhosa is spoken, use it. So, that is what is called a regional language. Anybody who wants to communicate with those people in different regions should use the relevant regional languages.

But when people get to Parliament, they must speak English. In Nigeria, when you get to Parliament, you must speak English.

RESPONDENT #2

The most important thing is the mindset. But how many of our people have developed the skill of speaking their language? I mean, let's look at the reality. How many of our people have developed that skill of expressing themselves formally in their own languages except in colloquial speeches? A Parliamentary speech is not colloquial; it is a formal speech which must be dignified like our fathers when they speak in our traditional courts. The type of language they use to bring forth the message is quite dignified. This is the type of language that we have to use in Parliament. How many of our people have that rich background? For our languages to reach that level, instructions in our schools should be done in our African languages.

For recording we are using English only. That is why the Afrikaners are complaining. The Afrikaners want everything that is printed in English to be printed in Afrikaans. But we are saying if every material has to be printed in Afrikaans, then it has to be printed in isiXhosa or Tshivenda and all other official languages as well; for this is a national government. Another suggestion was for the alternating of the languages. Say, for example, we print one bill in Tshivenda with an English translation this month, we shall print another bill in Xitsonga with the English translation the following month. And when we propose that, they say we are giving preference to English as English becomes the common denominator. We need to come to a stage where we can say, do we have a language that we can use as the common denominator. We need to come to that stage where we ask ourselves which language could be used as the common

denominator for now, not for the future; and that language should be relatively understood by everybody. Which language is that?

RESPONDENT #15

I was part of Committee One in the Constitutional negotiation process. Committee One was the committee that handled language issues. In that committee the politically correct thing was to say eleven languages official, all of them. We argued from a different point of view indicating that it was not going to be practical whether we liked or not. We said that it was very foolish to say eleven languages are official. Our argument was that if you are saying eleven languages are official languages, you must be sincere to have all of them written equally. If they cannot be all equal, you are going to end up with one language, English, above all other official languages.

So, if you are serious about the eleven language policy, then you must be willing to put money there. We proposed something different, which was not very popular but we think it is more realistic in our proposal. Our proposal as Freedom Front was that there should be four official languages in Parliament; namely, Nguni language, Sotho language, English and Afrikaans. The statistics show that 97% of all South Africans understand one of those four.

... I said more than once in Parliament that when somebody else speaks his own language I congratulate him. And I would say that I really thank you for speaking your language and that I can now speak Afrikaans as well. I think last month there were more speakers who were willing to speak their own languages. There were very few of them, but I heard some Xhosa, some Zulu and the Minister of Labor, Mr. Mdladlane, spoke in Xhosa and I liked it very much; I really

like it you know. Some of the Inkatha people speak Zulu as well, and there are translation services in the National Assembly and I could follow it.

RESPONDENT #16

I can give you my personal view, but also the Freedom Front's view on this whole language issue. As you know, I mean it is a well known fact that we are fighting for Afrikaans as a language to survive in this country. But we always, and we are still saying we are not only fighting for Afrikaans, but we are fighting for Afrikaans and all the indigenous languages because Afrikaans won't survive if the other indigenous languages are not surviving in the process or they don't develop in the process. You are quite correct when you say we got eleven official languages as it is in the Constitution at this stage. We are worried that it's a symbolic thing. But our main concern is that at the highest level of government in this country, that is, in Parliament, multilingualism is not favored. In Parliament people, I mean only those who are to present speeches in languages other than Afrikaans and English, should not hand their speeches to translators before such speeches are delivered for they cannot change or alter some of the issues they want to raise. This denies a particular group freedom of speech in Parliament. But they can still make a speech in Parliament in their own languages. And we will ask them to do it more because that will help the development of their languages and it will also help Afrikaans in the process. ... In the committee rooms where there are no translation services you can only speak in English. So, we think it is very bad that the Government says, multilingualism, eleven languages in the Constitution, and when you come to the Parliament in this country, you can't argue in your first language; you have to speak in English.

