

**LANGUAGE PLANNING AND SOCIAL
TRANSFORMATION IN THE LIMPOPO PROVINCE:
THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION.**

BY

JOHANNES RATSIKANA RAMMALA

B.A., HONOURS, UNIVERSITY OF THE NORTH,
M.A., UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK (UK).

THESIS

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The dissertation discusses language planning and social transformation in the Limpopo Province, with emphasis on the role of language in education, with a view to suggesting a comprehensive language policy and a plan of implementation for social transformation.

Language planning refers to 'deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure or functional allocation of their language code' (Cooper 1989: 45). It is a 'government authorised, long term sustained and conscious effort to alter a language itself or to change a language's function in a society for the purpose of solving language problems' (Weinstein 1980:55).

There is no language policy in the world which is not intertwined with the politics, the culture, the geography and the socio-economic conditions found in that particular area. It is for this reason that Rubin (1968) recommends a thorough understanding of all these aspects of society, in order to guarantee an effective language planning policy. Language policy always involves language legislation and language legislation can be a unifying instrument.

Society is viewed by sociologists not as a steady state but as a process, as a continuous, unending stream of events. 'All social reality is pure dynamism, a flow of changes of various speeds, intensity, rhythm and tempo' (Sztompka 1994:9). Society is a specific social tissue or social fabric binding people together.

The Limpopo Province has been granted some political power to pursue political and socio-economic objectives regionally. Actually, political power is in the final analysis about socio-economic resources and their allocation. The Province needs to have a comprehensive language policy and plan and these cannot develop in isolation. The policy must be structured with reference to the larger national framework.

The autochthonous languages need to be promoted and developed as recommended

by the Constitution (Act 108 of 1996). Language promotion can occur only if the languages concerned acquire some economic and educational value. Multilingualism ought to be the cornerstone of language policy as it broadens opportunities for some citizens to participate in political and economic affairs. It has democratizing consequences.

Bokamba (1999) argues that the African languages constitute necessary investments without which educational, economic and political development cannot occur. The development and promotion of the African languages are not intended to negate the complementary, useful roles that non-indigenous languages play. For the sake of global communication, citizens of the Province should be equipped with the competence to make them citizens of the world. Specific languages should be selected for specific purposes as this will accord empowerment to the speakers of those languages.

The solution to the language and language-related problems in the Province is to adopt a calculated multilingual policy that allocates different functions to the selected languages and thereby allows a wide access to the resources and opportunities to the interested and capable citizens.

Key Terms.

Language planning, social transformation, language education policy, mother-tongue instruction, multilingualism, language of learning and teaching, sociolinguistic profile, the Limpopo Province, sociopolitical history, language functions.

In hierdie proefskrif ondersoek die navorser taalbeplanning en maatskaplike transformasie in die Limpopo Provinsie, met besondere aandag aan die rol van taal in die opvoeding, met die doel om 'n omvattende taalbeleid en 'n toepaslike plan vir sosiale transformasie voor te stel.

Taalbeplanning verwys na doelbewuste pogings om die gedrag van ander te beïnvloed ten opsigte van die aanleer, strukturering of funksionele toekenning van 'n taalkode (volgens Cooper 1998.45). Dit word gemagtig deur die regering en is 'n volgehoue bewuste poging om 'n taal self, of 'n taal se funksies in die gemeenskap, te verander met die doel om taalprobleme op te los (Weinstein 1980.55).

Daar is geen taalbeleid in die wêreld wat nie verstrengel is in die politiek, die kultuur, die omgewing en die sosio-ekonomiese toestande wat in 'n sekere gebied aangetref word nie. Dis om hierdie rede dat Rubin (1968) 'n deeglike begrip van al hierdie aspekte van die gemeenskap aanbeveel ten einde 'n doeltreffende taalbeplanningsbeleid te verseker. Taalbeleid behels altyd taalwetgewing en taalwetgewing kan 'n eenheidskeppende instrument in die gemeenskap wees.

Die gemeenskap word deur sosioloë beskou nie as 'n statiese toestand nie, maar as 'n onafgebroke, volgehoue reeks gebeurtenisse. Sztompka (1994.9) beweer dat alle sosiale werklikhede 'n suiwer dinamiese stroom van verandering teen verskillende snelhede, intensiteite, ritmes en tempo's is. Die gemeenskap is 'n spesifieke sosiale entiteit wat mense saambind.

Aan die Limpopo Provinsie is 'n sekere politieke mag toegeken om politieke en sosio-ekonomiese oogmerke op streeksvlak na te streef. In werklikheid gaan politieke mag per slot van rekening oor sosio-ekonomiese hulpmiddels en die toewysing daarvan. Die Provinsie behoort 'n omvattende taalbeleid en –plan te hê en dit kan nie in isolasie ontwikkel word nie. Die beleid moet gestruktureer word binne en in ooreenstemming met die groter nasionale raamwerk.

Die inheemse tale behoort bevorder en ontwikkel te word soos aanbeveel deur die grondwet (wet 108 van 1996). Taalbevordering kan alleen geskied as die betrokke tale tot 'n sekere mate ekonomiese en opvoedkundige waarde verkry. Veeltaligheid behoort die hoeksteen van die taalbeleid te wees, omdat dit die moontlikhede vir sommige burgers om aan politieke en ekonomiese aktiwiteite deel te neem, verbreed. Dit het demokratiese implikasies.

Bokamba (1999) voer aan dat die Afrikatale noodsaaklike beleggings veronderstel waarsonder opvoedkundige, ekonomiese en politieke ontwikkeling nie kan plaasvind nie. Om die Afrikatale te ontwikkel en te bevorder, beteken nie dat die aanvullende bruikbare rolle wat die nie-inheemse tale vervul, daardeur ontken word nie. Ter wille van globalisering, behoort die burgers van die Provinsie toegerus te word met die bevoegdheid om wêreldburgers te kan word. Spesifieke tale behoort geselekteer te word vir besondere doelstellings, omdat dit die sprekers van daardie tale in staat stel om hulle te bemagtig.

Die oplossing vir taal- en taalverwante probleme in die Provinsie is om 'n berekende veeltalige taalbeleid aan te neem wat verskeie funksies aan geselekteerde tale toeken ten einde daardeur 'n wye toegang tot hulpbronne en geleenthede aan die belangstellende en bekwame burger te verseker.

Sleuteltermes.

Taalbeplanning, maatskaplike stransformasie, opvoedkundige taalbeleid, moedertaalonderig, veeltaligheid, taal van onderrig, sosiolinguistiese profiel, Limpopo Provinsie, sosio-politieke geskiedenis, taalfunksies.

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CHAPTER 1

PROBLEM STATEMENT

1.1 Historically determined tensions and discrimination in Limpopo Province.

The Limpopo Province, like all other provinces in South Africa, inherited some historically determined tensions from colonialism, missionary work and the apartheid government which instituted the Bantustans. The Province is the confluence of four of the previous homelands governments, viz. Venda, Lebowa, Gazankulu and a section referred to as 'South Africa' because its inhabitants were directly governed by the South African Government and were mostly white people. Each of these homelands had its own language even though they all used English and Afrikaans as official languages. The languages were Tshivenda for the Venda homeland, Northern Sotho for the Lebowa homeland, Xitsonga for Gazankulu and English and Afrikaans for 'South Africa'. These divisions created social inequalities which may hinder the young democracy created by the present government.

Languages were not equally privileged and those with high statuses like Afrikaans were elevated to the disadvantage of the other languages.

Language has always been a central issue in South Africa. (Even though the study is based on the Limpopo Province, I will sometimes refer to the country as a whole when discussing language issues which are not necessarily specific to the Province, but also nationally present. There are of course problems in the country as a whole which may not necessarily be present in the province). One remarkable national incident was 16

June 1976, a day called "Youth Day" in this country which is a holiday, celebrated for the first time in 1995. This holiday was established by the Government of National Unity, which came into power on 27 April 1994. It was on this day in 1976 that Soweto schoolchildren went on riot against the government policy on language matters. This political reaction was caused by a decision by the ruling National Party that Afrikaans be a compulsory medium of instruction in secondary schools of the then Department of Education and Training, along with English. This decision was rejected by most teachers, pupils and parents. Teachers had very little knowledge of Afrikaans, there were also not enough textbooks written in the language, and parents and teachers were not consulted when this decision was made. The government did not take heed of these objections and pupils embarked on a strike and people were killed. This day remains an important one in the sociolinguistic history of the country because even though it erupted in Soweto, it spread out even to rural areas, also of the Limpopo Province. It is an important date in the political history of this country.

Like everywhere else in the country, language played an important role in the political life of the people of the Limpopo Province. It was used, for example, in identifying people and in defining groups of people and by so doing strengthening the apartheid system of government. This led to the division of people, based on the languages they spoke, into homelands. Language was also used as an instrument for gaining access to certain privileges like job opportunities in the former government of the country and this clearly served as an instrument of discrimination (Webb 1996:139).

The knowledge of English and Afrikaans, by the black people of the province, is

inadequate as a resource for social transformation and nation-building. Intergroup communication is difficult through the two languages as the linguistic competence of the people is not adequate to enable meaningful communication. Moreover, by observation very few whites and coloureds in this province know any of the African languages. This might be so because before 1994 it was emphasised in this country that people should be bilingual. The term multilingualism was very rarely used. Bilingualism in South Africa meant knowledge of English and Afrikaans and not of other languages.

The indigenous languages of this province, most of which are official languages, are still not fully developed for use in all social functions. The selection of an official language usually comes with strong government support concerning the development of such selected languages. Obviously English and Afrikaans, which were co-official languages previously, received adequate attention with respect to corpus and status development. The autochthonous languages, through their language boards, received very little support, which was mainly directed at terminological development and standardisation. This was not enough to render the languages adequate to serve most or all social functions a language may be used for.

Some language-related scenarios have been politicised. Since the association of language with Apartheid, the mother-tongue instruction principle has become stigmatised as well. Most schools for black people have opted for English as medium of instruction from the first day of school attendance. This is happening against the background that most teachers in such schools have a limited competence in English and most rural pupils have an even weaker knowledge of English, and they mostly only

get exposed to it in school.

The province has a diverse distribution of home languages as shown in table 1.1 below.

Table 1.1. The distribution of home languages within the province as a % .

N.Sotho	Xitsonga	Tshivenda	Afrikaans	Setswana	isiNdebele	Others
52.7	22.6	15.5	2.2	1.4	1.5	4.1

Source: Statistics in brief RSA from STATSSA. 2000

Compared to the total South African population, a large proportion of the Limpopo Province's population is African/Black - 95% compared with 76% for Africans in the whole country. For society in the Limpopo Province to transform, the dominant Bantu languages must be given specific social functions at government level based on the present demography, constitutional stipulations and historicity of the languages. For people to have genuine participation in the economy and all government sectors language planning in this province should be directed at addressing some of the problems which make it difficult or impossible for the people to be empowered and united.

The creation of homelands indirectly contributed to the language situation prevalent in the province now by politically grouping people into the so-called self-governing states, which were associated with specific languages. We presently have numerous languages in the province with a conflict potential because of the unequal statuses of the languages and their speakers. The former homelands each had an African language which it used in most of its social, political and civil functions. For example,

the so-called “Republic” of Venda had its own legislative assembly with laws written and executed in Tshivenda. The language was also used for political discussions within the Republic and was also developed and taught in schools and tertiary institutions. The same thing happened with Xitsonga language and Northern Sotho. The present situation is that all the capital towns of the former homelands are no longer used as capital towns, and Pietersburg (a Northern Sotho area) is used for all government purposes as the capital city. This may be felt as marginalisation by the speakers of minority languages like Tshivenda.

The struggle between “English” and “Dutch”, which dates back from the second British occupation of the Cape in 1806 still remains in the minds of the English speakers and the Afrikaans speakers in this province. After the Anglo-Boer war the Afrikaner language movements (to be discussed further in Chapter 4) culminated in the recognition of Afrikaans as one of the three official languages of the Union of South Africa in 1925. The effects of this conflict are still discernible in the language treatment even in this province. Afrikaans, which in my view is an African language since it started in South Africa and is not spoken anywhere else, competes with English in the province. A few black people use either Afrikaans or English to speak to one another where and when their indigenous languages cannot be used for communication and they do the same when speaking to white people in general.

Black people lack economic power and their languages are not used in the economic activities of the Province. The languages of business are either English or Afrikaans as whites still control most of the economic sectors. Practically, languages are not yet

accorded equality of use as expected by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996.

Alexander (1989) provides information on the anglicisation policies of the British governors of the Cape at the time of Sir John Cradock and Lord Charles Somerset in the 19th century, through to the beginning of the 20th century in the time of Sir Alfred Milner. British imperialism aimed at indoctrinating its subjects - by means of English literature and teaching - into a uniform loyalty to the British crown. The authorities saw the importance of language for indoctrination and therefore compelled the public to use English. This put pressure on schools, courts and parliament as they had to learn and use English for official purposes. English became the language of public discourse while Afrikaans was pushed back into private and religious spheres. (Alexander, 1989:6).

The role of missionaries with regard to language cannot be ignored. They spread a knowledge of English among African people in this country. The few black teachers and preachers who were produced in this country were competent and became what Alexander (1989:6) called 'Black Englishmen'. Beside the introduction of English to African people, the desire to spread the Gospel among the heathen made it necessary to reduce the indigenous languages to writing and to teach those written languages as widely as possible (Alexander 1989:8). Although some Africans became literate in Nguni and Sotho languages, missionaries helped to train people as preachers and interpreters in courts and in other government institutions. They wrote in the indigenous languages, and translated Bible passages and hymns into these languages. This was

the initial attempt at increasing the social functions of these languages. Gradually these languages were transformed into written languages and also taught in non-religious contexts.

British colonial policy was one of preferring basic schooling in the relevant indigenous languages and promoting subsequent English medium of instruction well before the Anglo-Boer war. This remained the policy even of the Union of South Africa until the National Party came to power in 1948. After this date the Apartheid language plan was put into practice . The education policy in South Africa was closely tied to the government's policy of Apartheid. Under this system schools and universities were racially segregated. There were different education departments, each with its own objectives according to what the government had determined as the social, economic and political needs of that group (Mmusi, 1987:7). Black education was administered by the former Department of Bantu Administration and Development; the coloureds fell under the Coloured People's Representative Council; Asians were controlled by the Department of Indian Affairs and whites by the Department of National Education, which was run by four provincial education administrations of the country: namely, the Orange Free State, the Transvaal, the Cape, and Natal. Under this system teachers had to teach only those of their own race. This system was undermined by political developments emanating from the urbanisation of black workers and the growth of black nationalist movements. (Alexander, 1989:8).

The Apartheid language policies strengthened ethnic divisions. Afrikaans replaced English as the language of domination . In cases where replacement was difficult both

Afrikaans and English were used. The policy of Apartheid resulted in the breaking up of the black people into large numbers of conflicting and competing ethnic groups (that really gave rise to this policy) in which Africans who spoke different “languages” were made to live in separate regions, as already mentioned.

Afrikaner nationalism and the National Party policy was met with rejection by black people across the entire front of social issues. The language situation in South Africa was one sensitive area of rejection. This led to a situation in which most African schools rejected Afrikaans as medium of instruction. The Soweto uprising of 1976 ended the language policies of the National Party government in Black schools.

1.2 Current tensions between language groups.

As indicated, languages in this province have acquired socio-political attachments. For example Afrikaans is strongly stigmatised as it is regarded by some people as a language of oppression and is directly associated with Apartheid. The Afrikaners on the other hand see Afrikaans as a symbol of cultural identity. English is rated rather highly as most black people see it as the language of liberation. Some people still regard autochthonous languages as low status varieties with no real meaning in public life.

Intergroup communication in the two former official languages is difficult and this in general affects development and transformation. “It is necessary that people be able to switch to the most appropriate languages demanded by a particular situation” (Alexander 1989:9). The Province, like the country as a whole, has difficulties in practising multilingualism. This is so despite the fact that the Constitution of the country

has given multilingualism a central role. The province is experiencing a gradually increasing practice of monolingualism in their preference for English.

Currently, there are fears and tensions between language groups in the province and these might be encouraged by the present government language treatment that does not explicitly state which languages should be used by whom in which situations. The constitution only states that:

Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, Sesotho sa Leboa, Sesotho, Siswati, Xitsonga, Setswana, Tshivenda, isiXhosa and isiZulu shall be the official South African languages at national level, and conditions shall be created for their development and for the promotion of their equal use and enjoyment. (Act 108 of 1996).

This declaration may have contributed to the following language related tensions.

“Potgietersrus has long been controlled by the Afrikaners, many of whom believe that mixing racial groups is a sin” (Bryson 1996:1). Potgietersrus Laerskool has about 700 students, most of them Afrikaans-speaking, and parents fear that admitting black learners would erode Afrikaner culture. It also has facilities like a swimming pool and art and music classes, previously unheard of in black schools. This is one privilege given to people as a result of language politics as indicated in 1.1 above.

Bryson (1996:1) points out that under Apartheid the government spent up to five times more on white students than on black students, and black schools continue to show the effects of decades of neglect. When Alson Matukane, who recently moved to the town as a provincial water official, tried to enroll his three children in Potgietersrus primary

school in January 1996, he was told that his children could not be admitted because the school was meant for white people. Matukane sent the children anyway, and they were turned away. The family home was spray-painted with insults and they moved to a hotel for safety.

Together with the parents of two other children, Matukane sued. In his decision, Judge Theo Spoelstra quoted liberally from the Constitution that took effect in April 1994 when democratic elections ended white minority rule. The judge said that the constitution prohibits schools from barring children on the basis of race, ethnic or social origin, culture or language. The verdict was that the five black children must be allowed to attend any school. The black pupils were ultimately re-admitted to the school in an unfriendly atmosphere. This demonstrates that to an extent people in this community and the province need to change their attitudes and conduct. Expectations of people in the province need to be revisited and changed for the better. The social values like respect, patriotism and fraternity need to be respected and people should learn to accommodate others in this diversity. The people's religious and cultural beliefs also need to be transformed so that the linguistic diversity becomes a source of wealth in the country. Language can in many ways effect this social change, as I will explain in the following chapter. Social transformation is necessary to enable easy transition towards nation building. The Potgietersrus incident above reflects conflict occasioned by racism within a community and this affects the education in the province adversely and the attempt at nation-building in general. This type of behaviour reflects either ignorance of the constitutional stipulations, or defiance of the statutory principles of the country.

The school's lawyer, Mr Danie Bisschoff, said that Afrikaners were the victims of reverse discrimination.

"They try to make it acceptable by telling us we are racist and we are not," he said.

"Why force any school to accept any child? It's not reasonable, I think" (Bryson 1996.3).

But Spoelstra's ruling rejected the school's contention that allowing black children would swamp it with English speakers, eroding its Afrikaans language identity. The view taken by the school clearly shows that people are not commonly satisfied with the constitutional stipulations of the country. The Potgietersrus incident exemplifies signs of tension between people, which are language-related .

A second incident concerns the treatment of immigrants. Limpopo Province serves as an entry point into South Africa for immigrants from African states like Zimbabwe, Zambia and Mozambique. These people are received with different feelings in the Province. They are referred to as 'Makwerekwere' or 'Magrigamba' which refers to the unintelligible languages they speak. Even though this problem appears to be political, it involves issues pertaining to policies around language treatment in a way. Most towns and rural settlements in this province are inundated with immigrants who speak languages very few inhabitants can understand. The influx of foreigners causes tension in the province since most foreigners use English as a lingua franca to speak to even the illiterate people of the province and by so doing adding to the complexity of the language situation. When some of them appear in courts English only can be used since the interpreters have no knowledge of their mother-tongues and this increases the dominance of English and negatively affects the constitutional plans of promoting the African languages. These conditions may be catered for by the language policy as

there is no language policy in the world which is not intertwined with politics, culture, the geography and the socioeconomic conditions found in that particular country. It is for this reason that Rubin (1968) recommends a thorough understanding of all these aspects of society, in order to guarantee an effective language planning policy. Language policy always involves language legislation. According to The South African Migration Project (SAMP, 1997) there was a project to this effect undertaken by Maxine Reitzes and Nigel Crawhall on African immigrants and language policy in the new South Africa. The report of their findings can help exemplify the inadequacies of the constitution as it makes no reference to the immigrants and their languages.

All people in South Africa have constitutionally-guaranteed language rights. To what extent are these rights actually observed by the various state departments and officials? Reitzes and Crawhall investigated this question by focussing on the rights and treatment of foreigners in South Africa, particularly foreigners from other African countries. Their report was commissioned by SAMP as part of a broader programme to understand the reception and treatment of non-South Africans in the new South Africa. Their aim was to encourage government departments and NGO's to continue to work towards policies which guarantee the multilingualism enshrined in the constitution, and which should enable marginalised black constituencies to be recognised and heard. This issue is difficult since many disadvantaged and insecure South Africans feel differently about it. Some see the immigrants as foreigners and become xenophobic, some see them as fellow human beings who must be accommodated in all countries where human rights are respected and must be accommodated even in the constitution, and the report shows that a constitution should not be 'silent' about

immigrants (Reitzes and Crawhall 1997).

Two assumptions informed the report. It was assumed that the interest of structures like the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) as well as NGO's are distinct from departments within government and state structures. These bodies are expected to actively defend the constitution and advance a progressive and inclusive approach to language policy that benefits everyone. "In a country where language has been used to divide and undermine certain political, social, economic and cultural interests, it would seem necessary for language policy to become central in the elaboration of democracy and human rights" (Reitzes and Crawhall. 1997:2).

Second, the researchers assumed that it is in the long term interest of the new political order in this country to use sensible language planning to maintain peace (by promoting tolerance of diversity) and prosperity (by using linguistic resources effectively). It should be possible for non-governmental interests to forge a consensus with government on the use of language policy to promote and sustain democracy (through promoting diverse voices, in an inclusive and participatory political system).

Multilingualism, which refers to a situation in which people know and use more than one (and usually more than two) language(s), is sometimes viewed as a problem by people in the Province. There are no provincial arrangements to encourage people to learn other African languages for creating a smooth communication system. Even the provincial education department does not encourage the learning and teaching of African languages as second languages to African and non-African learners of the

province. This might be the reason for the dominance of English. At times people speak in languages not understood by others, for example, a Northern Sotho-speaking senior official may speak to his Tsonga or Venda subordinate in Northern Sotho. This affects working relations badly and the provision of services slows down and the general political ideology of nation-building fails as there are no sound social relations (that may allow easy interaction in resolving conflicts). The language treatment in the province needs to be addressed for the population to transform socially. I will explain in the next chapter what social transformation entails and how language policy affects the change.

Building a nation implies among other things fighting racism and fighting against institutionalized ethnic divisions or ethnic consciousness. People need not necessarily speak one language to be united as one nation, as Alexander (1989:9) argues. Individuals who make up a nation have to be able to communicate with one another. There is an over dominance of English in the province and the result is that most people do not participate in the governance of the province fully. This was and is still a problem in this province.

According to Statistics South Africa 1995 about 27% of adults in the province has had no formal education and about 19% only attended school up to grade 7. This implies that their knowledge of English is not adequate for using the language for communication as English is mostly learned in school in the Province. A few who know English command the type of respect given to a special group of elite. This elitism may replace the racial classification this country experienced and it is possible that a new

class struggle is eminent, basically between those who can speak English and those who can't. To transform socially people need to feel free to use their languages for all social functions and should not be compelled to use only the international language to survive in their own country.

Once African languages are revalorized, people will be able to use them for whichever purpose arises. English, just like most second and third languages, is taught in school to non-native speakers. Since most people (as shown in figure 1.2) in this Province have not passed matric, it can be assumed that few can speak English and that they may not have acquired good communicative English because of the restricted number of years of schooling. This is relevant to the transformation since the mean years of schooling can give an estimation of the development of the individual. Formal education is one decisive instrument of transformation. When compared with other provinces, the Limpopo Province is the lowest regarding mean years of schooling, as shown below:-

Table 1.2. Mean years of schooling by province for persons aged 25 years and older.

Year	RSA	Western Cape	Eastern Cape	North Cape	Free State	Kwa Zulu Natal	North West	Gauteng	Mpumalanga	Limpopo Province
1980	5.43	7.63	4.63	5.42	5.13	4.91	4.35	7.35	3.92	2.82
1991	6.86	8.45	6.65	6.25	6.50	6.48	5.75	8.59	5.34	4.61

Source: Human development index for the RSA:1980 and 1991(Statistical release P0015)

The mean years of schooling shows clearly that people of the province are educationally under-developed. It also implies that the knowledge of English of these people is very low and they may not be functionally literate and will not take part in the

governance of the province unless some changes are suggested.

The dominance of English can be observed within educational sectors by the preference for English as language of learning and teaching (LoL/T) from the early junior primary years of schooling. Apart from education the South African industrial world also followed suit without regard to the effects on productivity and competitiveness. The media is mostly English oriented and government officials, including the senior administrators accept and prefer the dominant role of English, something contrary to the constitution. English is used in parliament and in the courts of law. There are even proposals that it be the only language in that regard. The complete dominance of Afrikaans and English (to an increasing extent in the latter case) has led to a threat in some degree to the country's cultural diversity, which is an important feature of the country's wealth. (Webb 1998).

While the constitution supports the development of indigenous languages, members of parliament and councillors, most of whom were elected by their Bantu language speaking constituencies, address the same constituencies in English. Multilingualism must include the promotion of individual multilingualism, and people must develop communicative competence in a number of languages. Major languages in the province should be revalorised to cover a wider scope of public and social functions. I will in this dissertation sometimes mention varieties which are not officially taken to be languages. I feel they should be mentioned since their speakers as speech communities or as tribes look to them for identification and to the speakers these varieties are 'languages'. I believe that language planning should not be silent about varieties spoken in a

particular area only because they are not officially recognised as 'language'. These include varieties like Selobedu and the Mashashane Ndebele.

The Limpopo Province has several language-related developmental problems. The problems may be social problems such as poverty, unemployment, inadequate housing, inadequate health services and corruption. One of the most serious of this province's problems is the inadequate development of its human resources (as table 1.2 implies), which is a problem in which language plays a fundamental role. Language plays such a role in a number of domains. In this discussion of un(der)development, I will follow the approach as used by Alexander (1989:8). South African people seem to agree that they want to become industrialised, technologised and 'modernised'. It seems reasonable to measure their degree of underdevelopedness with the measures of a modern technologised society.

Given the perspective that most people in Limpopo Province are underdeveloped, access to educational opportunities in the Province vary. Compared to the country as a whole, the Limpopo province fares quite poorly. For example the proportion of the population 20 years and older that did not go to school is twice (27%) the national proportion (13%), those who ended their education in primary school (grade 7 or less) are below the national proportion: 19% compared with 24%. (Orkin, 1998:14). The proportion of those who attended school up to secondary school only, i.e. between grade 7 and 11, is also below the national proportion: 29% compared with 35%. The proportion for those who completed secondary school (grade 12) is also lower for Limpopo than for the whole country: 15 % compared to 19 %. Those with university or

technikon degrees or diplomas are also lower than those in the country as a whole, i.e. 7% as compared with 9%. (In both cases the proportion of people with post-secondary school education levels is quite low) (ibid.). The educational attainment is clearly below the national level. This gives an indication of the gravity of the educational situation in Limpopo Province. The following table may best illustrate the situation.

Table 1.3. Level of education of the population 20 years and older in South Africa by provinces.

	Eastern Cape	Free State	Gauteng	KwaZulu- Natal	Mpuma- langa	N. Cape	Limpopo	North West	W. Cape	S.A.
No schooling	20.9	16.1	9.5	22.9	29.4	21.7	36.9	22.7	6.7	19.3
Some primary	21.5	22.4	11.7	17.9	15.2	21.0	12.1	20.5	15.9	16.7
Complete primary	9.0	8.9	6.7	6.7	6.9	8.8	5.9	7.8	8.9	7.5
Some secondary	32.7	33.7	40.2	31.8	29.0	30.9	26.6	31.5	39.2	33.9
Std 10/Grade 12	11.1	13.6	23.6	15.9	14.6	11.9	14.0	13.3	18.9	16.4
Higher	4.7	5.2	8.4	4.8	5.0	5.8	4.5	4.2	10.6	6.2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: CSS 1996

The educational development of most individuals in the Limpopo Province is thus below the national potential.

To address the low mean years of schooling the province needs extensive resources

to provide children with adequate education. Children who do not attend school should be identified and reasons for non-attendance should be addressed. It is vital to plan for the most suitable language to be used in introducing children to education.

There are various reasons for the under-development of people in this province. Many children grew up in illiterate or semi-literate environments where they had little or no exposure to learning. The daily chores performed might have kept them away from studying, for example some children work as farm labourers. The Apartheid education system was not conducive to the development of people's full potential. Reasons for this stemmed from the objectives of this system of education, as once mentioned by a former Prime Minister of South Africa, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, in a speech in the Senate on June 7, 1954:

There is no place for [the Bantu] in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. Within his community, however, all doors are open. For that reason it is of no avail to him to receive training which has as its aim absorption in the European community, where he cannot be absorbed. Until now he has been subjected to a school system, which drew him away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze" (Janks and Paton, 1989: 22).

As a result of statements like Verwoerd's and the Apartheid education system, teachers were/are mostly underqualified, and school classrooms were/are overcrowded.

The system also prescribed a medium of instruction (Afrikaans) which was difficult to be used by both teachers and pupils (Mmusi, 1989).

Generally it is accepted that cognitive development can only occur in a language the learner knows well. Cognitive skills like comprehension, which allows a learner to grasp the central points in a discourse and even summarise the gist, the ability to make observations and generalisations, and understanding cause and effect, can be better developed in a language the learner knows well.

The use of English as medium of instruction retards and restricts educational development as the language is generally not well known by both teachers and students in the Province. Its dominance may block access to many opportunities and this may lower the productivity and increase inefficiency in the economic and public sectors. People cannot participate fully in the politics of the country if the language used for politics is not well known to them. They therefore remain silent because of their inability to put their case in English. The province's linguistic diversity is viewed by sociolinguists as a resource, but the dominance of one language is a possible threat to this wealth.

A Committee of Marginalised Languages (C.M.L.) has been instituted nationally for Xitsonga, Tshivenda, siSwazi and isiNdebele because they feel threatened by the dominant languages. This committee, even though it is national, mainly addresses problems of languages which are found in this Province. Some speakers of the Bantu languages do not believe that their languages can serve as useful instruments of

learning or social mobility. Their argument is that these languages lack the necessary lexical and registral equipment for use in secondary domains of life in the Province and elsewhere in the country. To succeed in social and economic life, people who speak the 'minor' official languages may thus be increasingly under pressure to shun their languages and cultural practices to associate themselves with one or two of the 'major' official languages (Webb. 1996:142). This view is held by most speakers of the languages, some of them because of ignorance and negative self-esteem. These languages may have some instrumental value but most people use them only for personal interaction and cultural expression. We can attribute this language behaviour to long exposure to foreign rule, missionary education, and apartheid and its language treatment. The situation requires language revalorisation to rekindle a spark of feeling for one's language. People are ashamed of speaking their own languages even amongst themselves. They try to speak English to sound civilised.

The politicized language situation mentioned in 1.1 has had a number of serious consequences, according to Webb (1996:142). In the educational domain, the politicization of the languages has contributed to a high rate of illiteracy and the high rate of school dropouts in what was generally known as Bantu education. This poor performance in school examinations is still observable in the Province. The 1997 Grade 12 results show how serious the situation is:

Table 1.4: Grade 12 results for Nov/Dec 1997.

Candidates registered	Candidates who wrote	Passed with exemption	Passed without exemption	Candidates failed
155640	139754	7318	33971	89741
100%	89.7	4.7	21.8	57.6

Source: Limpopo Department of Education, Circular No.E0319F1. Page 1.

From table 1.4 it is evident that very few students are educationally developed and very few are ready for employment or higher education. The failure rate makes the province poor in this regard. Knowledge and skills have not been democratized.

In the social domain opportunities for social mobility have also been unequal, with access to resources, power, and prestige also being linguistically based. Students with a poor knowledge of English have very slim chances of doing well in any subject, as most subjects are taught through the medium of English. In the political domain there is a non-democratic atmosphere, the absence of national cohesion, the presence of deep divisions in national life, which has a strong potential for conflict. There is also discrimination on linguistic grounds. In the economic domain job opportunities are more often than not linguistically-based and discriminatory, for example: government departments, the media and other non-governmental organisations hold their selection interviews in English and one's knowledge of the language determines the outcomes of the interviews. These problems are related to aspects of the existing language situation even though they are not all directly caused by the language situation.

Limpopo Province has a shortage of well-trained language practitioners to meet the needs of the new situation. There is now more than ever before a dire need for language specialists to translate texts and interpret discourse in a number of different forms. Instead of the former "bilingual" interpreters and translators, there is now a need for multilingual ones who control a number of different languages spoken in the Limpopo Province.

Language study has become an important area for educational institutions, most of which lack the relevantly qualified teaching staff. Most of the language teachers do not have the expected professional and academic language qualifications. There is a need for terminologists and lexicographers since some official languages need to be developed to match the terminological and scientific development which the Province can't evade.

The language situation in the province thus warrants a democratic language policy which addresses every aspect that might spark conflict occasioned by language differences. This may be so as racial prejudice and racism are without any doubt reinforced and maintained by language barriers (Alexander 1989: 9). The overriding question is how we abolish social inequality based on colour, class, religion, sex, language group or on any other basis. The language problems should be resolved to fight the historically determined racial prejudice and racism. We need a democratic solution to the language question in this Province.

1.3 Information needed for the study

In order to deal with the language-related problems and the language problems and to contribute towards their resolution, information is needed on a number of issues.

This dissertation will use a theoretical framework applicable for the study of language-related conflict and conflict resolution. It will discuss concepts, terms, points of departure and the theoretical assumptions of language planning. It will also discuss the interaction between social transformation and language planning . Since the research is concerned with a multilingual situation it will include, in its theoretical framework, language promotion and revalorisation .

The Province needs a comprehensive language policy, an associated language plan, a set of well-defined specific strategies for the implementation of the plan, and acceptable methods of evaluating the implementation efforts (Webb, 2000:25-26) .The need for such a plan is made clear by social and economic forces. According to Orkin (1998) the economically active population of the Limpopo Province shows signs of chaos as “amongst those aged 15-65, about 53.9% is employed and the remaining 46.04% is unemployed” (Orkin, 1998:29). The prevalence of poor economic conditions will lead to poverty and crime, which will then negatively affect the social life in the province. The policy should meet a number of conditions which will be explained in Chapter 6.

The language planning process should not deviate from the general political ideology of the country. It must be informed by the Constitution, Bill of Rights and the Reconstruction and Development Policies of the country. The process must be directed

at solving identified language-related problems of the region. It must be orderly, be based on a strategic analysis of the language politics of the province, and it must be based on reliable information (Webb 1998). The process should be undertaken by specialists in the field of language planning but it must have the necessary government support to make it authoritative enough to satisfy the majority of the people. It has to be consultative, all interested stake holders must be invited to participate in policy formulation and in directing the process as a continual dialogue between government agencies, the private sector, labour organisations and the union movements, NGO's and any other organisation that may feel the need to assist.

It will also be necessary to address the major language planning problems of the province, e.g. the multilingual nature of the province and the mutual unintelligibility of languages. Language planning should be undertaken in four domains: education, the economy, state administration and the media, but this study will focus on education. It will also include the selection of official languages, as cited by Alexander (1989), Cluver (1992b), Combrink (1991), Sachs (1993), Steyn (1992), and the role of language planning in nation-building (Alexander 1989, Webb 1990). The question of language rights will also be included (Steyn 1990, 1991, Webb 1990a, 1992d).

In the context of Limpopo Province, policy development and planning is the prerogative of the provincial legislature. In the province there are a number of bodies which are involved in the process. The Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB), which is a permanent body set up by the Constitution, was established in 1996 and is involved in policy development . Other bodies are the Provincial Language Council and the

Language Committees which serve to oversee language issues in the Province and to look at the treatment of specific languages respectively. Data about the duties, achievements and problems of PanSALB will be needed to clarify the language problems outlined above.

For language planning to succeed in this context, language planners should take direct note of the needs of provincial and local communities and of the sociolinguistic realities of these communities, with reference to their diversity.

1.4 Aims of the study

The aim of this research is to show how language policy can help to bring about social transformation through language in education, because effective formal education is one route to achieve this and ultimately to assist the Province in transforming. Of utmost importance will be the discussion of the role of language in education because the acquisition of education is part and parcel of the educational process which directly influences and shapes social transformation. This research will show that language planning must promote socio-political unity and a common loyalty. I will recommend that the province should adopt a policy of multilingualism, which is directed at facilitating communication within the province.

The research will encourage those involved in education, community workers, labour organisations and youth movements to reassess the language issue in the quest for the democratic transformation of the society. Language policy must be seen as an instrument to unify people and not to divide them into ethnic communities.

I will look at the revalorization of the indigenous languages and their adaptation to present-day needs by extending their usability and use. This whole process requires the maintenance of a delicate balance of transformation. The role of linguistic and cultural differences must obviously be respected, and “the real possibility of ethnic nationalism must be controlled” (Webb 1996:153). The recognition and promotion of cultural identity can facilitate nation-building as it will contribute to spiritual and intellectual upliftment. If languages do not have the necessary status, they will not be effective instruments of public communication. There are a number of steps a government can take to revalorise a language, such as giving it statutory recognition, supporting language promotion as an instrument of development and occupational advancement, funding its corpus development and recognising its use as medium of school instruction and as a language of governance.

The research will focus on language-in-education policy, particularly the use of English in schools in the rural black communities as medium of instruction from the first years of primary education. The language-in-education implementation plan generally supports the principle of multilingualism, and the protection of the language rights of the individual. For this reason I will discuss the promotion/development of the African languages to full-fledged languages, i.e. languages that are able to serve all the social functions that a language can be put to. The use of English and Afrikaans must be normalised, i.e. the over-dominance of English and the stigmatisation of Afrikaans must be checked to restore the balance between the power relations of the official languages in the Province.

Policy statements should explicitly mention practicable steps to achieve particular objectives. This will be looked into and the requirements of a multilingual language policy will be suggested in chapter 6 of this dissertation.

I will also discuss the legitimization of the norms of English, Afrikaans, Northern Sotho, Tshivenda, and Xitsonga, which are the main languages of the Province. There is also a need to train language practitioners to meet the needs of a new situation, viz. language teachers, translators, terminologists, lexicographers and interpreters. Emphasis will be laid on the role of language in education and the role of language planning in establishing democracy and also its role in social transformation as a forerunner to nation-building.

1. 5 Structure of the dissertation

This dissertation aims at supporting the development of the people of the Limpopo Province through contributing to language policy development and language planning.

It is therefore directed at a discussion of the following issues:-

a. Chapter 2 will discuss the theoretical framework for the study of language-related conflict and conflict resolution. It will cover the relevant central issues, concepts, terms, points of departure, and theoretical assumptions. The role of language in education and in society obviously needs attention as well as the politics of language.

b. Chapter 3 will dwell on language-based conflict in comparable countries. It will look at countries elsewhere in Africa, like Nigeria, Kenya and Tanzania, and

provide a comparative study of these multilingual countries to determine how they are handling their language and language-related problems .

c. All arguments in the dissertation will obviously relate to the present linguistic facts of the province; for this reason Chapter 4 will give a socio-political history of the Northern Province with special reference to its language politics.

d. Chapter 5 will provide a sociolinguistic profile of the Northern Province. It will include issues such as which languages are spoken, what the language knowledge of the inhabitants is, what language preferences people show, what the patterns of communication are, and what the discernible attitudes to languages are. A SWOT analysis of Northern Sotho, Xitsonga Tshivenda, Afrikaans and English is a valuable tool required for effective language planning in the Province.

e. Chapter 6 will focus on educating for social transformation, and

f. Chapter 7 will provide proposals for developing a language policy for social reconstruction.

g. The last chapter will summarize findings and provide proposals and recommendations.

CHAPTER 2

SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION AND LANGUAGE PLANNING: THE FRAMEWORK

The focus of this chapter is the framework within which the problems to be addressed through language planning and policy in the Northern Province must be undertaken. It will provide the larger framework within which language planning must be developed since language planning cannot be developed in isolation. In this framework two models of social transformation will be explained, **the systems model** and **the dynamic social field model**. In the systems model the whole society may be conceived as a system at the macro level and at the micro level local communities may be viewed as small systems. The dynamic social field model of transformation views society as a process, which consists of continuous and unending events.

I will also discuss the role of language and language planning in social transformation, and in the analysis of language policy, I will consider the power dimension since the role of language policy as an instrument of government power is undeniable. Language policy is a tool of government but I will also look at the influences of grassroots pressure. Instruments and strategies of language planning will be discussed and thereafter language education policy with mother-tongue education as proposed by UNESCO in 1951 will be looked at. I will end the chapter with a discussion of policy construction, planning and implementation.

2.1 Social transformation

A. The systems model: engendering the concept of social change.

Sztompka (1994:3) asserts that in accordance with the systems model of sociologists, “organisms are cases of systems, but so are molecules, buildings, planets and galaxies”. This general notion may be applied to human society at various levels of complexity . According to him, at the macro level the whole global society (humanity) may be conceived as a system, at the mezzo level, nation states and regional political alliances could also be seen as systems, and at the micro level, local communities, associations, firms, families or friendship circles may be treated as small systems.