I want to close this by saying that you can't leave the language issue, I mean language promotion, to the government; for the government will always have a political agenda. So you must have the independent body to oversee and be the watchdog over this. I hope that PANSALB will be able to bring about language development and language promotion in this country.

RESPONDENT #14

It makes very good sense for the DP to have one major language for Parliament and government services; and we have got no problem with the fact that English is used as much as it is. But I think we have a real problem with the Constitution that says there will be eleven official languages, when we never hear certain languages spoken in Parliament except a few Afrikaans, Zulu, Sotho, Xhosa and of course English. If it is difficult for the government to implement this policy, where all languages are treated and used equally; the government must be clear about it. It is time for the government to say let us be honest with the nation. If we are not going to use eleven languages equally, then let us cut them down to one or two, three or four, and decide which ones are we going to use. But there is a kind of dishonesty at the present time, because certainly you are quite right, there is no way that these eleven languages are given the opportunity in this country the way the Constitution requires.

If you are going to have eleven official languages used in Parliament or outside of Parliament, you need to have full time translators. You have to get everything translated into eleven languages. Is it feasible? Can we afford the cost of using eleven languages? The answer is probably no. Then we decided to use only one language, English, as the language of record in Parliament. We said we can't afford eleven languages, but stated how many we can afford. We pointed out that even two would be too much. ...You need to talk to Mr. Smuts about the DP's language policy for he is the one who knows about the language issue and

he will make the DP's position quite clear. But it also goes back to 1993; I will be quite frank with you to say I can't remember what the DP's position is.

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RESPONDENT #5

I think it has to do with our background. You know our background whereby if a person speaks in English is said to be more civilized than a person who speaks other languages, particularly African languages. Parliamentarians do not want to use their languages. Even when I was still in Senate as the HANSARD could reflect, I would, together with about four or five colleagues, forever speak in our mother tongue, while the rest of the Parliamentarians preferred English over their mother tongue. I have always stressed the issue of the use of mother tongue in Parliament. The fact that you speak in a language that is not yours, you are not comfortable. I become comfortable when speaking in my own language, that is, when I use my mother tongue than when I try to use English. I can express whatever I want in my mother tongue better than in English. Although our Constitution accommodates all the eleven major languages spoken in South Africa, very few of us use our languages. I remember when one Motswana lady in Parliament stood up and spoke in English without a single word in Setswana or Sepedi. I said to a member who was sitting next to me, look at what is happening, the poor woman is forever speaking in English although she speaks both Setswana and Sepedi where she comes from. I remember when I was still in the Senate, one time the debate was stopped as I was asked to speak on the SAA (South African Airways) language policy. As usual, I stood up and spoke in my mother tongue, isiXhosa. The National Party member indicated that he could not follow what I was saying, as there were no translating facilities. So as I'm saying, if you sit and listen to our debates, you will realize that

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many of the Africans are going to speak in English. At times we have difficulties in understanding what the member is trying to say, but the major problem is that English is not our language. It would be after the HANSARD document has been compiled that we would then understand what the honorable member was saying in his speech. But I am saying it is a big big problem. I think our people and constituencies out there have also a serious problem with some of our top leadership who do not want to use the language of the people; I mean African languages. I know of certain people in top leadership who will speak in English in the village. I mean, how can you go to a village that does not speak English and address the people in it?

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RESPONDENT #13

Firstly, I am the strong supporter of that Constitutional provision that there shall be eleven official languages. I am the strong supporter of the idea of the multilingual country; and it does not mean that all eleven official languages should be spoken, read and understood by everybody. ... Here you are aware that every MP is entitled to speak in his/her own language in debate, and that if you speak in any language other than English or Afrikaans you have to give notice beforehand that you are going to speak in isiZulu or whatever language. I don't know how many actually do that, but we do have translations. But this does not apply in the committee rooms, for there are no interpreting facilities there. This demonstrates that in Parliament there has never been any serious attempt to carry out the promise of the Constitution in as far as the new language policy is concerned. What we have to do is that we have to show that our hearts beat in the right way on multilingualism and the promise of the Constitution. If Parliament does not do it, who else is going to do it in South Africa? We as the Democratic Party proposed that the agendas and documents of Parliament, I am not saying every piece of paper, but the agendas and the official documents should all come out in English or Afrikaans. We don't want to diminish Afrikaans and Sotho language and Nguni language.