Distinct domains of society like the economy, politics and culture may also be viewed as systems. The transformation of society is conceived then as the change occurring within, or embracing the social system. Transformation is seen as ‘the difference between various states of the same system succeeding each other.’ (Sztompka 1994. 4). If one speaks of transformation, one has in mind a change that comes into being after some time. “We actually deal with differences between what was observed before that point and what we see after that point in time”. (Strasser and Randall. 1981).

In the context of this dissertation I look at what was observed in society before 1994 and what we observe after 1994. The society that changes always affects other human phenomena like culture, education, politics, religion, etc. Underlying observable structural changes in society there are deeper causal social factors. The post 1994 South Africa is the focal point, but more specifically the Limpopo Province. Politics changed in this country and a number of other human phenomena must change as well. The country’s constitution expects people to be non-racial, multilingual, equal in the eyes of the law, and be politically aware.

In attempting to give a standard type of definition of transformation Hawley said: " By social change [transformation] I mean any non-recurrent alteration of a social system considered as a whole" (Hawley 1978. 787). The system of transformation is not simple or one-dimensional, but it incorporates various components. This includes:

1. The number and variety of human individuals, social bonds, and linkages between individuals. Languages have both a binding and a separating function. People can use language as an instrument to group themselves together or to separate themselves from others.

2. The occupational roles played by individuals and the recruitment principles in associations. Language can be an instrument that allows people to participate in activities and enjoy certain privileges.

3. The boundary-criteria of inclusion and gate-keeping arrangements in organisations. Language also have a symbolic function when it is used for identification (Webb et al, 2000:2). People feel at home with the languages they identify with. The same feeling goes for a national anthem sung in one's mother-tongue.

Linguistic affirmative action can speed up transformation since individuals and groups will feel accommodated in society and through empowering the formerly marginalised languages, one will actually be empowering speakers and learners of such languages.

In developing language policy for the Province in Chapter 7 these aspects of change will be considered.

According to Sztompka (1994:5-6), the systems model implies the following possible changes:-

- a. Change in composition, e.g. migration from one group to another, recruitment to a group, depopulation due to famine, demobilization of a social movement, dispersion of a group.
- b. Change in structure , e.g. appearance of inequalities, crystallization of power, emergence of friendship ties, establishing co-operative or competitive relationships.
- c. Change of function, e.g. specialization and differentiation of jobs, decay of the economic role of the family, assumption of an indoctrinating role by schools and universities. For example, the Universities of the North and that of Venda can help develop and strengthen the African languages and cultivate positive attitudes in the speakers of these languages to their languages. Translation work can be undertaken to have literary and scientific documents prepared in the indigenous languages of the Province.
- d. Change of boundaries, e.g. merging of groups, tertiary institutions, relaxing admission criteria and democratization of membership, conquest and incorporation of one group by another.
- e. Change in the relations of sub-systems, e.g. ascendancy of the political regime over economic organization as in the politics as controlled by black South Africans, control of the family and the whole private sphere by totalitarian Government.
- f. Change in the environment, e.g. ecological deterioration, earthquake, appearance of the Black death or HIV virus.

The transformations /changes cited above are sometimes only partial and restricted in scope. These may occur while the system itself remains intact without an overall change of its state. For example, the success of a political ruling party lies in its ability to meet challenges and solve problems (like the negative self-esteem of Bantu speakers), and conflicts (like the ones between the different African language speakers in the Province) by partial reforms without tampering with the stability of the Province. This type of change Sztompka calls “changes in” the system. But in cases where a change may embrace all or at least the core aspect of the system, to an extent that a new system emerges and is viewed as fundamentally different from the previous one, the radical transformation will be called “changes of” the system. The best example for this are all major social revolutions. One must indicate here that the relationship between “changes in” and “changes of” the system is so fluid that at times “changes in” the system may even touch the core of the system and thereby become “changes of”. In South Africa, for example, we had radical changes of the system of government.

Most sociologists agree on what transformation entails even though their definitions of social change/transformation may be different like in the following:

*Social change is a modification or transformation in the way society is organized.’ (Persell, 1987: 586).

*Social change is the transformation in the organization of society and in patterns of thought and behaviour over time’ (Macionis, 1987: 638).

*Social change refers to variations over time in the relationship among individuals, groups, organizations, cultures and societies’ (Ritzer et al, 1987: 560).

Social changes are “alterations of behaviour patterns, social relationships, institutions and social structure over time.” (Farley, 1990:626).

The above definitions all stress structural changes, maybe because structural changes lead to “changes of” , rather than “changes in”, society. Once there are structural changes, all else is apt to change. Changes at macro levels affect even the individual and changes initiated at micro level may ultimately have macro effects. According to Hernes (1976) “social change is mediated through individual actors. Hence theories of structural change must show how macro variables affect individual motives and choices and how these choices in turn change the macro variables” (Hernes, 1976: 514).

Since the systems model does not include all aspects of social change, it becomes necessary here to touch on an alternative model of social transformation which provides the dynamic social field perspective.

B. The dynamic social field model.

Recently sociologists conceive society not as a steady state but as a process, as a continuous, unending stream of events. A society (group, community, organization, nation-state) may be said to exist only in so far as something happens inside it, some actions are taken and some changes occur. “All social reality is pure dynamics, a flow of changes of various speeds, intensity, rhythm and tempo” (Sztompka 1994:9). Society is here viewed as a “soft field of relationships and not as a rigid, hard system. Social reality is an inter-individual (interpersonal) reality, that exists between or among individuals” (ibid). According to Sztompka society is “ a specific social tissue or social

fabric binding people together” (ibid.10). One of the connectors that binds people together in society is language. In my opinion, a commonly used language creates improved social relations and may lead to oneness and fraternity, e.g. English.

This type of field keeps on changing, it may expand or contract. Friendship and associations with individuals or groups may strengthen or weaken. This social field includes groups, communities, organisations, institutions and nation-states. They all keep on moving and changing. What exists according to Giddens (1985:9) are: constant processes “of grouping and regrouping, organizing and reorganizing instead of a stable organization or stable entities called groups”.

That social relations link individuals is true and they specifically link ideas, thoughts and beliefs held by individuals or groups. The society is bound by a number of tissues or fabrics according to Giddens (1985). There are tissues of ideas, rules, actions, interests, language, etc. The tissues of ideas and interest are very relevant to my topic as social transformation will depend on the ideas that society and its authorities have about themselves, i.e. “their beliefs, values, ideals and their interests which include life-chances, opportunities, access to resources”, etc (Giddens.1985:10). In this connection, the ideas of the Limpopo Province legislature are expressed in their vision and mission of the Growth and Development Strategy as cited in the next page.

For the Province these can be represented by the vision and mission of the Legislature as expressed by its Executive Council in a booklet entitled *Growth and Development Strategy, 1999*. It states that:

“The Growth and Development of the Limpopo Province and the creation of a better life for its people is a goal beyond the might and capacities of any tier of government, individual actions of the private sector and unco-ordinated community action. The success ingredient include:

- *Co-ordination and integration of policies and programmes within the Province.

- *Co-ordination of local growth and development plans formulated and adopted by Local Governments. This requires a partnership of effort and unison of thought between the Provincial Government and local Authorities.

- *In addition the success of this goal is predicated upon partnership with business, communities, labour and all other stakeholders in the Province.

This Growth and Development Strategy provides the basis for constant dialogue and focused co-operation within the Provincial Government between different tiers of government, and between the Provincial Government and all organs of civil society.(1-2).

The Provincial vision:

The vision of the province is that of being peaceful, vibrant, self-sustaining and prosperous. (2)

There are a number of challenges the Province have but I am interested in the social development and the Province have it thus:

- Ensuring a well-trained labour force is an integral challenge for growth and development. Adequate skills base to implement and sustain the desired growth

should be endured through a balanced package of human resource development policies and strategies which impact on vocational training and curricula. Thus, future education and training at all levels of the normal schooling system, including informal training and adult education, should have a bearing on and/or be influenced by the Provincial Growth and Development Strategy.

“- A sustainable primary health care system focussed on preventative, rather than curative approach, is a key health challenge. A clear strategy of encouraging the private sector’s involvement in the higher care markets is crucial in the medium to long term.

- Peace in the youthful society, without adequate labour absorption capacity, remains unguaranteed and not sustainable in the long run. Thus, social security programs remain a mammoth challenge.

- A clear hierarchical system of Social Services (criminal justice network, Health Care System, Educational System, Welfare System, etc) with regional equity distribution, is necessary to alleviate inequitable access and ease the backlogs. This would improve changes for integrated planning and provision of services through regional service centres.

- Educational backlogs remain a major obstacle to development. The present matric failure rate is a matter of great concern and poses further challenges for the Growth and Development Strategy.” (Limpopo Province Growth and Development Strategy, 1997/98.: 6-7)

Language planning is one strategy to be used to attain some of the Provincial (ideas) missions stated above and they are addressed by the aspects of change cited above and I will discuss the role of language as an instrument of transformation in 2.2.

All the tissues that bind society together, as mentioned above, form what Giddens (1985) calls “the socio-cultural field” (10). Within the model of a fluid socio-cultural field:-

- **social change** refers to differences between states of the social field over time,
- **social processes** refers to a sequence of social events,
- **social development** refers to differentiation, expansion, crystallization, articulation of the social field in its various dimensions, resulting from internal, immanent propensities, and
- **social progress** refers to any such developments, provided they are conceived as beneficial relative to some view points.

The main difference from the systems model is the conceptualization of changes and processes as truly continuous and never discrete, fragmented or broken. The systems model sees change as a series of discrete steps while the dynamic social model sees it as a continuous, ongoing process.

To grasp social transformation we need to look at the typology of social processes in brief. It is important to understand:

- a. The form or shape that the process take.
- b. The outcomes or results of the process.
- c. The awareness of social processes in the population.

The following discussion of the three processes is taken from Sztompka, 1994:10-13:

The form of social processes

Social processes may be directional or non-directional. Directional ones are irreversible and often cumulative. In this case each consecutive stage is different from any earlier stage and incorporates effects of the earlier stage. This implies that there are needs in humanity which cannot be undone, feelings which cannot be unfelt. An obvious example of directional processes is the socialization of a child, or the expansion of a city. Directional processes may be gradual and linear. A process is uni-linear when it passes through similar sequences of necessary stages. But when a process follows a number of alternative stages, skipping others, substituting some and even adding stages not typically found, that is called a multi-linear process.

There can be non-directional processes which are random and chaotic, with no pattern discernible, like mobilization and demobilization in social movements or in children's games. It is always wise to embark on directional social transformation processes rather than on non-directional, random and chaotic processes. One may take as an example, affirmative action as applied in the provincial legislature and in the provincial education system. It is done in order to redress previous discriminatory actions based on colour or sex or whatever. A similar move is taken at the two universities in the Province with regard to employees. There must be affirmative action even on languages. The previously marginalised and neglected African languages must be elevated to similar positions with English and Afrikaans which will be the equality position, and they should also be accorded the equity position which is more sustainable, attainable and theoretically justifiable.

End results of social processes

Some processes result in the emergence of completely new social conditions, states

of society, social structures, etc. These usually result from creative endeavours, eg, enacting the constitution of a new legislature, the spread of a new fashion, the development of a new writing system. This social condition should be distinguished from transformation which produces less radical results without fundamental novelty. Simple reproduction keeps everything unchanged. When basic qualitative change occurs we no longer speak of reproduction but rather of “transformation”. These two processes may not be clearly distinct from one another. Transformation is therefore a synonym of what was earlier referred to as “changes of”, whereas “reproduction” indicates at most “changes in”.

Processes in social consciousness

Any change in the human world may be viewed in the following three ways by the people involved. Firstly the process may be recognised, anticipated and intended, for instance if we reform the policy on Higher Education to accommodate previously marginalised students. Secondly the process may be unrecognised, unanticipated and unintended. In this instance the change and its outcome appear as a surprise. It may be welcome or it may not. Thirdly, people may recognise the process, anticipate its course and intend its effects, but be completely wrong, like a propaganda campaign which ultimately strengthens the attitude it condemns.

2.2 The role of language and language planning in social transformation.

Language and language planning can play an important role in social transformation. It is not surprising that social change accompanies language planning because language planning, which is concerned with the management of change,” is itself an

instance of social change". (Cooper 1989. 164). I support Cooper in saying that if there be a place in which equilibrium reigns supreme, and day to day events repeat themselves without any change, and where people are all satisfied with such conditions, there won't be a need for language planning. This serves to emphasise that language planning is basically a means to achieve social transformation. Language planning can be used to bridge (ethnic) tensions; it can be used in creating (national/regional) loyalty; establishing new values, norms, attitudes, patterns of behaviour; facilitating development and supporting effective state administration. (Cooper 1989).

The role that language and language planning play in social transformation cannot be ignored. These **social functions** of language may be divided into the **instrumental** and the **symbolic** functions. The instrumental function is when "language is used as a 'tool', an instrument; when languages are used to do something, such as giving or receiving information or expressing emotions and desires". (Webb and Kembo-Sure, 2000.2). This they call the **informative function** of language and is needed for interpersonal and social interaction.

People can also use language as an instrument to group themselves together or to separate themselves from others. This is one important function of language for this study: the binding or separating function of language.

The **symbolic function** of language works well with national languages, but it also works with any other language with which people identify or associate. People need to

identify with their language. It serves to function as a symbolic token like the national flag or anthem. Self identity is constructed with a number of things but language is one important identification mode. Language can also become a political tool; it can be developed into a symbol of a particular political ideology or movement and this will serve to strengthen the movement.

There exist a number of sources of social transformation like the physical environment, the population size, discovery and invention, cultural diffusion, ideas, etc. For most of these sources to function they need to be transmitted not only in the most appropriate language, but within a suitable political situation. Bilingual speakers serve as agents of language change as they influence monolingual speakers of the second language and these agents cause some considerable amount of social transformation. One may refer to the economic, cultural and political changes introduced by colonial powers like England in South America, Africa and Asia.

According to Cooper, "when established elites seek to extend their influence or to resist the incursions of rivals, when counter-elites seek to overthrow the status quo, and when new elites seek to consolidate their power, we find pressure for language planning". (Cooper, 1989: 185). Maybe this is true of the ANC leadership who use English dominantly, probably because of the lack of a clear language policy . Language planning contributes both to continuity and change, not only in the target language (the language to be used) but also in other social institutions. Language planning contributes to change by promoting new functional allocations of language varieties, structural changes in those language varieties and their acquisition by new populations,

e.g. when white citizens of the province learn and use Northern Sotho.

Language planning aims to strengthen the individual's dignity, self-worth, social connectedness, and the individual's ultimate role as a member of a group. This is not true of the Limpopo Province at present as individuals and speech communities and language groups are undermined linguistically, for example Xitsonga and Tshivenda languages don't have equal broadcasting time with other languages on the S.A.B.C. Political democratization or increased political participation, which are social processes, exert pressure to increase access to literacy, which depends on language planning. This usually results in the reduction of the distance between spoken and written varieties or to increasing access to formal education.

The Province needs a language or languages that can act as a connecting device to bring people of the Province together. Language planning is a necessary condition for economic development even though not a sufficient condition. People who are socially well developed with well-defined communicative means may acquire the economic power and ultimately the political power. This leads us into a discussion of the power associated with language (see the next section).

For Weinstein language planning may be defined as "a government authorised, long term sustained and conscious effort to alter a language itself or to change a language's function in a society for the purpose of solving language problems" (Weinstein 1980, 1983: 55). Grin describes language planning as a "systematic, rational, theory-based effort at the societal level to solve language problems with a view to increasing welfare.

It is typically conducted by official bodies or their surrogates and aimed at part or all of the population living under its jurisdiction” (Grin, 1996:31).

Language planning should be aimed at all of the population and not part of it, for example, it should not be done for one specific preferred group of people as I will show in the next section under “Language and power.”

These definitions can be discussed in terms of who plans what for whom and how, why, when and where is language planning done. Some scholars restrict their definitions of language planning to activities done by organisations such as government agencies, language academies or other authoritative bodies which are mandated for such functions . These definitions may exclude the activities of language planning efforts of individuals like Ben Yehuda who single-handedly planned the Jewish language in Palestine and Samuel Johnson who alone compiled a comprehensive dictionary of English in 1755 (Cooper,1989).

According to most definitions, language planning involves corpus and status planning. Cooper adds a third task which is acquisition planning. Corpus planning relates to changes in restructuring the orthography, spelling or the adoption of a new script, terminology and determining language standards. This is aimed at modifying the language itself. Usually this type of planning is done by “linguists”. Status planning relates instead to changes in the functions and status of a language within a country. Planners, according to Wardhaugh (1989:354) may choose from a status table which looks as follows:

- i. The national language

- ii. The official/joint official language(s).
- iii. A regional language
- iv. A promoted language, the language may lack official status but it is promoted by the authorities for certain purposes.
- v. A government-tolerated language, this might be a language which is not written, not taught, but the authorities need to consider it as such.
- vi. Language of education

According to him, considerable planning is directed towards language spread, but not all planning for language spread can be subsumed under status planning. In his addition of a third focus of language planning (acquisition planning), Cooper mentions language teaching as a subject of policy making.

When planning is directed towards increasing a language's uses, it falls under status planning, but when it is directed towards increasing the number of users, then it is acquisition planning. He goes on to say that the changes in function and form sought by status and corpus planning affect the number of users of a language. New users can be attracted by the new uses to which a language is put. New users may still influence the language through language contact just as the structure of English has been influenced by the large number of non-native speakers. Since function, form and acquisition are related to one another, planners of any one should consider the others (Cooper, 1989:88).

Five of the definitions provided in Cooper (1989) regard language planning as an

attempt to solve language or communication problems. Beside these definitions, it is hard to think of an instance in which language planning has been carried out solely for the sake of improving communication, where communication problems are the only problems to be solved, or where the facilitation of communication is the only interest to be promoted. Language planning is carried out for the attainment of a number of non-linguistic ends like national integration, nation-building, political control, economic development, the creation of new elites and the maintenance of old ones. I would like to agree with Cooper (1989:89) that “regardless of the type of language planning in nearly all cases the language problem to be solved is not a problem in isolation within the region or nation but is directly associated with the politics, economic, scientific, social, cultural and/or religious situation”.

Some of the definitions given do not in any way refer to the people whose behaviour is to be influenced. Thorburn’s definition (in Cooper 1989) refers to “a group of people”. This implies that language planning does not only operate at a national level but also occurs at lower levels. All definitions but one (Thorburn’s) imply that language planning is typically carried out for large aggregates. Language planning may not be directed only towards aggregates at the level of national society or state but also at smaller aggregates, which may be ethnic, religious, occupational, racial, etc.

To stress other aspects, Wardhaugh(1992) has two approaches to language planning which are not alternatives to the ones above. The **policy approach** which includes selection of a variety, standardization, literacy and orthography. Then the **cultivation approach** which is concerned with correctness, efficiency, linguistic levels of fulfilling

specialised functions and problems of styles. Fasold (1984:266) also presents two kinds of choices as well: **language determination** and **language development**. If a nation decides that a particular language is going to serve as its official language or medium of instruction or a national language, that is an example of language determination. Language development refers to the selection and promotion of varieties within a language or of languages as wholes. It means something nearer to what is referred to as standardization of language in a narrow sense.

The classical conception of language planning separated corpus planning from status planning and each is seen as an area which could be addressed separate from the other. But a number of studies undertaken in the 1970's, eg. Rubin 1971, Das Gupta 1973, Fishman 1974 and 1978, Kuran 1974, etc. led to important insights into the process. They emphasised the equal significance of corpus and status planning. I align myself with the view of language planning that incorporates Haugen (1983) and subsequent research (eg. Rubin 1984), which is essentially as follows:-

Figure 2.1. Steps taken in language planning

A. FORM (Policy planning)

STATUS PLANNING

1.CODE SELECTION (Decision-making processes)

a. Identification of problems

b. Allocation of norms

CORPUS PLANNING

2.CODIFICATION (Standardisation procedures)

- a. Graphisization
- b. Grammaticalization
- c. Lexication

B. FUNCTION (Language cultivation)

3.IMPLEMENTATION (Educational spread)

- a. Correction procedures
- b. Feedback/ Evaluation

4.CODE ELABORATION (Functional development)

- a. Terminological modernization
- b. Stylistic development.

(Adopted from Bokamba, 1993)

I will follow Grin's(1996) definition of language planning as quoted previously but I would prefer language planning to be aimed at all of the population and not only part of it as Grin also mentioned.