If at least you have those four languages, you are probably covering 30% of South Africa. ... We said take the other minority languages and in rotation use each one for a month. This would be a way of recognizing multilingualism and multiculturalism in Parliament. Following this approach, as time goes on, we can

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demonstrate our commitment to multilingualism thereby picking up or adding a minority language to the major ones. This could be done in a more practical and affordable manner. People say this could turn out to be expensive, but the DP says it is not too expensive. We were told it could cost about R5 million per annum to have Zulu and Sotho as additional languages in Parliament. Now we say that the catering budget of R10 million in Parliament should be cut in half and the money be used for the addition of languages in Parliament.

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RESPONDENT #11

The Constitution is something that we supported in terms of culture and language policy; we therefore, regard the development of all the eleven languages as being equally important. That is the official policy of the New National Party, but of course in developing the languages there is a problem of, for example, if you take Parliament there is a problem of cost in terms of say recording the discussions and the debates that take place in Parliament. Even during the time of the old regime in many years recording in Parliament was done primarily in Afrikaans and a very small percentage of recordings were done in English. Although this was an attempt to give equal attention to both Afrikaans and English, invariably Afrikaans got more attention than English. So, English people as well were perturbed at that stage about the relegation of English, while like Afrikaans it was an official language. I was fortunate to be in the first CODESA talks which began at Kempton Park and moved on and developed into a Constitution and so on, and I was one of the two people in the interim phase that insisted that even Indian languages be listed in the Constitution. What happened was that from that point on they were listed, but the only difference was that since Indian languages have been developed in the overseas countries, less effort and money would be spent here on those languages; and more effort, time and money should be spent on developing the languages that were ignored in the past. I just want to refer you to our general language policy document and it says, "Language, Arts and Cultural diversity is our strength". The state must encourage the development of various cultures and all of our official languages.

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This is our official policy in a nutshell and this is being expanded by the lady who is the party's spokesperson in arts and culture, Ms. Anna van Wyk, into a full policy document. But that tells you in essence what we stand for.

... In KwaZulu-Natal everything that the New National Party does is done in three languages. Our preference for language use in KwaZulu-Natal is like this: English first, Zulu second, and Afrikaans third.

... The Nguni languages are used. There are one or two Members of Parliament not from our side, but from the ANC side, who always speak in those languages and it is always translated; so we follow what is going on simply by putting the earphones onto our ears and hear what is going on.

I have been with the National Party from 1992. If this party was still doing what it did before, and I can tell you now that one of the mistakes that they made was to impose Afrikaans on Black schools; they forced people to learn Afrikaans. And if anybody forces something on you, you tend to hate it. The reason why you had the Soweto riots was because the National Party was imposing Afrikaans as the language medium.

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RESPONDENT #7

First of all I think you are perfectly right to say that the Constitution dictates and describes the equality of all the major languages spoken in South Africa. ... Such languages must be used equally and must be given equal opportunity. As you have indicated also, in terms of the Constitution we are expected to be using our African languages or our mother tongue. But there are practical constraints attached to that. The first constraint is an issue of cultural impact. You know our people during the era of apartheid were divided and therefore, lost their sense of identity and also because of colonization, our people tend to see themselves as inferior and consequently adore the Western culture. Our people still regard the European languages as superior, and judge an educated person in terms of how fluent he is in foreign languages. ...Parliament is trying to emphasize that people should be proud of using their own languages. But we also have some constraints as I have already pointed out. One of the constraints is lack of scientific terminology in African languages. We do not have sufficient terminology in African languages to express ourselves in Parliament.

...English is predominant in Parliament; we use English only and we use it unconsciously. We have not taken a decision that we must use English only in Parliament.

There should be the development of African languages if they are to be used in Parliament. We need to instill in our students love of these languages so that they take pride in the study of their mother tongue.

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There are very few people who specialize in African languages because of the inferiority complex. It is like when one obtains a Ph.D. in Tshivenda, Xitsonga or any other African language, person is inferior to a person who obtains his Ph.D. in Communications, Anthropology and so on. So, I think we must de-orientate our people to take pride in their cultures and languages.

I am really optimistic and we will work very hard towards the achievement of all this. It could take us five years down the line to have our languages appreciated and properly used in Parliament because of the factors I mentioned. Even the people who determine the terminology, which I said was artificial, they were not experts; those who were properly qualified were very few. Until we influence our people to know these languages, to study them, it will take us longer than five years, but I think we are on the right track towards achieving this.

RESPONDENT #12

The realities of languages have to do with empowering people and making it possible for them to communicate their needs in their own languages. ...The two languages that are completely developed in this country are Afrikaans and English. These languages have the vocabulary for every field of study and every discipline and so on. We can therefore say that these two languages are practical languages and others, I mean African languages, are cultural languages. We should therefore gradually build up the other languages that had been neglected or that have not been developed.

But there seems to be on the part of the governing party a lack of comprehension as to the whole field of language study and language planning. ...The Constitution does make provision for PANSALB, and its primary task is to promote multilingualism, which I think is a wonderful and very important thing to do in this country because of the fact that there are so many people that speak neither English nor Afrikaans. Any language opens windows of the landscapes of the mind, of the landscapes of the soul. These windows are shut. I can't speak Venda ... but I know that it has a wonderful treasure of children's songs and of poetry and it is closer to me. Unfortunately I cannot speak this beautiful language. I personally, and I think any thinking person, finds it a deprivation not to be able to speak the languages of the country.

And I know a day will dawn when all South Africans will start to be more realistic in accepting that Afrikaans is an indigenous language and not a foreign

language. And that it should really be used to help the other languages to be developed in the same way it developed.

It is so funny when you walk in passage ways in Parliament and hear people talking to each other in Afrikaans, and when these people stand in Parliament to speak, they pretend that they can't speak a word of Afrikaans; they rather speak the most horrible English. They are really crippling themselves. I mean that is a childish attitude; it is not the constructive attitude, it is not positive, it does not contribute anything.

RESPONDENT #6

And it all comes down to that. When we first came up with the interim Constitution, which is the first one declaring eleven languages official, we had no idea whatsoever as to what strategies to use to promote and develop those languages which were marginalized by the apartheid government. When we came to the real Constitution, I mean the Constitution that was adopted in 1996, we carried forward those language provisions; and we then began to realize how expensive it would be to implement such a policy.

We do agree that an ideal South African language situation would be the one in which eleven official languages are used; and what we would like to have in Parliament is that all languages are represented, but unfortunately that is not practical. There is no money for translation and printing. Just in Parliament, and I am sure people told you, if you want to speak in any language other than English, you have to inform Parliament well in advance, about twenty-four hours before the speech is delivered. It is done this way for there is no money that could be used for constant interpretation services for all eleven languages; that is the problem. It all goes down to money; it is just not there.

There are constant discussions about it. Committees have been set up to look at ways of bringing all the eleven languages into the Parliamentary process but every single one comes against the stumbling block of money.

Realizing that it would not be possible to use all the eleven official languages simultaneously, we came up with one thing and that was to use English as the language of record in Parliament. English is the major language in

that everyone can speak it. We also proposed that it should be English and one of the other languages per month. English is already there by force of circumstances. You know we were having a discussion about education and people wanted to use other languages such as, Afrikaans, Venda or Sotho. There was only one person who spoke English as the first language, but English happened to be the only language that every single person in that meeting understood.

I tell you the government is doing far too little to promote and develop African languages.

RESPONDENT #3

Tsha u thoma tshine ra fanela u ita ndi u vhulunga nyambo dzashu.