2.3 Language and power

It becomes important to include in this section issues around language planning as a pursuit and maintenance of power. Like language planning, politics refers both to an activity and to a field of study. The two most prominent themes of politics are decision-making and power. Power is seen by Cooper (1989:86) as the ability to influence the behaviour of others. Since language planning attempts to effect social change, the categories employed by political science are relevant to students of language planning.

These were also the views of Das Gupta (1996) and Weinstein (1996). The view that politics, as an organised activity, determines who gets what, when, and how can serve as a useful framework in the study of language planning.

We need to know who benefits from language planning in the Province, whether it is the elites, or the masses. In most cases language planning is “employed to maintain or strengthen elite power, the power of the influential, the power of those who get the most of what there is to get, or the power of counter-elites” (Cooper 1989.80-81). The approach creates problems instead of solving them. The Apartheid language policies were aimed at strengthening elite power and it created problems for the majority of the South African citizens, mostly the Bantu language speaking people. Cooper argues that political and economic elites or counter-elites benefit most of the time.

It will be fitting to discuss the means whereby elites maintain their power. This they do through authority, force, violence and bribery to remain in power. Language of course can be manipulated to help create the perception of a common destiny. Counter-elites create whatever symbols are available to them to mobilize mass movement and to develop national self-consciousness. When a language serves as a symbol of the glorious past, the elites or counter-elites can use it “to maintain or acquire legitimacy in the name of authenticity and tradition” (Cooper, 1989. 87). As Hudson summed it up “....nothing is valued in politics unless it is believed to be useful as a means of keeping a stronger group in power or of embarrassing or defeating one’s opponents.” (Cooper, 1989.87).

2.4 Policy construction, planning and implementation

The language stipulations of the new constitution of the Republic of South Africa are a great improvement compared to the constitutional language stipulations of the former government of this country. All major languages spoken by communities in this country have been recognised as official. The language Policy and Plan for SA, final draft of September 2001, states clearly that its purpose is to set out a coherent language policy and implementation plan for a multilingual dispensation within the parameters of the Constitution. This is done in concert with broad social planning and transformation in the country. A policy must be a legal document, that sets out precise aims and objectives concerning provisions regarding language, its management mechanisms and arrangements which clearly outlines support services to be provided, as well as details on funding, complaints and mediation (Webb 2000).

It is clear from the stipulations that the government intends promoting major languages, and that the government may choose the language they wish to use for purposes of government. All official languages are accorded parity of esteem and must be equitably treated. Pupils have the right to be taught in languages of their choice and there should be no discrimination on the basis of language .

These stipulations serve as guidelines for the vision the government has for the country's linguistic reality, but it seems the government lacks a specific set of rules, as a language policy must specify what must be done, who should do it, how and when. A language policy is expected to contribute towards the establishment of new values, norms, views, beliefs and attitudes among the people of the country and these, should

not be vaguely proclaimed without proper implementation procedures. Clearly formulated statements are needed to show how the government's vision of the linguistic situation should be realised.

All the language problems mentioned in Chapter 1 should be addressed in a language policy. For example it must state how unwritten languages like Northern Ndebele should be handled, and how the policy will address the educational underdevelopment of most people in the Province. A policy should indicate how language can make people economically active and contribute towards economic growth, which is another facet of transforming society.

Like all other policies, a language policy must explicitly state the goals it wishes to achieve, it must be directed at solving the problems which exist in the area, it must state the tasks to be performed and it must be directive enough. According to Human (1998) as stated by Webb (2000), a policy is a mission statement: " a detailed list of tasks to be performed in order to realise the vision the political leaders have for the country as a whole" (Webb 2000: 80).

A language policy has to indicate explicitly how it wishes to achieve the specific language ideals which the government has set for the country. According to Webb (2000:81), language policies should not be directed at the promotion of languages for and unto themselves. They should instead be developed or promoted with the purpose of serving the interests of the people of the area. The policy should be based on a needs analysis of the concerned communities, eg, educational development, economic

growth and democratisation. Language planning must not be based on the view that multi-lingualism is a problem, instead it should be seen as a resource and the linguistic diversity should be viewed as wealth. This fact should therefore be seen as a point of departure in all language policy development. Language is here seen as a resource as it can be used by both government and society to achieve various goals to the benefit of the users. Language promotion can better be achieved if languages acquire economic and educational value and this usually depends on the economic and educational prosperity of the communities who use these languages.

2.5 Language education planning

Beside the tasks mentioned above, language planners will have the task of planning for a language to be used as medium of instruction in schools and in education in general. They will have to account for questions like: What criteria should be employed in selecting that language? What level of proficiency should be aimed at? Who should learn in that language? What provisions have to be made to implement the language education policy upon which planners have decided? These questions demand major policy decisions about issues such as: the education and supply of teachers, the compilation of grammars, dictionaries, the development of language curricula and the preparation of course materials (Stern 1983:239). The Limpopo Provincial language-in- education policy states that: the learning of more than one language must a general practice and principle and that it aims to promote societal and individual multilingualism by maintaining home languages while providing access and effective acquisition of additional languages.

Usually the education policy of most countries may be divided into two categories: the formal system of education, which is administered by the ministry of education, and includes primary, secondary and tertiary education levels. The second is the adult education system. This non-formal system is not offered in school but in continuation classes, distance education or special counselling to prepare learners for work. Language education policy is concerned with planning the introduction of education to learners of different ages and it addresses the LoL/T and the language of study.

The process forms a hierarchy with both macro and micro levels of planning decisions. Starting from the highest we may have the government, ministry, regional authorities, and institutions of learning.

The national curriculum is the domain of education planners, some of whom may be linguists. Empowered by law they decide on issues like school readiness and admission age, the length of primary school education, the length of compulsory education. The choice of medium of instruction is very important in primary school education, as pupils are then first introduced to formal education. The vehicle of transmitting education should be the most appropriate to assist starting learners to learn and achieve their educational goals maximally. If planners select an ex-colonial language to be the medium of instruction, it implies that speakers of the indigenous languages will have to learn in the selected foreign language. Where there is more than one language in a country or province, it is difficult to decide which language to choose.

The question of what language to use in education is a problematic one in any multi-

lingual country, more so if such a country has been subjected to an imposed language from colonialism. First there is, the world over, the child's first language, which serves as medium of informal education in the home and socialisation in the immediate community of peers. Second there is the language of the immediate community which serves as a local or regional lingua franca. Children from minority language communities also need to master it. Third, in some countries there is also a widely spoken language like Afrikaans in South Africa. Fourth, there is a language of wider communication which was the official language during colonial periods like English in South Africa. In the case of South Africa there is Afrikaans and English which have become second languages to black South Africans. Each of the four groups of languages mentioned above has a claim to be used in the education process. Examples of such cases are the mother-tongue instruction in primary schools in many African countries including South Africa.

In education language may be used for three purposes: it can be used to introduce literacy, taught as subject, and be used as medium of teaching other subjects. Literacy includes initial literacy for children where reading and writing are introduced or it may refer to adults trained in reading and writing. A language may still be taught as a subject without any intention of using it as a medium of instruction. When a language is used as medium of instruction, it implies that it is also taught as a subject. It is important to determine the level at which a language is introduced, primary, secondary or tertiary level. As a subject the language may be introduced at any of the levels. For a language to be used as medium of instruction at secondary school and tertiary levels, it must be known well by the learners and teachers, it must have been used as medium of

instruction in some subjects at primary school, and it must be fully developed to cater for technical, scientific and intellectual demands. It is, however, possible for one medium to give way to another like when mother-tongue ceases to be medium and is replaced by a language of wider communication. Two media of instruction can also be used concurrently as the case was when both English and Afrikaans were used in South Africa as mediums of instruction for different subjects in the 70's. This can be done in different schools and may not be recommended for one school.

There are various factors which influence language-in-education planning. According to Appel and Muysken (1987), there are socio-demographic, linguistic, socio-psychological, political and religious factors to be considered in selecting a medium of instruction.

Socio-demographic factors.

Planners will have to consider the languages spoken in the area, the speakers and their distribution, eg: Tanzania has more than 99 languages with comparable numbers of speakers. The fact that these ethno-linguistic units are numerically small, clearly favoured the selection of Swahili as national language to become the medium of instruction in Tanzanian schools. But in Kenya, where there are a few languages which can compete with Swahili in the number of speakers, English strengthened its position. This is a direct influence of socio-demographic factors. Kenya preferred a language of wider communication over the larger indigenous languages.

Language political factors .

This has to do with the status and the character of a language and the (dis)similarities between languages. Status of languages refers to the degree of development and the literary tradition. Most African languages were ignored because of their lower degree of modernized development, especially where fully developed colonial languages were in use. But if the government wanted to use these African languages they could have planned to develop them and allocate them new social functions. All languages can be deliberately developed to serve specific functions. Similarities and dissimilarities also count. Swahili was preferred in Tanzania partly because as an African language it was known better than any foreign language and shared aspects with local languages and it would therefore be easier to learn in Swahili than in a foreign language.

Socio-psychological factors

These concern the attitudes of people towards a language. Attitudes are related to the social distribution of languages in a particular speech community and the social meaning attached to various languages. In South Africa, for example, many languages are identified with particular ethnic groups. Even though there is nothing negative with this identification, other ethnic groups may have a negative attitude towards certain languages. If a group clearly stigmatises a particular language for any reason, it is not advisable to prescribe it for them as a LoL/T.

Political factors

Here the direct relation between general government policy and language policy become visible. To cite an example, the general policy of the former colonial powers was expressed in language planning decisions. Belgium and Britain promoted the use

and standardization of local languages in their African territories. This was derived from their colonial policy. By contrast, Portuguese authorities pursued a policy of restricted assimilation to the Portuguese language and discouraged the use of local languages.

Religious factors.

The work of Christian missionaries favoured the use and standardisation of local languages. Missionaries studied local languages, wrote grammars, and translated the Bible into local languages to simplify their mission of evangelization. The relationship between language and religion is important. The Sudanese were able to change from English as an official language and medium of instruction to Arabic because it is directly related to their Moslem religion. It is therefore important to consider the language of religion in selecting a medium of instruction where such a choice appears to be crucial.

Fasold (1984) asserts that in some countries the determination of a medium of instruction is to an extent part of the determination of a national language. He cites the example of Ireland and Tanzania even though in both countries compromises had to be made. In Ireland, Irish could not be used as medium of instruction because only few people could speak it. Swahili in Tanzania was widespread enough to be used as a nationwide medium of instruction but surprisingly in primary schools only, maybe because of the so-called underdevelopment of the language. Still, some pupils had problems because they didn't speak the language when they first went to school. Three considerations can generally be forwarded when choosing a medium of instruction:

do the prospective learners know the language well enough to learn

effectively in it; or can they easily and quickly acquire proficiency in it?
would the proposed choice be consistent with the overall national
aims?
is the language itself, materials written in it and the number of people
able to teach in it, adequate for educational use at the proposed level,
or can such material be developed? (Rufai. 1977)

It becomes difficult for planners when the considerations do not all agree. For example, Irish failed on the first consideration. It is with such shortcomings that a language may not be used for purposes stated above.

2.6 Mother-tongue education

UNESCO, in 1951, recommended the first of the three considerations above, ie. the language that children can effectively use. It becomes apparent in every case that the choice will be the child's mother-tongue. Mother-tongue was defined as follows:

“ the language that a person acquires in early years and which normally becomes his natural instrument of thought and communication” (Fasold 1984: 293).

The UNESCO committee stated that this need not be the language used by parents, neither should it necessarily be the language the child learns to speak first. The recommendation actually means that mother-tongue should be the medium of instruction where the mother-tongue is a vernacular. Their other recommendation was to extend mother-tongue instruction to as late a stage in education as possible.

The fact that children know their mother-tongues and therefore do not have to learn

them was disputed by saying that the language knowledge that children have serves child purposes, and that children's facility in the mother-tongue must be increased through teaching. One may point out that the school will not be teaching mother-tongue, but other subjects in mother-tongue but the LoL/T must also be a subject of study. The UNESCO committee recommended further that to introduce a second language as medium of instruction effectively, it should first be taught as a subject, while using mother-tongue as a medium of teaching other subjects. The same report suggested that the second language be taught through the first language and the transition from first language to second language instruction should be gradual. This sounds like the language of learning and teaching should always change to L2 at some level in school but one may argue that this must not be seen as a norm. Subjects which the mother-tongue is capable of supporting should be continued in mother-tongue. Furthermore, materials for all subjects can be developed in any preferred language to be used at any level in education.

Around the issue of a choice of language as medium of instruction planners may prefer a language that has already been used as a medium of communication among subgroups. Others may prefer a language with a large group of native speakers over small-group languages. A language that is equipped to serve as a school language without extensive "language engineering" is recommended over those which need development first. This may be done as an interim arrangement to allow some time to develop the preferred medium of instruction and make materials available in it.

Language policy and planning reflect developments as they become pluralistically orientated and this research looks at all the languages spoken in the Limpopo Province.

The issue has become a political activity which leads us to look at the broader socio-political context in which language is used. The language plan and policy, in our context, embraces both the regional level and local level, public administration and large corporations.

I have, in this chapter, referred to the conceptualisation of social transformation/change as sociologists viewed it traditionally as a system, and how they currently view it as a dynamic field. A number of things are involved in social transformation, and from what is presented in this chapter, language planning may play a useful role in facilitating social transformation in this province. The transformation includes social, political, economic and educational spheres of life but my emphasis will be on the role of language in education.

I have briefly outlined the role of language and language planning in social transformation including the physical environment, the population size, cultural diffusion, ideas, etc. Thereafter I provided the framework of language planning and its instruments and strategies. This included corpus, status and acquisition planning, as well as language education policy and mother-tongue education as presented by UNESCO, 1951. The next chapter will look at language-based conflicts in comparable African countries.

CHAPTER 3

LANGUAGE-BASED PROBLEMS IN SOME COMPARABLE AFRICAN COUNTRIES

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses language planning procedures and language-based problems in Nigeria, Kenya and Tanzania. I am comparing a province to countries not to imply that they are of the same stature but only because of the multilingual nature they show and the history of having ex-colonial influence in the language situation. It will provide the sociolinguistic profiles of these countries and critically discuss the development and implementation of their language policies. It will further touch on languages of wider communication (LWC) as languages of instruction in African countries as this seems to be a common “solution” to the problems of medium of instruction in African countries. The chapter will conclude with implications for Limpopo Province.

3.2 Nigeria.

The sociolinguistic situation in Nigeria

The country now known as Nigeria came into being as a result of the amalgamation, in 1914, of two protectorate colonies of Southern and Northern Nigeria. Before this there were empires in the north and southwest, with the southeastern side made up of small “unattached clannish settlements”. (Rufai, 1977. 68). This amalgamation brought into contact people who seemed incompatible linguistically. The country is inhabited by groups who are diverse in culture, beliefs and historical background. Language policy had to create national and regional loyalty and establish new values, norms and patterns of behaviour. There are about 400 languages and dialects in the country and these are not evenly distributed throughout the country. This unevenness makes them vary in relative importance. I prefer to use older data to get a grasp of conditions in the

country a few years after independence to be able to look at language problems at the start of a new state. In this respect Rufai (1977) splits them into four subdivisions:

Major (a): These are languages of wider communication as they were spoken even in places outside their areas of origin. They serve as languages of contact among some ethnic groups who do not speak them natively. These languages are Igbo, Yoruba and Hausa.

Major (b): They consist of languages occupying the second position in the scale of importance among Nigerian languages. "They are recognised officially as languages of national importance" (Rufai, 1977: 68). They are not spoken outside their original area and are mostly spoken by their L1 speakers. Examples are Fula, Kanuri, Ijaw.

Minor (a): These are languages recognised as important at state level only. They might have influence at provincial, divisional or even district level, eg. Nupe and Tiv.

Minor (b): Languages not considered officially as important, even at state level. Their influence may be restricted to a district only. They are languages like Gwari, Idoma and Ogoni.

The role each language plays in the society can be estimated relative to its position as shown above, functioning at district level, divisional level, the provincial level, the state or the regional level. The three languages of wider communication play a national role. The number of languages corresponds to the number of ethnic groups. They represent diverse cultures, languages, religions and other social forms. For the country to function well, it needs the unity and goodwill of the people (Rufai 1977). For co-operation and

mutual understanding among various ethnic groups, inter-ethnic communication was needed. Language policy can be used to achieve this and it is only possible if people understand each other through a common language. Nigeria had a problem of deciding which of her languages could serve as official for national purposes.

In selecting a national language for Nigeria, several factors were considered. In modern countries, contact with foreign countries is a sine qua non. Nigeria also needed a language to enable her to have contact externally and internationally. Some linguists recommended that Nigeria retain English for this purpose. Internally the government had to communicate with its subjects and the people themselves need to communicate among themselves. Basic education could be offered in a vernacular but there was a need for a national language. A Nigerian language had to be elevated to this function to bind people together as a nation with one language.

Three languages have been labelled as languages of wider communication and as nationally recognised. They are Igbo, Yoruba and Hausa. Selecting one of them would have met with resistance from other groups whose languages had not been selected. A sacrifice had to be made by ethnic groups. Rufai (1977) suggests three basic principles in the framework of language planning which help determine the relative value of a particular language to function as a national language.

These principles are:-

- a. Efficiency in terms of the language properties.
- b. Adequacy in terms of functions.
- c. Acceptability in terms of attitude.

In comparing the three major Nigerian languages (Igbo, Yoruba and Hausa) for the

relative strength and weaknesses in the first two principles a few criteria were used but I will only discuss those relevant to Limpopo Province and the link, with the principles above, will be made in the discussion, viz:-

- number of speakers
- association with a great tradition
- linguistic studies (Rufai 1977. 71).

Number of speakers

According to Oke, as cited by Rufai (1977), the Nigerian census did not provide a record of the number of Nigerian languages a Nigerian citizen speaks or understands other than his home language. It would therefore be difficult to give an exact number of speakers of each of the three major languages by then. It was, however, estimated that about nine million people speak Igbo, twelve and a half million speak Yoruba and about thirteen million speak Hausa. Igbo is in the weakest position with regard to number. Before 1968 the Hausa speaking areas were part of the former Northern Region, where Hausa had been serving as a lingua franca administratively, educationally and otherwise (Rufai 1977. 72). Similarly, the areas of mid-west were part of the former Western Region and Yoruba had always been used there. Both Yoruba and Hausa kept on expanding.

Association with a great tradition.

In the field of culture and tradition, Hausa and Yoruba are still dominant. The Ibos tend to be rather clannish and never constituted themselves into kingdoms or empires. In terms of culture and tradition, Ibos are much stronger in the southwestern and northern states. Before colonization both Hausa and Yoruba came into contact with Islamic

civilization. Many Arabic words have therefore been borrowed by Hausa. With regard to contact with western civilization both Yoruba and Ibo have an advantage. This was so because it was easier for Europeans to reach the coastal plains than the hinterland. All three major languages have come into contact with western civilization. In all three languages there are many English words.

Linguistic studies

In the field of linguistic studies by Europeans, Hausa and Yoruba were dominant. In what was formerly northern Nigeria, colonial administration was based on a policy of indirect rule and some areas were administered in the mother-tongue. The British officials were given some incentives to study the languages of their areas. For standardizing procedures, the Hausa administrative terminology was used in the non-Hausa speaking areas (Rufai 1977: 74). Education in the non-Hausa speaking areas was slow because of language problems. These areas, inhabited by various tribes speaking different languages and dialects were assisted by establishing training centres for teachers, who could open schools and teach their own languages and introduce Hausa as a lingua franca.

The linguistic study of Hausa was encouraged and mechanisms devised to standardise the language. In 1955 the Hausa Language Board took over from the Northern Region Literature Agency. Such a privilege has not been enjoyed by Yoruba and Igbo. For this reason Hausa became 'the only indigenous Nigerian language that has been instrumental in effecting political integration within a context of ethnic pluralism' (Rufai 1977: 75). For the fact that Hausa was learned and understood even by speakers of other languages put the language as a possible candidate for selection of an

indigenous language as a national language for Nigeria.

Ethnic loyalty is still strong in Nigeria. It is always the ethnic group first, then the country (Rufai 1977). The ideal situation should be the reverse, but to do that very strong attachments need to be created. People usually have sentimental and instrumental attachments towards their country, but to be able to create a strong sentimental attachment one must improve the instrumental attachment first. This is so because to get a person involved in a system one must make him realize the instrumental gains at his disposal. Material gains are the best incentives. It seems therefore that a peaceful political atmosphere is the priority because it is only when there is political stability that language planning can be given serious and objective consideration. Before independence Nigerians called for a national language, after independence people became so pre-occupied with problems created by political changes that nobody thought about language.