Nyambo hedzi dzi fanela u vhulungwa phanda ha musi dzi tshi bveledziswa. Ri tea u vha na dikishinari dzine dza vha na maipfi ane a thoma nga A, u swika kha maipfi ane a thoma nga Z. Kufhatele kwa dzidikishinari hedzi ku do fanela u fhambana na kufhatele kwa dzidikishinari dzine dza shumiswa zwikoloni zwashu namusi. Hoyu ndi mushumo une ra fanela u u ita ri tshi tevhedza zwe zwa vha zwi tshi khou ambiwa kha mulayo-tibe wa PANSALB.

Hezwi zwa u shumisa dzinyambo dza hashu ndi zwone zwine zwa do ri livhisa kha mbofholowo yo teaho. A hu na mbofholowo kha lushaka arali lushaka lwonolwo lu sa shumisi luambo lwalwo.

Nga u vhona hanga, hezwila zwe zwa vha zwi tshi khou ambwa zwe vhathu vha fhedza vho tendelana khazwo mutanganoni wa mulayo-tibe wa PANSALB, ndi amba hezwila zwauri bodo dza dzinyambo dzi fanela u ridzhisitariwa sa Khamphani, zwi do sia dzinyambo dza Vharema dzi henefha hune dza vha hone. A hu nga do swika hune dza do gonya nthu dza swika hune dza Vhatshena dza vha hone. Ndi hezwi zwine vha pfa ndi tshi ri hezwi zwithu ro tea u zwi lavhelesa nga ndila ya vhutali. Vhatshena ndi vhathu vhane vha vha na zwithu zwavho lune vha do isa phanda na u thusedza dzinyambo dza havho ngeno rine dzashu dzi tshi khou salela murahu. PANSALB i fanela u vhona zwauri nyambo dza Vharema dzi khou takuwa, nahone dzi fanela u lingana na dza Vhatshena. Zwa sa ralo ri do vha ri kule na u swika kha demokirasi ye ra lwela yone. Vhatali vha do bvelela nga u shumisa dzinyambo dzavho; hu si

dzinyambo dzisili lini. Mavhuru vho bvelaphanda nga u shumisa luambo lwavho. Ngavhe zwi si vhe izwo, ndi musi vha do vha vhe hafha hune vha vha hone namusi. Tshivhuru tsho shumiswa zwikoloni, zwibadela, Phalamenndeni, ofisini dza muvhuso na mmbini.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION:

The first thing that we have to do is to preserve our languages. These languages should be preserved prior to their development. We have to have dictionaries that have words that begin with A, up to words that begin with Z. The way these dictionaries shall be built, will be different from the way in which the dictionaries used in our schools today are built. This is the job that should be done in line with what was said with regard to the PANSALB Bill. Using our own languages will lead us to the right liberation. There is no liberation in a nation if that nation does not use its own language.

According to my own judgement, what has been said and agreed upon in the PANSALB Bill meeting, that language boards should be registered as companies, shall leave Black languages where they are. There will never be a time that they would develop to the level on which the White languages are. That is the reason why you hear me saying we have to look at these issues wisely. White people are the ones who have property and will continue to support their languages while ours would be lagging behind. PANSALB should see to it that Black languages are elevated, and should be on equal footing with the White ones. If it works differently, we would be far from attaining democracy that we

fought for. The wise are going to prevail when using their own languages and not in using foreign languages. Afrikaans speaking people only developed when using their language. Otherwise they would not be where they are today. Afrikaans was used in schools, hospitals, Parliament, government offices, and in the army.

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RESPONDENT #8

Zwithu zwinzhi a zwi athu bvelela. Mandela o dzhia muvhuso, Mbeki ene ndi wa u vhusa. Ri a zwi divha zwauri dzinyambo hedzi dza hashu dzo tea u shuma; fhedzi zwi divheni zwauri ro vha ri tshi kha di lwa uri muvhuso hoyu ri u dzhie. Zwino musi ro no dzhia muvhuso, ndi hone-ha ri tshi do kona u vhusa, ra ita hezwo zwine vhathu vha hashu vha funa zwone.