The sociolinguistic profile of Nigeria as described by Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000) presently looks as follows:

Population: 111 million

Number of languages: 400 (representing three of the generally recognized language families: Niger-Congo, Nilo-Saharan, and Afro-Asiatic).

Dominant languages: Hausa (spoken as a regional lingua franca by more than 25 million people), Yoruba, Igbo, Edo, Efik-Ibibio, Fulani, Nupe, Tiv, Urhobo, Nigerian Pidgin.

Official language: English, with Yoruba, Hausa, and Igbo the national languages.

Language of learning and teaching: mother tongues/the language of the immediate

community in junior primary school; English at senior primary, secondary, and tertiary levels.

Language study: English, a national language (Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba), and a language of the local community.

Literacy level: 57%

Literature has been produced in English as well as the indigenous languages.

Newspapers, radio, and television mainly in English, but also in the indigenous languages.

The implications of this section for my topic appears at the end of section 3.

3.3 KENYA

Development and implementation of language policy

Very few African nations have chosen a definitive course of action as far as language policy is concerned. Some have made a verbal commitment to language planning, but have not developed a language policy. Kenya designated Swahili as a national language but failed to formulate a comprehensive policy nor set in motion schemes to implement it (Hopkins 1977). According to him there are about 40 distinct languages/dialects in Kenya. These may be classified in four main groups, vis, 'Bantu', Nilotic, Para-Nilotic and Cushitic. About 66% speak a 'Bantu' language, 31% speak Nilotic or Para-Nilotic and 3% speak Cushitic (Hopkins, 1977). Kenya also has a minority population of Europeans and Asians. They speak English, Punjabi, Gujerati, Urdu and Hindi. More than half the population speak Swahili as a second language.

The history of Kenya clearly shows three stages in its educational development: traditional, missionary and governmental education systems. Traditional education was

basically carried out in the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction. This was informal and not carried out in 'schools' but it provided the children with specific skills that were necessary for them to survive and properly function as members of their society (Hopkins 1977:85). This type of education succeeded in preserving certain cultural values of which language is one.

Three processes took place in the history of Kenya's development of policy decision according to Hopkins:

Statement of policy:

The language policy statement ran:

"We have got to be proud and use our own language..."

With this statement made in 1958, president Jomo Kenyatta decreed Swahili as the national language of Kenya. Shortly later the National Assembly approved a motion declaring Swahili as well as English to become the official languages of Kenya. These languages were to be used both in non-governmental offices and in parliament. This was declared on December 31, 1971.

President Kenyatta reiterated his policy decision designating Swahili as the national language of Kenya on July 5, 1974 . He stated:

I do know that some people will start murmuring that the time is not ripe for this decision. To hell with such people. Those who feel they cannot do without English can well pack up and go" (Hopkins 1977. 86).

There was no clear statement made as to whether English will still serve with Swahili at the official level. Some members of parliament felt that the introduction of Swahili in

the House would take 'some time'. It would further require some amendment of section 53 of Kenya's constitution which stipulated English as the language to be used in the Assembly. President Kenyatta reacted immediately by ordering the assembly to start deliberations in Swahili. The house passed the Constitutional Amendment Bill of 1974 making Swahili the official language in parliamentary proceedings (while retaining English for written laws, bills, financial resolutions and amendments).

In general, implementation of a language policy cannot be effective unless the implementation is directed towards the aims of that policy and these policy aims transmitted into precise national goals. The exact aims underlying Kenyatta's decree of Kenya's language policy was never explicitly stated. The overall consensus for the use of Swahili has been favourable because the 1974 census revealed that 73% of Kenya's population accepted Swahili as the national language with only 8% favouring English and the rest, other vernaculars (Hopkins, 1977: 88).

The implementation of this policy was not suited to pragmatic solutions. There has been no presidential or ministerial commission to study the feasibility of implementing the policy and there has not been any reform in the education system to reflect the intended policy. English, which substituted Swahili and the vernaculars as medium of instruction in 1958 is still used in that capacity. According to Whiteley (1971) as cited by Hopkins (1977), a national language policy is likely to succeed if based on the education system.

The sociolinguistic profile of Kenya is as follows according to Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000.):

Population: 24 million

Number of languages: 42

Dominant languages: Kikuyu (spoken by 20%), Dholuo (14%), Luluya (13%), Kikamba (11%), Kalenjin (11%), Ekigusi (6.5%), Kimeru (5%).

Others: Maasai, Galla, Rendile, Turkana, Somali

National language: Kiswahili (known as a second language by 65% of the nation).

Official languages: English (known as a second language by about 16% of Kenyans), and Kiswahili.

Language of learning and teaching: most of the indigenous languages during the first three years of primary education, with English and Kiswahili as subjects; English from the fourth year of primary school onwards.

Language study: Kiswahili and English are studied throughout the school system. No indigenous language is studied after the third year.

Literacy: 78%

Literature: most literature is in English, but there is also a growing literature in Kiswahili. Some indigenous writing is available in Dholuo, Kikuyu, and Luhya.

Media: most newspapers are in English, there is only one Kiswahili daily now (there used to be three some years ago). Radio and television use English and Kiswahili. Some channels are English only.

3.4 Tanzania.

The United Republic of Tanzania is composed of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. It is linguistically a very diverse nation. Fasold (1984) mentions that Palomé (1982) gave 135 as the number of 'different linguistic units identified as distinct languages by their speakers' (p.266). Kembo (2000) has it at 135 to 150. In 1957, 94% of the population

spoke one of the languages of the Bantu language family. There were very few languages spoken by large numbers of people, according to Fasold (1984). Kiswahili is a Bantu language with strong Arabic influences. It originated in the seventh and eighth centuries along the coast, and spread from about 1 000 AD southwards along the trading routes and became a lingua franca for trade between Arab merchants and the local population. In the eighteenth century it spread inland along the caravan routes. (Webb and Kembo-Sure 2000). Kiswahili was adopted as the language of TANU (Tanganyika African National Union) in its struggle for independence. A few years after independence Tanzania designated Kiswahili as its national language and in 1967 it was made the official language of the country as well.

The selection of a national language was less of a problem for Tanzania compared with many developing countries. As a Bantu language, Kiswahili is structurally similar to the native languages of about 95% of the population. The only alternative for official language was English but according to Fasold (1987:266), Kiswahili had the advantage because it was:

1. indigenous
2. not the language of one of several socio-cultural groups competing for dominance
3. widely known as a second language
4. linguistically related to the native languages of the majority of citizens, and
5. historically used as a language of initial education. (1987:269).

There are numerous dialects of Kiswahili and the national language developed from one of them. The East African Kiswahili Committee was established to determine which form of Kiswahili can best be used as national and official language. This committee

was responsible for the standardisation of Kiswahili during the colonial period. The standardisation process in Tanzania was successful to an extent as the written form is close to the spoken norms based on Kiunjuka (which was Zanzibarian but similar to many dialects in the former Tanganyika). The committee eventually became the Institute of Kiswahili Research at the University of Dar es Salaam. The 'Promoter of Kiswahili' and the ministry of Education were responsible for the development of the language.

Kiswahili is the language of government. It is the working language of the national assembly and the lower courts. Most printing appears in English but government officials address citizens mostly in Kiswahili. English, Kiswahili and the vernaculars are all used in courts but with mostly English used in higher courts. There was a policy of transferring civil servants to places far from their homes to compel them to use Kiswahili as they could not speak the local vernaculars. The other policy was the use of *ujamaa* villages (agricultural communes) where people of diverse languages lived together.

The use of Kiswahili both as national and official language has been a success. It symbolises Tanzanian nationalism. It is true, however, that Kiswahili is not used for official functions at all levels, it could also not be used in higher education and technical domains. It is, nevertheless, used widely in government dealings and in primary education.

The socio-linguistic profile of Tanzania is as follows (Webb and Kembo-Sure :2000: 51):

Population: 29 million

Number of languages: between 135 and 150

Dominant languages : Kisukuma (spoken by 12.5%), Kinyambwezi (4.2%), Kiswahili (10%), but known as a second language by 90% of the population).

Other languages: 15 other languages are spoken by between 0.5 and 1 million speakers each. Tanzania's languages mainly belong to four language families (Bantu, Nilotic, Khoisan and Cushitic).

National and official languages: Kiswahili; English as an official language (known by 20% of the population)

Language of learning and teaching: Kiswahili at primary level and English at secondary and tertiary levels.

Literacy rate: 68%

Media: Printed and radio media in both English and Kiswahili.

Implications of this part on the Limpopo Province appear at the end of section 3.

3.5 The consequences of the language policies of African states vis-à-vis education .

According to Bokamba and Tlou (1977) language policies of most independent African states vis-à-vis education are the continuation of the colonial policies. Gorman (1974:397) as quoted by Bokamba and Tlou (1977) asserts that language policies are almost always political decisions. He asserts that:

“Decisions in language use in a particular society are almost invariably subordinate to, or a reflection of, underlying social and or political values and goals. Even in the educational domain, pedagogical considerations, while relevant, are seldom primary in influencing decisions relating to the use of particular languages as media or subjects of instruction” (Bokamba et al,1977: 36).

The language policies practised by the former major colonial powers reflect very much their political philosophies. As stated in Chapter 2, the Portuguese discouraged the use of mother-tongue as medium of instruction in the school system. The Belgian and British educators subscribed to the principle that the most effective medium of instruction in the preliminary stage of a child's education is his mother-tongue. This principle was re-echoed by UNESCO, as already mentioned in Chapter 2.

The language policies of most African states, including Kenya, Tanzania and Nigeria, as cited earlier in this chapter, are examples of the rapid "Europeanization" of the medium of African education since independence. The use of mother-tongue in education has been gradually phased out to an extent that with the exception of Tanzania, English or French or Portuguese has in theory become the medium of instruction from secondary school level. As for the teaching of the African languages, Bokamba quotes Walusimbi (1972) that in Ghana, the government recognised six official languages which had to be taught at elementary and secondary schools as well as in the teacher training colleges, Luganda is surprisingly the only one of the six that is taught up to school certificate level. The other languages are taught in primary schools and teacher training colleges only (Bokamba and Tlou 1977). Tanzania has adopted Swahili as the medium of instruction for all primary school education.

The present language policies of African states vis-à-vis education are dictated by three practical considerations according to Bokamba and Tlou (1977).

- *efficiency and expediency
- *national unity or political considerations, and
- * national progress.

Efficiency and expediency

One reason for rejecting African languages as media of instruction is that they are not sufficiently developed or modernized. The second argument is that teaching in African languages is not possible because of the lack of teaching materials and trained African cadres. These problems, it is argued, can be obviated by adopting colonial languages as media of instruction. This argument is senseless. Every language can be put to any use only after careful consideration of the language situation is made and a number of necessary steps are taken to develop, elaborate and revalorise the language. Any spoken language can be written and teaching and learning material can be developed in such languages. The language political situation must be made conducive for such undertakings, and people's attitudes towards such languages should be changed positively.

National unity

The second major argument in favour of European, ex-colonial languages as media of instruction is that the choice of indigenous national languages is regarded as a highly divisive undertaking politically. It is said that the choice of one indigenous language as a medium of instruction in a multilingual community will be interpreted by some part of the population as a rejection of other languages. The implementation of such a policy can't be carried out without entertaining political conflicts, which, it is feared, may destroy the delicate so-called national "unity" which has been the goal that African countries have been striving for since independence. The use of a number of indigenous languages is suspected to encourage tribalism. To try and avoid these type of conflicts most countries opted for the Europeanization of the media of instruction.

This conclusion is rather strange because it applied even to homogeneous nations like Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland where English remains the language of instruction and not Tswana, or Sotho or Swazi.

National progress.

National progress or development means industrialization and associated technological achievement. One senseless argument is that it is feared that the use of an African language will impede the progress and retard integration into the modern world. It is true that colonial languages have established themselves as the languages of prestige and upward mobility in many African states. In contrast to the above shallow arguments mentioned in this section, a sound language policy would call for the assignment of specific functions to each language in consonance with the realities of the society concerned. This is the type of language policy that this research would like to argue for. African languages can be used as media of instruction and for other internal affairs at the national, regional or local levels. More will be said about this in Chapter 7.

Bokamba and Tlou (1977) mention some of the disadvantages of colonial languages, namely:

The acquisition of the European medium of instruction is rendered difficult because of the lack of reinforcement outside of the classroom situation. Most European languages in Africa are used by a few privileged members of the community who pose as the elite in the communities. Very few of the pupils have the chance to use these languages outside their classrooms in both rural and urban settlements. They mostly use their mother-tongues in situations outside school. Pupils ultimately become 'people of two worlds' being the home and the school, neither of which reinforces the experiences of

the other with regard to language use.

Secondly, since the student is unable to master the language of instruction, his ability to understand the academic content and logic of the subject is negatively affected. The student has to grasp both the language and the subject content at the same time. Low language comprehension hinders academic development and learning becomes difficult as a result.

Thirdly, the development of the African languages and cultures is discouraged by the continued use of European languages. In line with what I mentioned in chapter 1, Ansre (quoted by Bokamba and Tlou, 1977), asserts that some Ghanaians look upon their own languages with a certain amount of shame, and regard them as not worthy for their children to learn. As a result, these people become culturally alienated from the people whom they should serve and help.

Fourthly, the bulk of dropouts from school because of any reason including language problems, lapse back into illiteracy after some time of being away from situations that force them to use their literacy skills in the foreign language used as medium of instruction. These children become disillusioned and turn, understandably, to crime, and become a threat to their societies.

3.6 Languages of learning and teaching (LoL/T)

Policy context:: issues, problems and constraints.

Linguistic complexity in Africa is not only caused by the number of languages spoken by Africans but also the diversity prevalent in the language families and, moreover, the

diversity of the functions assigned to the various languages spoken in a particular country. There are also cases of various languages spoken by the same individual. Some countries have only one indigenous language while others like Nigeria have about 400 languages. The internal complexity in such examples is not only a matter of numbers, but also a matter of the relative power and status of the languages.

As mentioned earlier, in most African countries, the most prestigious language is that of the former colonial country. These languages, which are often referred to as languages of wider communication (LWC), are perceived as languages of international communication. They are accorded official status in most African countries. They are used as languages of instruction (LoL/T), as official languages and as languages of the modern economy (IDRC, 1997).

The situation created by the treatment of languages as described above, may be even more complex to the child. In Kenya, for example, a child may start school where his mother tongue is an LoL/T in the first three years of education. The same child must immediately start learning two other languages, in this case Swahili, as an indigenous national language, and English as the official language (which also becomes the LoL/T from grade four onwards). In some urban areas in Kenya a child may have one of his two other languages (Swahili or English) as the LoL/T on the first encounter with a teacher. One reason for using the LWC is for socioeconomic development but as Bamgbose (1991:38) put it:

National development, even when narrowly defined as socioeconomic development, ...has to take place in the context of linguistic and ethnic

heterogeneity.

It is important to discuss the role of language in education because the acquisition of literacy is part and parcel of the educational process which directly influences and shapes social transformation. Countries with low per capita incomes tend to have the highest illiteracy and birth rates in the world. Countries which overcame illiteracy show improvement in attitude and socioeconomic development which boost social transformation. As already explained in Chapter 2 instruction in the mother tongue in the primary years of a child's education is very important. Experiences in Africa and elsewhere show that cognitive development is achieved faster in mother tongue instruction than when the LWC is used as LoL/T in primary school education. (Bamgbose 1991).

In terms of access and quality, Kenya's education system, at least at the primary school level, is considered effective. At present the language policy in Kenya's education system is as follows:

- * The language of the catchment area (the dominant language of the school's neighbourhood) is used as the LoL/T for the first 3 years of primary school education.

- * English is taught as a compulsory subject from the first year of school up to the last year of secondary school and is used as the LoL/T from the fourth year of primary school to the final year of university. (There are however, places where teachers have decided that English is the language of the catchment area).

- * Swahili is taught as a compulsory subject from the first year of primary school up to the last year of secondary school. (Swahili is also used as LoL/T for the first 3 years of primary school if local teachers decide that it is the language of the catchment area) (IDRC., 1997: 6).

In its 1977 National Policy on Education, the government of Nigeria made two key pronouncements on the importance of language in the education system: the mother tongue would be used in education; and some Nigerian languages would be used for achieving national unity (Chumbow 1990). Nigeria, like most Anglophone African countries, has been using mother tongue as LoL/T at the lower primary levels of education since before independence. The British colonial education policy recognised the importance of the mother tongue very early on and with the 1977 policy which was geared to pre-primary education, the government was seeking to:

- effect a smooth transition from home to school; and
- prepare the child for the primary level of education.

The government committed itself to ensuring that the LoL/T would principally be the mother-tongue or the language of the immediate community. Institutions were created to promote the development of Nigerian languages (Chumbow, 1990).

According to IDRC (1997), when Tanzania gained independence in 1961, the new government had the task of addressing problems created by more than 60 years of colonial rule. One burning issue was the racial integration of schools. Their schools, as in the former South Africa, were segregated along racial lines. There were European, Asian and African schools. Their curricula differed as well as their LoL/T. When Swahili was declared LoL/T in 1967 in the primary school system, it was an attempt at facilitating racial integration. To create social cohesion, basic education was made accessible to all members of the society.

It becomes imperative here to look at the relationship between LoL/T and school outcomes, specifically cognitive development and language acquisition. The most

authoritative research carried out in Nigeria's National Policy on mother tongue literacy was conducted in the Ife State from 1970. This project was started because of the fact that the 1970 mother tongue education produced poor learners. A survey was conducted on the use of mother tongue as LoL/T throughout the six years of primary education. The sample schools were compared to mainstream Nigerian schools and the findings were that :

- * The cognitive and academic performance of the students in the project schools was better than that of their counterparts in the mainstream schools.

- * Pupils educated in Yoruba (the mother tongue) throughout the 6 years of primary education were no less proficient in English than pupils educated in English during the last 3 years.

- * The gains that pupils reportedly made when instructed in their mother tongue fell into various categories:- cultural, affective, cognitive, socio-psychological and pedagogic.

(Akinnaso 1993, as cited by IDRC 1997).

There is a possibility that there might have been other non-linguistic factors incorporated in the compilation of this comparative study, which may include the selection of better teachers, curriculum change, use of new course materials, use of new and more effective teaching methods.

In South Africa, a study was carried out in 1990 on a transitional bilingual project, the Threshold Project. At that time, the LoL/T policy was that the medium of instruction should shift from mother tongue to English at grade 3. The objective of the project was to test the cognitive development of the child in that program. According to Lockett (1994,5), "pupils could not explain in English what they already knew in their first

languages; nor could they transfer into their first languages the new knowledge that they had learnt through English". The main conclusion is that bilingual programs that shift the LoL/T from the mother tongue to a second language before the child reaches a certain age or level of cognition will result in failure.

Beside these projects, study findings from elsewhere as cited by IDRC (1997) from Ramirez (1994) show that in general:

- The mother tongue is the primary language of learning
- Early transition to English-only programmes does not succeed, students do not maintain or develop the linguistic and cognitive skills acquired in the first language.
- Efficient access to the second language can occur via second-language content classes for the remaining 50% of instruction time.
- Additive bilingual or multilingual programmes, coupled with an integrated approach to the curriculum, provide the best results in the acquisition of both knowledge and competencies in the second language (IDRC, 1997).

There are a number of things one can learn from the experiences in the countries discussed above. One of them is the importance of clarity of objectives in policy statements. In the Tanzanian case, the objectives, at least for primary education were clear. Soon after the LoL/T policy was made public in 1967, a circular was issued explaining how and when the policy should be implemented. The circular was sent to all regional education officers. Implementation was to start in the academic year of 1967-1968 and would be gradually implemented. By 1973-74, Swahili would be the LoL/T throughout all grades in the primary schools. The policy was implemented as planned (Roy-Campbell, 1992).

In contrast to the Tanzanian example, the Kenyan catchment-area policy was vague, and it gave room for loose interpretations . The same vagueness can be found in Kenya's policy to make Swahili its national language. Bamgbose (1991: 113) pointed out that :

the vagueness of the decision can be judged by the implementation steps recommended. These included the requirement that all Kenyans were to speak Swahili at all times with fellow Kenyans (a practical impossibility since language choice depends on several factors, particularly topic, situation, and role relationship between the interlocutors), that government business was to be conducted in Swahili, that all civil servants were to be required to pass an examination in the language, and that Swahili would be given greater prominence than English in the schools. Not only are details of how these prescriptions were to be achieved not given, the opposite of what is recommended has been going on, without any notice of the contradiction involved ...

Even after the objectives of a policy are clear and a sound implementation plan has been drawn up, there may still be some technical and sociopolitical problems to battle with. Tanzania experienced some technical problems. Swahili had inadequate and inappropriate technical terms. Most technical terms were difficult, some of the terms are still foreign but written in Swahili, and many definitions are either imprecise or distorted when compared with the concepts they are supposed to define. Borrowing in languages is a fact which cannot be wished away. Corpus planning as a long term process can be pursued to modernise the language for specific purposes.