Ro thoma nga u fhata dzinndu dza RDP ri tshi fhatela havha vhathu vha hashu vhe vha vha vho tangulwa nga muvhuso hoyu wa tshitalula. Zwino mafhungo a uri ri shumisa lufhio luambo Phalamenndeni a si mafhungo ane a tou dina u yafhi lini. Ro no vha na PANSALB ine ya khou dzudzanya haya mafhungo a dzinyambo dzashu. Ndi ngoho, samusi rothe ri tshi khou zwi divha, a hu na muthu ane a nga kona u dibveledza arali luambo lwawe lwo kwanyeledzwa. Muthu ha koni u bvisela vhupfiwa hawe khagala nga lulimi lu si lwawe. Ndi ngazwo zwine namusi ra vha na Bodo ine ya pfi PANSALB ine ya vhona zwauri dzinyambo hedzi dzi khou farwa nga ndila i fanaho.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION:

Many things have not as yet unfolded. Mandela took the government, but Mbeki has to govern. We know that our languages ought to be used, but you should know that we were struggling to take this government. After taking the government, it is then that we can govern, and do those things that our people need.

We began by building the RDP houses for our people who were dispossessed by the apartheid government. Now the question of which language to use in Parliament is not a difficult one. We already have a PANSALB which is dealing with the issue of our languages. It is true, as we all know it, nobody can develop himself or herself if his or her language is oppressed. Nobody can express his or her feelings through a tongue which is not his or hers. That is why today we have a Board called PANSALB which sees to it that all these languages are treated.

APPENDIX B:

LETTERS TO THE INTERVIEWEES AND UCRIHS APPROVAL LETTER:

APPROACH LETTER FOR MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

FROM: NKHELEBENI EDWARD PHASWANA, MICHIGAN STATE

UNIVERSITY GRADUATE STUDENT

Dear Mr/Ms/Dr/Prof/Rev

I am requesting your participation in my project which focuses on language policy in South Africa. The topic of my research project is *"Languages of Use by the South African National Government."*

I am a Ph.D. student in the Department of English in the School of Arts and Letters at Michigan State University in the United States of America. As a student in Sociolinguistics, I am interested in studying the South African language policy. The study will investigate the extent to which South Africa's eleven official languages are used by the national government in carrying out its national duties. Another aim of the study is to analyze the implications of the national government's language use.

This study, which mainly focuses on the language/s used by the new South African national government and the implications thereof, is one of the few, if not the only, research project that investigates the translation of policy, as determined by the new Constitution of South Africa, into practice by the State. In other words, this study establishes the extent to which the State practices what the Constitution provides as far as language issues are concerned. The findings

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of this study may, therefore, inform the national government of what the Constitution requires and what is being practiced.

The data will be collected through an in-depth interview that will take approximately one hour. I will use audiotape (tape-recorder) in recording the interview. You will be asked, for example, to indicate as to whether or not the national government is affirming what is enshrined in the Constitution in as far as language policy is concerned. If during the interview you need to give sensitive information that if disclosed may put you in a vulnerable position, you may ask that this information not be included in the data-base. The information you share with me shall be treated with confidence. During the interview you can ask me to stop tape-recording at any time, and you can also stop answering questions at any time. You are allowed to withdraw from the study at any given time without any penalty or recrimination. If you choose to do so, I shall immediately destroy all the data I collected from you.

I must, however, mention that I am excited about this research. Please read and sign both copies of the consent form enclosed herein. Retain one copy and return the other to me as soon as possible.

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study.

Sincerely,

N.E. PHASWANA

CONSENT FORM:

Below is a consent form for participants in the qualitative study, *"Languages of Use by the South African National Government."*

I appreciate your willingness to participate in this study. As a participant, you have specific rights that will be observed. Your participation in the study is voluntary. Feel free to refuse to answer any question at any time during the interview. You also have the freedom to withdraw from the interview at any time; and to have the tape-recording stopped. Although the interview will be kept strictly confidential, parts of the interview, i.e. particular quotations may appear in the dissertation. I would be grateful if you could sign this form to show that you have read the letter of explanation describing the research plan and your rights. Retain one signed copy for your record. Use the enclosed self-addressed envelope to return the other signed copy to me. You can contact me at (0159) 83561 to answer any further questions you might have regarding this study.