Although Swahili is used as LoL/T in training primary school teachers, most of the materials used at the teachers's colleges are in English. English was therefor seen as 'superior' to Swahili. People in practice preferred English and this language preference seemed not just to be pedagogically effective but it was linked to the wider political and socioeconomic factors, including the perceived status of the various languages.

3.7 Some characteristics of language-in-education policies in Africa.

According to Bamgbose (1991) language policies in African countries are characterised by one of the following :

"avoidance, vagueness, arbitrariness, fluctuations and declaration without implementation" (Bamgbose,1991:111). I will in this study only include problems that affected the three chosen countries. Vagueness of policy is related to avoidance of policy formulation. An example of this is the vague policy in Kenya as explained earlier in the chapter.

Declaration of policy without implementation can take one of three forms, according to Bamgbose (1991). A country may declare a policy which cannot be implemented in the circumstances and the policy-makers are well aware of that. He gives an example of when a country declares that pre-primary education shall be in the mother tongue when there are no pre- primary schools in the country. This may be done for propaganda purposes. Secondly it may be declared but with some escape clauses built into it. These escape clauses give an alibi for non-implementation. Thirdly, a policy may be declared but procedures to implement it are not specifically provided and the policy is a good plan only on paper. Nigeria's language policy exemplifies the last two forms of declaration without implementation. Its policy in section 51 and 91 of the 1979

constitution states that:-

“The business of the national assembly shall be conducted in English and in Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba when adequate arrangements have been made therefore (section 51)

A House of Assembly may in addition to English conduct the business of the House in one or more major languages spoken in the State as the House by resolution may approve. (Section 91)” (Bamgbose 1991:117).

Escape clauses have been built into the formulation:

‘when adequate arrangements have been made therefore’

‘as the House by resolution may approve’

Clauses like these are said to be necessary in legal documents but in this case the net result is to maintain the status quo as represented in the earlier policy that

‘ business of Parliament shall be conducted in English’

Besides these escape clauses the policy lacked implementation mechanisms. It was not specified which body would make the necessary arrangements to introduce major languages in the assembly. It was not clear when the assembly would make its resolution on the language to be used with English. It was not stated how the decision should be implemented. These omissions imply that the official language policy has never been implemented.

The other relevant section of Nigeria’s language policy is the education policy. Its main features are:

- * Mother-tongue medium from pre-primary school until some point in primary education.
- * Two Nigerian languages as core subjects in the Junior Secondary school and one in the Senior Secondary school.
- * One of the three major languages to be taught where the language selected should not be the child's mother tongue.

The government considers it to be in the interest of national unity that each child should be encouraged to learn one of the three major languages other than his mother tongue. In this connection, the government considers the three major languages to be Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba.

The policy contained an escape clause: subject to the availability of teachers. In practice most states simply ignored the policy and could claim that teachers were not available for some languages. It must have provided some mechanisms which would include the (re)-training of teachers, (both pre-service and in-service) and the production and development of teaching and learning materials for teachers and pupils respectively.

With regard to pre-primary education, the policy demonstrated the problem of lack of feasibility and vagueness. Mother tongue education is supposed to begin in pre-primary school but this level is not controlled by the government but the private sector. Since the government does not fund or control pre-schools, pre-schools cannot be forced to comply with the policy. Parents have also demonstrated by their choice that they want their children to learn English as quickly as possible instead of learning a Nigerian language.

From the examples cited above, and others provided by Bamgbose (1991) for other countries in Africa, one will understand that language policies differ according to the situation in each country. While in Nigeria there are official and educational language policies without adequate provision for implementation, in Tanzania it is different because language policies there are backed by such provisions. For example the declaration of Swahili as a national language was followed by a number of implementation strategies: Tanzania created a post of Promoter of Swahili in 1964 in the ministry of Community Development and National Culture. The main task here was to co-ordinate Swahili development efforts. There was also an inter-ministerial Swahili committee to hasten the formation of technical terms in the language and to publish the Government Directory in Swahili. A national Swahili council was set up in 1967 to co-ordinate and promote Swahili development efforts and disseminate publications in the language. Thus the official language policy specifies measures to facilitate implementation.

The language policy shortcomings discussed above imply that a policy that works in one country may fail hopelessly in another, depending on the differences in the context prevalent in each country, the vision of the government and actually the commitment of the government to their own policies.

3.8 Implications for the Limpopo Province

One sociolinguistic assumption about language varieties states that the type of relationship between language and society will be fairly constant over various speech communities. In other words, patterns of sociolinguistic behaviour found in one community are most likely to occur in a second community under similar circumstances.

The comparative section of this study is aimed at identifying language conditions in the three exemplified countries which might be similar to language conditions in the Limpopo Province. Conditions that prevailed in the three countries pertaining to language situations are not so different from those in the Province under review.

Like most of the African countries discussed in this chapter, Limpopo Province displays a language situation that is comparable in principle to the diversity found in Kenya, Tanzania and Nigeria. South Africa in its present general climate is interested in (re) defining the role of its eleven official languages, and the Limpopo Province should also redefine the role of its diverse languages, which are listed in Chapter 1. As in most African countries English in this province is a second language. But it is not always clear what that implies. The spectrum ranges from a multilingual context in which English is a mother tongue to those where it is almost 'only' an international language or a foreign language. I am convinced that the role of a language can only be objectively assessed on the basis of an empirical investigation of language behaviour whenever the language is found in a complex sociocultural context.

The official status of a language must correspond (at least partly) to existing knowledge, use and the attitudes of people in that area. It must be known and spoken by most people, people must identify easily with it and like it. As in most African countries, English in the province is either a native language, a second language or a foreign language. This categorisation depends on a number of sociolinguistic and linguistic differences. One may consider the age and context of acquisition: mother tongues are usually learnt from parents and foreign languages through formal education; second languages can be acquired in social contact, but also in the home

or through early formal education (Schmied 1998:12).

Given the language situation in the countries discussed, and attempts at solving perceived language problems, this study is challenged to come up with a way of empirically measuring the roles and statuses of languages in the Province with a view to proposing a comprehensive language policy and language-in-education policy.

One implication is that language attitudes should be scrutinised, both positive and negative ones. One can try to put these attitudes together and see which of these relationships contribute strongly to the allocation of official roles to languages in the Province in relation to the national language policy.

The Tanzanian example as described above has some implications for the Province in that policy statements must be made concerning the role of each of the languages spoken in the province with full awareness of the multilingual scenario. The Province should guard against repeating mistakes mentioned in this chapter concerning policy statements and implementation strategies.

I think that this Province in contrast to most African countries has reasonably adequate economic power and political will to shape its education system according to its people's language needs. A balance will have to be struck between languages in the Province for the sake of smooth social transformation. Additive multilingualism is one way of incorporating various needs on different levels, but at the provincial level fewer official languages will have to be supported.

I hope that while people are struggling to create political stability, they can take steps which will improve the chances of developing one or some of the languages to serve as LoL/T and also as official working languages in the provincial government. These may not be radical views, but they are possible as it happened with the promotion of Kiswahili in Tanzania. In a province like this, solutions can be found to problems only through a careful approach, no matter how long it may take. After all, language planning is a long-term process which should be implemented in terms of decades, not years. It takes time for people to change their beliefs and cultures to accommodate new ones. The socio-linguistic history of the Province will inform us of the background history of the Province which will show us the attitudes that people have towards languages and the relationships between language groups.

The Province will have to make many compromises in order to provide education first in the psychologically and educationally advantageous mother tongues and, only if necessary, later in LWC opening up more economic and cultural opportunities to children and adults (Schmied 1998). There might be problems in the Province as the heritage of apartheid education may make it difficult for parents and politicians alike to support things like mother tongue education in the first few years of school and maintain additive bilingualism. Methods used by countries exemplified above may not always be applicable and their results should not be seen to be transferable. Practical language choices may be difficult as the question of 'mother tongue' can become tricky mostly in urban and peri-urban communities. Schmied quotes an example of one 23 year old student from Germiston quoted from Mesthrie, 1995. xvi:

my father's home language was Swati, and my mother's home language was Tswana. But as I grew up in a Zulu speaking area we used mainly Zulu and

Swati at home. But from my mother's side I also learnt Tswana well. In my high school I came into contact with lots of Sotho and Tswana students, so I can speak this two languages well. And of course I know English and Afrikaans. With my friends I also use Tsotsitaal

Like Tanzania and Kenya, the province may have to accept the concept of a community language or the language of the immediate environment but it may be difficult to reconcile language practice with language attitudes, as will be shown in chapter 5.

This chapter looked briefly at language planning policies in Nigeria, Tanzania and Kenya. The sociolinguistic situations in these countries are comparable to the language situation in Limpopo Province. African languages had different roles and statuses in the different countries and the languages of the colonial masters were treated differently in the three but ultimately remain the LoL/T and the LWC with the exception of Tanzania where Swahili is used as LoL/T to a larger extent in the primary schools. Internal migration to urban centres as well as the association of specific languages with a great tradition have been causes for concern in formulating policies in all three country's allocation of roles to different languages. Ethnic loyalty always came first before the country while the ideal situation would be the reverse.

I have touched as well on the consequences of language policies with regard to education in which the LWC is used as the LoL/T for most educational levels with the Tanzanian exception. The LWC was preferred for the maintenance of national unity and national progress, which African states had been struggling for since independence, but in vain. I then outlined issues, problems and constraints in the LoL/T and looked at

some case studies of mother tongue instruction as a factor in cognitive and linguistic development. Characteristics of language policies in Africa included vagueness, avoidance, fluctuation and declaration without implementation as put by Bamgbose (1991). The chapter ended with implications for the Limpopo Province, much of which shall be discussed after having looked at the socio-political history of the Province with special reference to the language issue.

I hope that while people are struggling to create political stability, they can take steps which will improve the chances of developing one or some of the languages to serve as national or provincial means of communication. The sociolinguistic history of the Province follows.

CHAPTER 4

THE SOCIO-POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE LIMPOPO PROVINCE

In Chapter 1, the percentage distribution of home languages was provided. This chapter will look at the sociopolitical history of the five largest language communities in the Province selected in terms of their numbers of speakers. The languages are Northern Sotho, Xitsonga, Tshivenda, Setswana and Afrikaans. English will be included even though it is statistically not amongst the main languages in the province since it is a dominant language and is used as medium of instruction in most schools and tertiary institutions. The intention is to describe the origins of these language communities, their development and the social position obtained by them, so that with that information one can evaluate the language situation and suggest possible policies with regard to the revalorisation of some or all of these languages as part of the provincial social transformation in Chapter 6.

It is important to include the developmental history of language in the province even though it may not have a direct bearing on the model of policy I am going to propose. I do this in support of ideas like that of Halliday and Martin (1993) who wrote, "The history of a language is not separate from the rest of human history: on the contrary, it is an essential aspect of it. Human history is as much a history of semiotic activity as it is of socio-economic activity."(Halliday and Martin,1993). Before suggesting a language policy one needs to provide the historical background of the languages in the region.

The earliest inhabitants of Southern Africa are best traced from the Stone Age period. According to Bergh (1999) archeological findings show that the four northern provinces

(Gauteng, Mpumalanga, North West and Limpopo) have been inhabited for some 2 million years. In Southern Africa this prehistoric period is marked by technological and other developments in what is referred to as the Stone Age period.

4.1 The Stone Age period

The *Stone Age* period shows the presence of inhabitants north of the Vaal River at Swartkrans and Sterkfontein next to Krugersdorp and dates from about 2 million years ago.

The Middle Stone Age period (not later than 20 000 years ago) can be associated with areas like Vuurherdgrot next to Potgietersrus, where there are layers of Acheul industrial complexes. These layers bears proof of the civilisation of the different middle age period industries. Other areas with such proof are said to be Pietersburg (Polokwane) and Kalkbank.

The last 20 000 years saw a change in that the natural environment (milieu) had more influence on the lives of people (the third Stone Age period). Drought caused great geographical redistribution of the inhabitants.

Cave paintings were found in the four northern provinces in Magaliesberg, Waterberg, Soutpansberg and Kruger National Park. Probably the San and their predecessors were responsible for these prehistoric paintings. The stone age was succeeded by the Iron age period.

4.2. The Iron Age period

The first Iron Age period is typified by the arrival in the third century A.D. of groups of people who were 'Bantu' speaking. These groups practised agriculture and animal husbandry, they had a well-developed pottery tradition and they mined metals, particularly iron. The early 'Bantu' speaking people migrated from the Cameroon area eastward along the northern borders of the equatorial forests and came into contact with Sudanese speaking people and adopted from them knowledge of animal husbandry, agriculture and metal working knowledge.

Between 300 and 400 A.D. people spread from the Great Lakes through Tanzania, Malawi, eastern Zambia and Zimbabwe to reach the four northern provinces at about 400 A.D. Almost all historically inhabited sites provide archeological testimony that they were inhabited during the Late Iron Age period and it is possible to connect archeological sites with the most important historical groups; eg. Molokwane and Kaditswene, extensive stone-ruined complexes near Rustenburg and Zeerust which are associated with the Modimosana BaMmatau-Kwena and the Hurutse, both Tswana groups as will be explained later in this chapter under the Tswana.

Later, mining played an important role in areas like Phalaborwa, Messina and Rooiberg where extensive mining operations took place. The permanent settlements of the whites north of the Vaal River during the 1st half of the 19th century and the concurrent introduction of a new cultural pattern and technology changed the way of life of these Iron Age period groups.

4.3 The Khoisan

Very little is known about the migration of the Khoisan people to the south of Africa. All

over southern Africa, right down to the southern tip, there are some stone implements, bone implements and rock paintings which are associated with the nomadic hunting group called the San or Bushmen. Muller (1971) asserts that the Dutch and the sea voyagers before them found only Hottentots or Khoikhoi on the shores of southern Africa. As farmers started hunting north of the coastal mountains they met the San. Probably the Bushmen withdrew into the interior because of the Hottentot threat. In 1774 farmers mobilised a commando, including Hottentots, to drive Bushmen away. They were forced to withdraw deeper into the interior. The Bushmen of the Cape and of the interior had now virtually disappeared. However, a few Bushmen are still found in Namibia, Angola and Botswana.

The Khoikhoi or Hottentots, who were organised into tribes, occupied an area from the mouth of the Orange River along the coast to the Fish river when the white people arrived. They kept cattle and sheep. Click sounds were common to both Hottentots and Bushmen languages. Muller (1974) asserts that the Hottentots acquired their click sounds from the Bushmen. Because of internal quarrels and pressure from neighbours, including whites, the Hottentots also withdrew into the interior. Recently we still find the Koranas and Griquas west of the Vaal River. The Nama of Namibia are part of the Hottentots and they still retain their identity and language. These two groups (Khoikhoi and San) preceded the Bantu people.

4.4 The 'Bantu' people

The African languages found in Limpopo Province all belong to the South-eastern 'Bantu' subgroup of languages of Africa. The term 'Bantu' is used here to describe a family of languages typologically and genetically homogeneous, and not to describe a

person. According to Finlayson (1987) there are about 450 'Bantu' languages which have been classified as a family. Finlayson (1987) quotes that both Greenberg (1972) and Guthrie (1962) agree on the origin of the Southern 'Bantu' as having started from north-west of the Equatorial forests. The controversy around this issue need not be discussed here as the main aim here is only to outline the socio-political history of Limpopo Province and not necessarily to trace and comment on Proto-'Bantu' and the spread of the Africans.

The time for the first crossing of the Limpopo River by the south-eastern 'Bantu' branch has been proposed as being in the fourth century A.D. (Finlayson, 1987:52). There was " a movement of peoples from a central nucleus out in various directions and meeting up with other peoples..... "(ibid.). This implies that we are dealing with languages which are not free from influence of other languages and cultures.

If there is one thing about which South African historians agree, it is that they can not agree on the origins of the naming of the 'Bantu'-speaking inhabitants of Southern Africa. The main problem seems to be the fact that no written records were kept until the arrival of the Europeans, and it was not until late in the 19th century that any serious attempt was made at collecting evidence about African settlement and movement. Most of the early history of these people came from oral history.

The south-eastern Bantu languages include the Shona group in Zimbabwe; the Nguni group, including Zulu, isiXhosa, siSwazi and isiNdebele; the Sotho group include Setswana, Sesotho and Northern Sotho; the Venda group, and the Tswa-Ronga group including Tswa, Gwamba, Xitsonga and two minor Mozambican groups Ronga and

Chopi. As for the Sotho group, it is believed that the Sesotho, Setswana and Northern Sotho speakers were once one group even though there is no evidence as to what they called themselves. The mutual intelligibility of these languages and the cultural traits like using names of animals to identify themselves strengthens the thought that they once belonged together. It is suspected that famine, wars and the influence of European missionaries might have caused and/or widened the gap between groups. The colonial rule and later the apartheid government to which these groups were subjected further widened the gap between them and they saw themselves as different people. Attempts by linguists to get the languages united into one were probably an endeavour to reverse the process. Moloto (1964:20) writes: "In 1947, the Transvaal Education Department initiated further moves towards the unification of the orthographies (of the Sotho languages) and this resulted in the Somerset House Conference...". This attempt failed. Later on sociolinguists like Neville Alexander again suggested such a move, but it was not supported.

4.4.1 The Northern Sotho

All available evidence indicates that the Sotho group migrated southwards from the region of the Great Lakes in central Africa, and that the migration "occurred in a succession of waves" over many years (Mónnig 1983:5). According to him the great Sotho migrations seems to have preceded the Nguni migrations.

The linguistic similarities between Sesotho, Setswana and Northern Sotho, make it fairly obvious that they were historically one ethnic group, speaking one language, and that geographical separation has been the main factor in the multiplication of dialects which were ultimately regarded as separate languages (Mónnig 1983). There is

however mutual intelligibility between the languages.

The principal group among the Northern Sotho were the Pedi. Monnig (1983), Mokgokong (1966), Muller (1971) and Oakes (1989) agree that the Pedi broke away from the iron-making Kgatla people under the leadership of a certain Thobele. In the 17th century they moved eastward from the vicinity of present-day Pretoria and finally settled in the area between the Oliphants and the Steelpoort Rivers, now known as Driekop. Early inhabitants of the area around Sekhukhuniland were the Roka of Mongatane under Mashabela, who occupied the area east of the Leolo (Lulu) mountains; the Tau who had come from the direction of Swaziland and settled in the country to the west of the Leolo range; the Kone and the Matlala offshoots of the tribe on the present area of Matlala'a Thaba, west of Polokwane. The Pedi absorbed those clans already living in the vicinity "by judicious marriage and by conquest" (Oakes 1989:66). They were known for their cattle wealth and their iron industry and this invited clients who were brought within the evolving Pedi statehood.

Their position was strengthened further by their strategic positioning on the trade route from Delagoa Bay to their home land and even further west. The Tsonga traded with the Portuguese at the coast and then re-traded with the Pedi, who then acted as brokers for the clans to the west and at Phalaborwa (Oakes 1989. 66).

To maintain this control, the Pedi needed a strong, centralised government. The need to centralise the government grew even stronger as the ivory trade declined and cattle raiding took its place. By the end of the 18th century control was vested in the Maroteng chieftdom at the head of a loose confederation of subordinate chieftdoms. "By giving

close female relatives as brides to the subordinate chiefs and by assisting struggling chiefdoms, the paramount chief formed bonds through family connections as well as loyalty” (Oakes 1989:66).

According to Monnig (1983) the different groups of the Pedi people were confined almost exclusively to the former Transvaal, where they lived in small reserves or locations which are scattered irregularly over the area before building a centralised government. This distribution resulted in a number of isolated linguistic groups with dialectal differences. The original speakers of the Pedi dialect were in the former central Transvaal under Sekhukhune, Mathabathe and Mphahlele. The Pedi dialect of the Sekhukhuni area was the one selected for standard Northern Sotho. There are, as mentioned above, a number of dialects like those spoken by the people of Ga-Seleka, Ga-Maleboho, Moletji, Matlala, Ga-Mamabolo, Dikgale, Molepo, Maake, Mapulaneng, Botlokwa, etc. A small group in the north-eastern Transvaal are the Lobedu, “whose hereditary leaders were Shonas from Zimbabwe (with the Venda) when a powerful ruler fled south with some supporters, bringing with her the secrecy of rain-making” (Oakes 1989. 66). This power attracted adherents from a number of chiefdoms which were mainly Sotho but also Tsonga.

4.4.2 The Tswana

According to Sounders (1989) archaeological evidence shows that people built with stone along the Witwatersrand centuries ago, and oral tradition says that among them, in the 15th century, were the people of chief Masilo. His lineage split about this time to produce the Hurutse and Kwena kingdoms. Later divisions produced the Ngwaketse, Ngwato, Kgatla, Tlokwa, Rolong and Tlhaping.

The Tswana are members of the Sotho group of the south-eastern zone of 'Bantu' languages. According to Cole (1975) the Tswana cluster of dialects may be divided into four, viz. Central, Southern, Northern and Eastern. All but the Eastern dialects are classified as Western Tswana dialects. The central division includes Rolong, Hurutse and Ngwaketse dialects. The Hurutse of Zeerust, even though numerically few are regarded as the senior Tswana tribe. The Rolong are politically divided into four: Tshidi (Barolong boorraTshidi), Rratlou (Barolong boorraTlou) mainly in Khunwana, Kraaipan and Setlagole, Rrapulana (Barolong boorraPulana) at Letlhakane and Polfontein and Seleka (barolong booSeleka) with headquarters at Thabanchu in the Free State. The dialect of the Seleka section has been influenced by the neighbouring southern Sotho but still retains characteristics of the central division (Cole 1975).

Cole (1975) writes that there has been considerable speculation concerning the cluster name Batswana or Bêswana. One notion was that the name derived from the reciprocal verb stem *-tšwana* "come or go out from one another, separate", hence Batšwana (the offshoots or separatists) referring to either the separation of the Tswana from the main Bantu (or Sotho) stock to which they originally belonged, or to the separation from one another of the various tribes.

The second notion is that it derives from the verb stem *-tšhwana* "resemble, be alike" hence 'Batšhwana' (those who resemble one another), this could be so as early travellers asked neighbouring tribes what people lived ahead, and were told *baatšhwana* (they are alike or the same as ourselves) (Cole 1975. xxi).

The third notion was that it derives from the adjectival stem *-tšhwana* "darkish",

“blackish”, also “light-coloured” or “lightish”, as opposed to black, the diminutive of ‘*ntšho*’ (black), hence ‘Batšhwana’ “the darkish- or lightish- people”. To date there is no agreement on the origin of this name.

As for the standardisation of Tswana, it is based on the closely allied central dialects. According to Sandilands (1993), the earliest Tswana grammar was compiled between 1828 and 1858 by Isaac Hughes, a missionary of the London Missionary Society. His manuscript is found in the Grey library, Cape Town. He refers to Tswana fragments of the Lord’s prayer at Griqua Town in 1824. Some Tswana catechism and spelling books were printed in London and sent to Kuruman in 1826-27. The first hymn book appeared in 1831, *Lihela*, containing 50 of Moffat’s hymns. In 1840 Moffat produced a translation of *The Pilgrim’s Progress*. Ashton printed a translation of the Old Testament in 1850 ‘*Kaelo ka kaelon*’. In 1862 a ‘*Geografe*’ was printed and in 1867 an *Arithmetic* was produced by Roger Prince. Increasingly, books and translation work were produced in great numbers from this time.

From 1827 to 1839 Hughes was stationed at Griqua Town. His grammar book printed in 1859 had its outlines in 1834, titled ‘No. 280d. *Sechuana grammar*. The writer comments that: “the language itself is a vast and elegant structure...it must have grown up to its present comparative perfection in a much better country and a more civilised people, than the Bechuana can now boast of” (Sandilands, 1993:68). This suggested an unknown community which must have developed this language. Sandilands (1993) quotes Dr. David Livingstone, who mentioned that the “Setlapeng” dialect is “the most developed” type of Setswana and that Setswana is the most developed of the southern African languages.

In his research on the standardisation of Tswana, Moloto (1964) writes that in 1837 the Tswana were the first in compiling their grammar (their St. Luke, their new Testament and their Bible were all first publications in South African Bantu; (51). In 1881 another New Testament was published in London. The work of 1881 was followed in 1905 by Rev. A. J. Wookey's 'Secoana Grammar with exercises'. After Wookey's grammar, there followed what is known as the 1910 Orthography in which the accent marks were observed as well as the velar nasal symbol. This orthography had eleven vowels. Then followed Plaatjie's orthography, 1916, 1930. In 1916 a Morolong of Kimberley, viz. Solomon Tshekiso Plaatjie, who studied in London, produced a reader in the International Phonetic Alphabet script. This gave a minute analysis of Tswana pronunciation as it is today. Pursuing this study of pronunciation, Plaatjie used a number of phonetic symbols in his translation of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* in 1929.

By the end of 1930, the Institute of African Languages and Cultures issued "Practical Orthography of African Languages". The orthography employed by the Institute was the same for Tswana as for Northern Sotho (Pedi).

In 1947 Sotho orthography was seen as a departure of Tswana, from a common system for Tswana and Northern Sotho. The then Transvaal Education Department initiated further moves towards the unification of orthographies, and this resulted in the Somerset House Conference of February 1947. Most of the members of this conference were appointed to a permanent departmental committee, the Sotho (Northern Sotho, Sesotho and Setswana) language committee, being inspectors of education, teachers, ministers of religion, assisted by university professors. The result was the issuing of

Sotho Terminology and Orthography No.1 in 1957. A decision was made not to use diacritic marks and tone marks, except where it is likely to confuse people, or in scientific works. This orthography adopted the disjunctive rendering of words, that is, it approached word-identification analytically rendering particles also as separate words.

In 1960, the composite Sotho Language Committee was divided into Setswana, Sesotho and Northern Sotho Language Committees and during 1962 each committee issued its *Terminology and orthography No.2*. The Tswana sounds were those of 1957. In 1953 Cole published *Standardisation of Written Setswana* based on a dialect cluster, viz. Rolong, Hurutse, Ngwaketse. The Tswana language is taught at schools in the Northern Province and it is also studied at a number of universities in the country, including the University of the North.

4.4.3 The Tsonga

Xitsonga is one of the languages that make up the Tsonga group of the south-eastern Bantu zone with other languages like Ronga and Tswa. These languages show some phonetic, lexical and syntactic differences from other groups in the zone, viz, the Nguni, Sotho, and the Venda groups. According to Bill (1983) there is less agreement on the origin of the Tsonga group. There is some certainty about the fact that some Proto-Xitsonga speakers spread southwards into the low-lying coastal areas of present-day Mozambique, splitting off from the proto-Nguni speakers before these came into contact with the Khoisan. (Ibid).

Along with the Khoi of the southern Cape and the Nguni of the present KwaZulu-Natal,

the Tsonga group were the first to meet the Portuguese explorers of the 16th and 17th centuries. According to Oakes (1989) the Tsonga who occupied the coastal strip from Kosi Bay to the Sabi River, were probably one of the first southern African communities to make contact with European traders at the end of the 15th century. They controlled one route from the middle Limpopo River to the old trading port of Sofala in Mozambique as well as all the approaches to the former Lourenço Marques. By the mid-seventeenth century there were long-established chiefdoms of Tsonga and Ronga people in the area around Delagoa Bay. Bill (1983) also acknowledges that during the middle of the 18th century, an expansion of Xitsonga speakers had occurred throughout southern Mozambique.

Soshangane fled from Shaka after defeating the Ndwandwe in 1819, and invaded the area of southern Mozambique which was occupied by Xitsonga and Ronga speakers. He then established the Nguni kingdom of Kwa Gaza. In this kingdom Nguni customs were adopted and the Zulu language was learnt by the Tsonga. Even though most male adults had a basic knowledge of the Zulu language because of contacts in trade, they were now forced to speak it. Most of the women, however, did not learn Zulu (Bill 1983). After the death of Soshangane in 1856, his sons Mawewe and Muzila struggled for chieftainship. Mawewe won but was unpopular. His brother, who had fled to the then Transvaal, returned from exile and defeated the unpopular Mawewe in 1862. Muzila was succeeded by his son Ngungunyana, who was later defeated by the Portuguese in 1895 and the Nguni empire in Mozambique collapsed.

During the period from 1830 onwards, groups of Xitsonga speakers moved southwards and defeated smaller groups of Bantu clans living in Thongaland in northern KwaZulu-

Natal. Others moved westwards into the former Transvaal where they settled in an area from Soutpansberg in the north, to Nelspruit and Barberton in the south-east, with isolated groups reaching as far as Rustenburg.

Between 1864 and 1867, the Tsonga, or Magwamba, the clan name by which they were known in the Soutpansberg, were involved in battles between Paul Kruger's commandos and the Venda chief Makhado. For their services they were rewarded with a tract of land near Schoemansdal which became known as 'knobneusen' because of the habit the Tsonga had acquired of tattooing their noses.

Over the next 120 years Tsonga life changed drastically through contact with Christianity, Western culture, the town-ward drift of men and later women in search of work and wealth, and the more recent effects of apartheid legislation, which brought with it the settlement following on the establishment of Gazankulu as the Tsonga 'homeland' in 1969.

These people are found in the south-eastern areas of Zimbabwe and in southern Mozambique, and in South Africa most Tsonga people are found in the former Gazankulu area, while others live on white-owned farms in the former Transvaal, on the gold fields of Gauteng, the Free State and the townships of the Reef, Pretoria and Northern Province towns. For this study we are concerned with the Tsonga who live in the Limpopo Province specifically.

The first 55 years of writing in Xitsonga was dominated by European (predominantly Swiss) writers and translators. But from 1938 onwards numbers of Xitsonga writers

emerged. "Their growing self-awareness, developing skills in the handling of literary genres, and their search for self-identity through literature was a sign of hope for the future" (Bill 1983.9).

According to Hone (1981) the history of the Xitsonga language can be summed up in the following way:-

- In September 1938 the department of education's Language Service division project 'The Historical review of Xitsonga language' convened a meeting of Swiss missionaries to decide on an orthography and school book publications.
- 1938: The first novelette by a Xitsonga speaker was written by D.C. Marivate in Tsonga: '*Sasavona*'
- 1940: Collection of folktales in Xitsonga verse, *The romance of the hare, the deceiver* by Rev. H.P. Junod
- January 1948. Special meeting of Xitsonga, Ronga and Tswa language representatives to consider unifying the three cognate languages. The Tsonga Language Board (serving from 1938 to 1954) was replaced in 1955 by the Tsonga Language Committee.
- 1962. A second version of *The Tsonga Terminology and Orthography* (no.2 of 1957) was printed.
- 1964. *Everyday Tsonga* written by M. Ouwehard was printed in the modern orthography without diacritics
- 1965. In February the conjunctive versus the disjunctive way of writing was discussed and it was agreed that all forms should be written disjunctively.
- 1974. Appearance of the enlarged and revised sixth edition of Chartelain's English-Tsonga-English dictionary .

- 1975. New testament revised using the most recent recommended Tsonga orthography.

4.4.4 The Venda

The Venda arrived from north of the Limpopo like all the other 'Bantu' people. Although their original settlement was cohesive under a single chieftain, disagreements over succession led to members of the royal house breaking away with their respective followers and establishing themselves elsewhere. (Oakes, 1989). Their southward migration, according to Mativha (1972), was pioneered by hunters of precious stones and game, who narrated stories about the country south of Mashonaland. These stories awakened a spirit of adventure and during a struggle for leadership in Mashonaland, Chief Vele led his group away and came to the former Transvaal. The language that Mativha called Luvenda was the language of the Vhalemba and the Vhasenzi people who came to the land, which means 'vele-ennda'. This means that one of their leaders 'Vele' was outside the original home which is Mashonaland. The language which he and his followers spoke was called 'Luvenda', the language spoken outside of Mashonaland.

The leaders of the Vhalemba and Vhasenzi migrated southward in about the 12th and 13th centuries and eventually established their homes around the Soutpansberg. (Mativha, 1972). The southward expansion was halted by contact with the Sotho and the Tsonga, and they retreated to the security of the Soutpansberg range. Their leaders gave the area the name Venda. Like most African tribes, the two tribes were divided by their traditions and customs but bound together by some agreements and contracts like marriage. This made them build a unified front in the then north-eastern Transvaal in

the 14th century.

According to Mathivha the Venda language of today developed from some form of Shona, Shambala, Nyanja, Sena, Swahili, Bemba and Nda. The Berlin Lutheran missionaries were the first to record the Venda language. As Mativha puts it, the earliest manuscripts in the history of Venda literature were done by Bouster in 1876, with the help of some of his converts. The written Venda from the earliest writings exhibited the influence of Northern Sotho and this, according to Mativha (1972), was because missionaries were first taught N. Sotho before going to Venda. The early evangelists who helped the missionaries in Venda were Northern Sotho speaking.

The written form of Venda (a grammar), developed by the Schwellnuss brothers, Theodor and Paul, called 'Das Tsivenda' was published in 1901 and its orthography was changed to what it is more or less today. C. Meinhof, who studied the phonetics and phonology of many languages including Northern Sotho and the Sudanic languages, improved the Venda orthography with his knowledge of speech sounds. Since then a lot of scientific studies were done on the Venda language .

According to Finlayson (1986), compared to other south-eastern 'Bantu' languages, Venda is linguistically an autonomous language. But it was found that Venda appeared to be most closely related to the Sotho group with regard to their direct cognates, i.e. words which could be traced directly back to a common ancestor, and that the Venda relationship to Shona was very close.

Finlayson (1986) concludes that in general, the evidence in respect to forms of

domesticity also seem to suggest that there is some link between Venda and Shona as well. The link between the Venda and Sotho groups on the other hand, appears to be on the male side since a number of terms in the languages refer to hunting and cattle-keeping.

In 1853 the former Transvaal Republic instructed its commandants to recognise the lands occupied by the Bantu, but at first there were no definitions of the boundaries. Under the terms of the Pretoria Convention of 1881, a standing Native Location Commission was instructed to assign the 'Bantu' 'such locations as they might be fairly or equitably entitled to, due regard being given to the actual occupation of the tribes concerned' (Mönnig, 1983:1). The work of this commission was interrupted by the Anglo-Boer war (1899-1902) but another location committee was appointed after the war and the native location in the former Transvaal as they existed before 1994 were those recognised by these two commissions. By the native Land Act of 1913 the Native locations were reserved for 'Bantu' occupation to the exclusion of all other races. In 1936 the Native Trust and Land Act provided for additional land to be acquired by or for the Africans. This enabled many tribes to buy farms to enlarge their tribal areas, while the government 'bought' the remaining larger portions which it held in trust for the African and on most of which various tribes have settled (Monnig 1983).

4.4.5 The Afrikaners

The history of the Afrikaans language can be traced back to the arrival of the Dutch at the Cape in April 1652. The language spoken by the Dutch underwent several adaptations. According to Kannemeyer (1993) there were different communities that spoke this language as a second language. There were the Khoisan people, the slaves,

the French and the German immigrants. The language naturally adapted to the local circumstances initially as a sort of a local lingua franca. By the 19th century Afrikaans served as a lingua franca among the lower classes of the populace in the Cape, especially the coloured and the white people. It existed alongside Dutch and English which were the languages of the elite and official domains. According to Kannemeyer (1993) the practice of granting small farms to the so-called 'free burghers' had already begun in Van Riebeck's time. There were, in the Cape, two parallel groups, officials who served in a temporary capacity who were responsible to Europe, and the free burghers who gradually became less dependent on Europe and developed along their own lines by adapting to local circumstances. The number of free burghers was increased by the arrival of the French Huguenots in 1688. The Huguenots had to mix evenly with the Dutch to prevent them from forming a separate community.

Even though written Afrikaans came relatively late, Afrikaans was a spoken language even before the Cape came under British colonial rule. It was "regarded as a patois and Dutch was used as the written and cultural language" (Kannemeyer, 1993:3). Henri Meurant (1812-1893) wrote his *Zamespraak tysschen Klaas Waarzegger en Jan Twyfelaar* (Conversation between Klaas Soothsayer and Jan Sceptic) in 1861 and it is regarded by some as the first publication in Afrikaans.

The political value of Afrikaans was realised earlier on and a series of movements to promote its use in public domains started. The period of the first Afrikaans language movement was 1875-1900. Afrikaans developed rapidly in the 1870's as a direct reaction to the British attempts at anglicising the Cape. The Afrikaners started questioning their position, origin and identity and they considered their future to be in

this country. This was the context in which the origin of Afrikanerdom should be understood. They came to the former Transvaal after the Great Trek in 1836.

Some white priests and teachers felt that the translation of the Bible into Afrikaans was a necessary move for the spiritual welfare of the "coloured" people. The Dutch Bible was found difficult and foreign to understand.

The *Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners* (Fellowship of True Afrikaners) was established specifically for the inculcation of interest in the Afrikaans language. In 1876 the first edition of *Die Afrikaanse Patriot* appeared which served as a mouthpiece for the society. It published works written before 1900 and stimulated the intellectuality and encouraged political awareness among Afrikaners. This was not done without difficulty as there was opposition from those in favour of Dutch and those who favoured English. This led to the first Afrikaans language congress which agreed among other things, to have a monthly magazine, the first of which was *Ons Klyntji* (Our little one) published in 1896. It contained literary writings of the period. The Anglo-Boer war of 1899 contributed to the loss of interest in language matters (Meiring A.G.S., no date).

The second language movement was from 1900 to the 1930's. Political events and the economic successes like the discovery of diamonds and gold in the independent republics in the north, encouraged Britain to expand its influence. Afrikaner nationalism may be seen as a reaction to this. The Boers felt a need to defend their cultural, political and economic rights. The British wanted to unite South Africa under the Union Jack, ending the independence of the two Boer Republics. This is what led to the Anglo-Boer war of 1899-1902, which in the eyes of the Afrikaners was a struggle for freedom.

The war ended with the Peace of Vereeniging on 31 May 1902 and the four colonies were united on 31 May 1910 (Kannemeyer 1993, Meiring, no date).

C.J. Langenhoven, a member of the Cape Provincial Council, submitted a motion in April 1914 proposing that Afrikaans should replace Dutch as medium of instruction 'for Afrikaans-speaking children up to, and including, standard iv' (Kannemeyer, 1993: 10). This motion was accepted and adopted. Other provinces followed suit. Later on Afrikaans became medium of instruction even in higher classes and by 1925 Afrikaans-speaking children learned everything in their mother-tongue. Dr. D.F. Malan, then Minister of Interior, proposed that Afrikaans become the official language along with English and Dutch, and this was accepted in 1925. There was, however, some opposition to Afrikaans from Dutch circles even though it was approved as appropriate for use in church from 1916, and the full Bible translation was completed in 1933 (and revised in 1983) and the *Evangeliese gesange* (Evangelical hymns) in 1942 (new version completed in 1978) (Kannemeyer, 1993:11).

The thirties saw further development of the Afrikaans language. Afrikaners felt that even though the language was accorded equal status with English as official languages, it had to be developed to meet the requirements of the changing world. According to Meiring the "Derde Taalbeweging" (the third language movement) was aimed at increasing the Afrikaner's intellectual life (Kannemeyer, 1993). J.B.M. Hertzog, the Prime Minister, pursued a policy of "South Africa first" both in politics and the economy. He concentrated on the problem of the 'poor whites' and consequently South Africa's economy improved and unemployment was decreased.

The rights of Afrikaans in government circles were established by the assumption of power by the National Party. A series of laws was passed to implement apartheid and this led to passive resistance, arrests and a ban on the African National Congress.

The federation of Afrikaans cultural organisations (FAK) was responsible for the protection and development of Afrikaans since 1929. It published manuals and technical terms and organised cultural festivals. Combrink (1978:68) states that, whereas initially “Afrikaans had an embryonic literature (mainly poetry), very few textbooks, no Bible, a puerile technical terminology and no standing in the world of commerce and industry”, within a relatively short period of fifty years the situation changed drastically.

During the first fifteen years or so of the National Party government after 1948, Afrikaner unity was slowly restored. This period laid the foundation for an independent republic outside the commonwealth and this was achieved in 1961. Serious criticism, however, of the Nationalist Party and their resulting discriminatory legislation, has been voiced since the fifties. Outside South Africa criticism was voiced in the United Nations Organisation (UNO) and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). South Africa was isolated and it was banned from participation in most international organisations and sports. Some Afrikaner religious leaders and jurists also criticised the government while intellectuals like N.P. van Wyk Louw and J.J. Degenaar urged ‘ a more humane approach to the problem’ (Kannemeyer, 1993: 89).

Criticism in the country intensified in the sixties and black people demanded greater political rights. After the Sharpsville massacre of 1961 and other similar demonstrations by black people in the sixties, the Soweto unrest of 1976 resulted in social disruptions.

However, the government started to acknowledge the legitimacy of the black and 'coloured' populations' claims to greater political rights and freedom. H.F. Verwoerd's homeland policy was one attempt, as was P.W.Botha's later tricameral parliament for whites, coloureds and Indians. This was still essentially grounded in the apartheid philosophy. Since F.W. de Klerk took office in 1989, organisations like the ANC were unbanned and it was possible to envisage a fully democratic society for the first time since the rigid Verwoerdian era.