Sincerely,

Nkhelebeni Edward Phaswana, Graduate Student

Date: -----

Name (Please Print): -----

I agree to participate in the study, *"Languages of Use by the South African National Government."*

I read the letter explaining my rights as a participant.

Signature: -----

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**FOLLOW-UP LETTER FOR “LANGUAGES OF USE BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN
NATIONAL GOVERNMENT”**

FROM: NKHELEBENI EDWARD PHASWANA

Dear Mr/Ms/Dr/Prof/Rev -----

This letter is a follow-up to our conversation about my research project. As I mentioned previously, my research project is intended to investigate the extent to which South Africa's eleven official languages are utilized by the South African national government in carrying out its duties.

Thank you for the time you took to respond to my invitation to participate in my study.

Sincerely,

N.E. PHASWANA

THANK-YOU LETTER TO PARTICIPANTS

FROM: NKHELEBENI EDWARD PHASWANA

Dear Mr/Ms/Dr/Prof/Rev.....

Thank you for participating in my project which focuses on language policy in South Africa. I enjoyed talking with you. Again, thank you for the time you took to participate in this study which investigates the extent to which South Africa's eleven official languages are used by the national government in carrying out its national duties.

Sincerely,

N.E. PHASWANA

**MICHIGAN STATE
UNIVERSITY**

January 28, 1999

TO: Dr. Geneva SMITHERMAN
221 Morrill Hall
English Dept.

APPROVAL DATE: January 28, 1999

RE: **IRB # 99006 CATEGORY: 1-C**

**TITLE: LANGUAGES OF USE BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL
GOVERNMENT**

The University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects' (UCRIHS) review of this project is complete and I am pleased to advise that the rights and welfare of the human subjects appear to be adequately protected and methods to obtain informed consent are appropriate. Therefore, the **UCRIHS approved this project.**

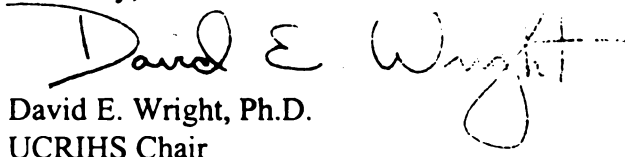
RENEWALS: UCRIHS approval is valid for one calendar year, beginning with the approval date shown above. Projects continuing beyond one year must be renewed with the green renewal form. A maximum of four such expedited renewals possible. Investigators wishing to continue a project beyond that time need to submit it again for a complete review.

REVISIONS: UCRIHS must review any changes in procedures involving human subjects, prior to initiation of the change. If this is done at the time of renewal, please use the green renewal form. To revise an approved protocol at any other time during the year, send your written request to the UCRIHS Chair, requesting revised approval and referencing the project's IRB# and title. Include in your request a description of the change and any revised instruments, consent forms or advertisements that are applicable.

PROBLEMS/CHANGES: Should either of the following arise during the course of the work, notify UCRIHS promptly: 1) problems (unexpected side effects, complaints, etc.) involving human subjects or 2) changes in the research environment or new information indicating greater risk to the human subjects than existed when the protocol was previously reviewed and approved.

If we can be of further assistance, please contact us at 517 355-2180 or via email: UCRIHS@pilot.msu.edu. Please note that all UCRIHS forms and instruction are located

Sincerely,


David E. Wright, Ph.D.
UCRIHS Chair

DEW: db

cc: Edward Phaswana



**OFFICE OF
RESEARCH
AND
GRADUATE
STUDIES**

**University Committee on
Research Involving
Human Subjects
(UCRIHS)**

Michigan State University
246 Administration Building
East Lansing, Michigan
48824-1046

517/355-2180
FAX 517/353-2976

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