After the first democratic elections in 1994 Afrikaans remained an official language of the Republic of South Africa with the other ten languages. Webb (1998) notes that Afrikaans is not a homogeneous language as there exists several non-standard varieties such as Cape Afrikaans, Orange River Afrikaans and the Afrikaans of second-language speakers. (Webb 1998. 37). He further mentions the strong stigmatization in many black communities which is the result of Afrikaans's direct association with apartheid.

The history of Afrikaans demonstrates that with determination, any speech community can strive to make their language official if the community has the economic and political power. Languages can be adapted and standardised to support the establishment of new values, norms, attitudes and patterns of behaviour. They may be made to perform the role of facilitating development and supporting state administration. Any language can rise to the occasion as an official language sufficient in every way for the functions of a modern state or province. Political will is a necessary ingredient in the transformation of a language from a state of inadequacy to a state of adequacy as an official language.

4.4.6 The English

English is not among the first five major languages in the Province, but because of its dominance, it is necessary to look at its history. English was introduced in the Cape before the end of the 18th century during the first British occupation of the Cape. It only gained a permanent foothold after the second British occupation of the Cape in 1806. After the Battle of Blaauwbergstrand between the British and the Dutch, English as a language was officially introduced in the country. The British Government of the Cape and later Natal promoted the use of English in all public domains. Their attempts at anglicisation strengthened the movement promoting the role of Afrikaans as already mentioned in this chapter. The standard variety of English in this country has maintained its linguistic links with British English in a remarkable manner. Nevertheless there is some variety in the use of the language in the country. For example we have Natal English, Eastern Cape English, Afrikaans English, Indian English and now lately 'African English' (Webb 2000:38). It is one of the official languages of the Republic of South Africa with the other ten, but it is by far the dominant language of the country as already shown in Chapter 1.

The linguistically most important dates in the history of South Africa follow as provided by Webb (1998:46):

From 300	The arrival of the 'Bantu' in Southern Africa. Presence of Portuguese, English and Dutch in Southern Africa.
1652	Establishment of a refreshment station by the Dutch government. Arrival of slaves from the west and east African coast, and the far east.
1659, 1673	The first and second wars between the Dutch East India Company

	and the Khoisan.
1795,1806	Arrival of the British.
1819+	Border wars between white farmers in the eastern Cape and the Xhosa.
1820+	Difecane (wars of extermination and violent migration of Bantu tribes fleeing away from Shaka and his Zulus, causing deaths or displacements of some tribes. Some went as far as Zimbabwe, Malawi and Tanzania).
1830	Wars between the British colonial government and black tribes.
1836	The Great Trek (the movement of groups of Afrikaans-speaking farmers from the eastern cape northwards and leading to violent clashes with the Bantu).
1860	Discovery of diamonds and gold in South Africa and the influx of foreigners.
1880,1899-1902	First and second Anglo-Boer wars between Britain and the two Boer Republics (the Transvaal and Orange River Republics).
1910	Establishment of the Union of South Africa.
1948	Afrikaans-speaking whites gain national political control in South Africa.
1958	Beginning of the establishment of black homelands/Bantustans.
1961	Sharpeville, a violent clash between the South African Police and black people over compulsion to carry identity documents, and the death of many people, and the establishment of the Republic of South Africa outside the British Commonwealth.
1976	The Soweto protests.

- 1994 Democratic government in South Africa, with a policy of 11 official languages.
- 1999 Second national democratic elections.

From the brief socio-political history of the six languages provided, it is very interesting to note their relationships and influence on each other. None of the African languages discussed is homogeneous since each comprises a number of dialects. Besides its dialects, Xitsonga is also spoken in Mozambique, while Tshivenda is spoken in Zimbabwe. There is in the province a diglossic situation at Mashashane where the speakers use both the Northern Ndebele variety and Northern Sotho interchangeably. Northern Ndebele has not been recognised as an official language as Chapter 5 will explain.

Both Xitsonga and Tshivenda languages were influenced by Northern Sotho mostly in their written forms because most missionaries, who first wrote these languages, were first taught Northern Sotho or Sotho before they learned the other two languages. There are also Tsonga settlements enclosed by Northern Sotho speaking settlements and vice versa. Even though most black people in the province speak an African language, these languages have not become sociolinguistically dominant, and very few 'non-Bantu' people speak an African language as first language. (Webb, 1998: 42).

Afrikaans is a 'South African' language even though it is historically related to the Germanic family of languages. In the process of language change, it has adapted to surrounding circumstances and this inter alia permitted the language to gain ground even though in most black circles it is stigmatised because of its direct association with

the apartheid policies. As an L2 to most Africans it serves a number of social functions as an official language.

The English language is a high status language to the extent that even though it is equal to the other official languages, it is gaining preference for reasons not only linguistic, as will be discussed in the next chapter. The politicisation of language institutions has been cited as a problem already in the first chapter. Chapter 5 will discuss the sociolinguistic profile of the Limpopo Province looking specifically at language knowledge, the geographical distribution of languages, demographic distribution, language functions, status, growth, shifts and language preference patterns. It will also focus on literacy, corpus development, public functions and domains and explore the prevalent language planning institutions.

CHAPTER 5

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC PROFILE OF THE LIMPOPO PROVINCE

According to Webb (2000) the term *sociolinguistic profile* is used to refer to “a socio-political characterisation of the language situation in a state, region or community, or the language world of an individual” (28). In this chapter I will use the term to refer to the socio-political language situation in Limpopo Province. The function of a sociolinguistic profile is to form an input into the development of language policy, and language plans. I will provide the socio-political context in the province, the languages spoken, the families in which the languages are classified, and the language knowledge of the people of the province. The chapter will also touch on the demographic distribution of the different language groups, language functions and the functional meaning of African languages, their statuses, language growth and shift, literacy, corpus development and public functions and domains. I will close the chapter by looking at language planning institutions in the province and provide information on the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of the relevant planning site.

5.1 The socio-political context.

Limpopo Province, like the other eight provinces in the country, has been awarded limited powers to run its affairs through its provincial legislature, but is under control of the central government (of national unity) of the country. The province, like all others, is ruled by a premier assisted by a democratically constituted provincial legislature.

It covers an area of 123,910 km², representing 10% of the total area of South Africa. According to the STATSSA 1995 household survey the population density is 44 persons per km², somewhat higher than the average of 34 per km² for the whole country. The

racial distribution of the population is roughly as follows:

Africans 95.4%

White 2.7%

Coloured 1.9%

Indian 0.1%

Source: The STATSSA. October household survey 1995.

The racial classification of South Africa's black people, Coloureds, Indians and whites is retained in the series of October household survey to enable STATSSA to monitor changes in the life circumstances of those who were disadvantaged during the apartheid era. One would, normally, want to refrain from any reference to race.

The home languages distribution in the province according to Orkin (1998) is as follows:

Table 5.1: Home language distribution in the Limpopo Province by numbers and percentages.

Home language	numbers	percentage
Northern Sotho	2 572 491	52.7
Xitsonga	1 102 472	22.6
Tshivenda	757 683	15.5
Afrikaans	109 224	2.2
isiNdebele	72 506	1.5
Setswana	70 339	1.4
siSwati	57 149	1.2
Sesotho	56 002	1.1
isiZulu	36 253	0.7
English	21 261	0.4

isiXhosa	8 597	0.2
Others	13 228	0.3

Adapted from Orkin (1998, 2.7)

From the above table Northern Sotho, Xitsonga and Tshivenda are major languages statistically but Afrikaans and English are major languages functionally, i.e. they enjoy high status.

The term *major languages*, will from henceforth refer to these five languages in this dissertation.

According to the 1996 census findings, Limpopo Province is the least urbanised province in the country. Only about one-tenth of the total population (11%) lives in an urban area. In this province most coloureds, Indians and white people live in urban areas (92%, 92% and 69% respectively). This contrasts with the African population, of which only one in twelve (8%) live in urban areas. Usually, urbanisation is associated with the availability of resources and better economic conditions and education. The issue of urbanisation is brought in here to emphasise that most of the area in the province is rural and all the underdevelopedness associated with rural settlement may be expected and this needs to be addressed to strive, among other things, for a transformation leading to the development of the province as a whole.

5.2 Language families.

South Africa has two major language families, viz, the 'Bantu' language family and the Germanic family of languages. Both families are represented in the Province. From the 'Bantu' family of languages we have siSwaTi and isiNdebele (in the form of Northern

Ndebele) representing the Nguni; then we have Northern Sotho, which is the dominant language, representing the Sotho group. From the Germanic family of languages we have English and Afrikaans. The other two official languages, Xitsonga and Tshivenda, are not classified as Nguni or Sotho, but are African languages. My recommendations in this study will deal with different languages regardless of whether they are Sotho, Nguni or neither. The study is concerned with the promotion of African languages and their use as LoL/Tas well as the status of the other languages.

5.3 Languages of the Province

It will be important to display major African languages per district in the Province and the statistics provided below will also be used in developing a language policy for the province in Chapter 7.

Table 5.2 Geographical areas alphabetically by district and first language

	Ndebele	Northern Sotho	Tshivenda	Xitsonga	Others	Unspecified	Total
Bochum	87	157554	515	397	398	1699	160649
Bolobedu	66	174302	196	21238	1050	1768	198620
Dzanani	19	5972	160928	1238	1389	992	170538
Ellisras	184	5289	164	301	15248	427	21613
Giyani	188	9581	611	194472	3436	1432	209721
Hlanganani	17	616	6528	112014	409	1497	121081
Letaba	60	33991	496	16661	13863	1622	66693
Lulekani	26	5673	106	30462	886	383	87536
Malamulele	19	290	983	167071	697	1094	170155
Mapulaneng	119	140337	436	56080	48652	2368	247992
Messina	347	6152	14874	1734	6128	592	29827
Mhala	93	10517	108	253625	29508	1855	295707
Mokerong	41231	300906	785	39414	20388	3883	406608

Mutali	9	284	66992	143	165	810	68403
Namakgale	47	35663	423	9305	2658	616	48712
Naphuno	52	145381	105	3334	2001	1582	152455
Nebo	14814	271937	140	617	12335	3864	303707
Phalaborwa	102	4368	237	7876	15794	2156	30533
Polokwane	412	22170	1472	2671	34689	2489	63901
PP/rus	984	26119	285	4595	16357	1381	49719
Ritavi	34	21772	435	122607	5697	1074	151618
Sekgosese	49	100348	512	3197	420	753	105279
Sekhukhune	280	386419	153	5257	18610	4071	414790
Seshego	8703	303285	1276	8688	2060	3024	327035
Soutpansberg	192	6019	7828	2731	16751	470	33991
Thabamooopo	2695	337775	836	7028	4724	2959	356017
Thabazimbi	120	3444	407	2834	47510	1096	55411
Thohoyandou	75	2589	329138	5549	2974	3484	343710
Vuwani	8	9580	159970	9733	703	1048	181042
Warmbad	641	18820	322	5444	23776	812	49814
Waterberg	836	25336	422	6156	22877	861	56488
TOTAL	72506	2572491	757683	1102472	372053	52163	4929368

Source:STATSSA 7/4/01

The above table indicates that 18 out of 31 districts are predominantly Northern Sotho speaking, seven districts are predominantly Xitsonga speaking and six are predominantly Tshivenda speaking. This distribution will directly influence my formulation of the language policy proposal in Chapter 7.

The province houses almost all eleven official languages of South Africa. As mentioned in the previous chapter Tshivenda language is also spoken in Zimbabwe, Xitsonga in Mozambique and siSwati in Swaziland. Within the country all six official languages referred to are also spoken in some other provinces. The LANGTAG report on languages other than official languages suggested that in addition to the eleven official

ones, about seventy more are spoken in the country. For the Province they will include Northern Ndebele (this is a variety spoken in a diglossic situation with Northern Sotho at Ga-Mashashane which is not included under Ndebele in the Constitution of the country).

There are also dialectal variations in each of the three major African languages. The dialects are spoken as mother-tongues by speakers who are expected to learn and use at least one of the three major African official languages as their dialects are not yet reduced to writing. The major difference between language and dialect is that a dialect is usually not standardised while a language is. Dialect and language can perform or function at different levels. Language can comprise dialect but a dialect cannot comprise a language. The latter is a political entity while the former is a social entity. The problems with the standardisation of the African languages has always been which variety to select. In most cases the most dominant variety was selected as the case was with Northern Sotho which is based on the Pedi dialect, and Tshivenda which is based on Tshipani. This means that speakers of other dialects have to learn the selected one and consequently language-internal tension is built up. This is so because speakers of the non-standard dialects feel marginalised as they have to learn the standard form when they have to go to school as the standard form is the only form used in writing.

It is a difficult task to count languages as the sociolinguistic distinction between language and dialect is not clear. One may not know when a variety is a 'dialect' and when it is a 'language', beside one being standard and the other non-standard. It is not clear how many people who speak a particular language qualify to be counted as speakers of a 'language of the province' or country. One is also not sure when a pidgin

qualifies as a language. Tsotsitaal is widely spoken in this province but one may not be sure whether to count it as a language. According to Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000), the concept of language has not yet been defined in a way that can enable one to decide which forms of “human communication can be categorised as belonging to the same ‘language’ and which as not belonging to the same ‘language’” (Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000:28).

The term ‘language’ is usually used to refer to what teachers call ‘proper language’ or ‘correct language’, which refers to the use of an appropriate form of communication in formal public contexts which excludes vernacular forms of speech (Webb and Kembo-Sure, 2000). In some contexts, the term *language* may refer to what linguists call **standard language**, which is the variety that has been selected, codified and had its functions elaborated and accepted as the appropriate form of speaking and writing in high-function public contexts. In the latter sense the term ‘language’ excludes the non-standard varieties and language counting becomes problematic.

Mention was made in the previous chapter that the African languages found in the province each have a number of dialects. The criterion of mutual intelligibility and other purely linguistic criteria, are of less importance in the use of the terms *language* and *dialect* than are political and cultural factors, like autonomy and heteronomy. Both language and dialect serve a common purpose (to communicate). One linguist may categorise a particular variety as ‘language’ and the other categorise the same variety as ‘dialect’. Hendrikse and Cluverl (1996) provides the following definitions of ‘dialect’ and ‘language’ which are applicable to the Limpopo Province:

A dialect is a variety of language (traditionally) associated with a specific region. It is not usually associated with a politically powerful group and is therefore not codified and is usually not used in the schools, the media or the government. Its speakers tend to form part of a larger, more powerful political group whose language does fulfil all these functions.

The term *language* cannot be properly defined, as cited in the previous page. What one can provide is a definition of standard language as done by Hendrikse and Cluver (1996). It is:

One dialect that has been selected from a group of dialects or that is a combined form of two or more dialects. It is codified and elaborated so that it can be used in all formal domains such as the central government, the legal system, the media, the school and the churches. It helps to unite dialect speakers into a larger political unit (p. 229).

Webb (1998) indicates that the country's politics make the task of the language counter even more difficult. He quotes Herbert (1992) who pointed out that some African language boundaries seem to have been artificially introduced as part of missionary politics and the implementation of apartheid. One example is the creation of Northern Sotho, which is internally so diverse that one can doubt its unity. Moreover its linguistic similarities with Setswana make it difficult to draw any significant linguistic boundary between them.

The information furnished in this chapter about the sociolinguistic profile of the province can be seen to be biased in a way as it is difficult to be precise about the number and

identity of the languages. The chapter will concentrate mainly on the major languages (official languages), which are either statistically or functionally major as indicated above, and this may also make the rest of the information appear biased as well. Only major languages are selected because this dissertation is aimed at the functional allocation of some of these languages for transformation or development purposes.

The problem of distinction between language and dialect will affect policy recommendations in Chapter 7 as I will concentrate only on what is taken to be official languages. I will however make a suggestion about some of the dialects which I feel must be promoted because of their differences from the standard form of language to which they are said to be related.

5.4 Language knowledge.

It is not easy to give accurate information about people's 'knowledge of a language' since 'knowledge of language' may differ at different stages in the life of a speaker, where different speakers may range from being able to interact on a very elementary level to being able to read or write a language or follow texts like the national news, to displaying a knowledge of communicative competence which includes using the language appropriately in many contexts. It is difficult to gauge whether someone has linguistic competence, strategic competence and communicative competence in a language. For the sake of providing a picture of the number of people who can be said to know a language, the only available statistics are for the country as a whole. In trying to display a more accurate approximation of language knowledge in the province, I will provide statistics for the 2001 Grade 12 learners. I will show the number of students in Grade 12 who have registered for the major languages. The number of students

registered for a specific language can be generalised as a fraction of the population that knows that language. Only five of the official languages found in the Province will be included.

Table 5.3: Actual number of Grade 12 candidates enrolled for three levels of language study in the province in 2001.

	L1	L2	L3	TOTALS
N. Sotho	49505	5	57	49567
Xitsonga	16812	-	2	16814
Tshivenda	14852	4	3	14859
Afrikaans	1496	74196	-	75692
English	1219	84004	-	85223
Total	83884	158209	62	242155

Source: Limpopo Province Department of Education: Program E0121BP, 01/07/13

From the table above one realizes that black people choose to learn English and Afrikaans as L2's in this Province. The languages have more L2 learners than L1 learners. This must be because of the high status they had from long ago as already indicated. The African languages seem to be studied only by their L1 speakers and hence they have very few L2 and L3 learners. The situation must be changed by the language policy. This picture demonstrates the issue of the low status that African languages have. Compared to Xitsonga and Tshivenda, Northern Sotho is learned by far more learners in the Province and there are at least 57 L3 learners for it. This is an additional point to make it the main African language in the Province for consideration in the policy proposals in Chapter 7

5.5 Incidence of multilingualism.

It was mentioned in Chapter 2 that the term *multilingualism* was seldom used in this country before 1994. Instead the general term used was *bilingualism*. This was used to refer to knowledge of English and Afrikaans and not knowledge of any other two languages. This restricted meaning created a situation in which most Asian, Coloured and white South Africans still remain only bilingual. Most black people, however, are multilingual. This multilingualism is somewhat confusing since it is not clear what it means to say that someone knows two languages. One should find out what communicative functions such a person can perform with his/her knowledge of these languages. (Webb 1998b). Multilingualism refers to the language knowledge of the individual or a community. Multilingualism cannot be discussed without touching on language attitudes because in every multilingual situation, language attitudes abound. My understanding of language attitudes is not confined to language itself, but includes attitudes towards speakers of a particular language or dialect. This scope may be broadened to include attitudes towards language maintenance and planning efforts. Language maintenance is often the reflection of attitudes towards members of various ethnic groups. Attitudes may affect L2 learning as well.

In this province different people have different attitudes towards different languages. Some African language speakers do not like learning to speak other African languages as they regard them as minor, and most white people view the African languages as uncivilised and not worth studying. The study of language attitudes is more valuable as a tool in illuminating the social importance of language. Language planners have to understand how language is used as a symbol of group membership (Fasold 1984). In this province people discriminate against each other's language. Regardless of the extent of this multilingualism, it remains a tool which enables cross-cultural

communication. Language attitudes may not be found among people who grow up in monolingual environments. It is widely accepted that most black people can command at least three African languages in this province. Very few Indian, coloured and white South Africans can speak any African language.

5.6 Demographic distribution.

The term *demographic distribution* refers to sociolinguistic information pertaining to different social/demographic groups in the provincial community, specifically racial groups, ethnic groups, socio-economic classes, age-groups, urban vs rural people and any other social group which may relate significantly to the politics of language.

According to Orkin (1998) the age of the population is important for a number of reasons. A young population, for example, will require greater educational resources. "An elderly one needs more facilities to take care of them" (p.8). The planning for the economy and also of the country and its languages is thus influenced by the age structure of the population. The age distribution of the African in the Limpopo Province will be treated as a surrogate of the age distribution of the total population for a number of reasons. The African people are by far in the majority in the province (95%) and this means the overall pattern of age distribution will be similar to that of the African population.

Orkin (1995) asserts that children under the age of 5 years represent 20% of the population, whilst children under the age of 15 years represent 48% of the population. (8%) represent the elderly, i.e. 65 years and older. This distribution shows that the Limpopo Province population is somewhat younger than the African population in the

whole country: 14% under 5 years, 40% under 15 years and 45 over the age of 65 years (Orkin 1998.9). One reason for this might be the movement of adults to other provinces like Gauteng in search of employment. This is supported by the drop among males between 15-19 and 25-29 years. It implies that in planning for the province one needs to ensure that the underdeveloped black people are developed to alleviate the problem of economic inactiveness.

The 1995 October household survey as put by Orkin displays population distribution with four broad age categories.

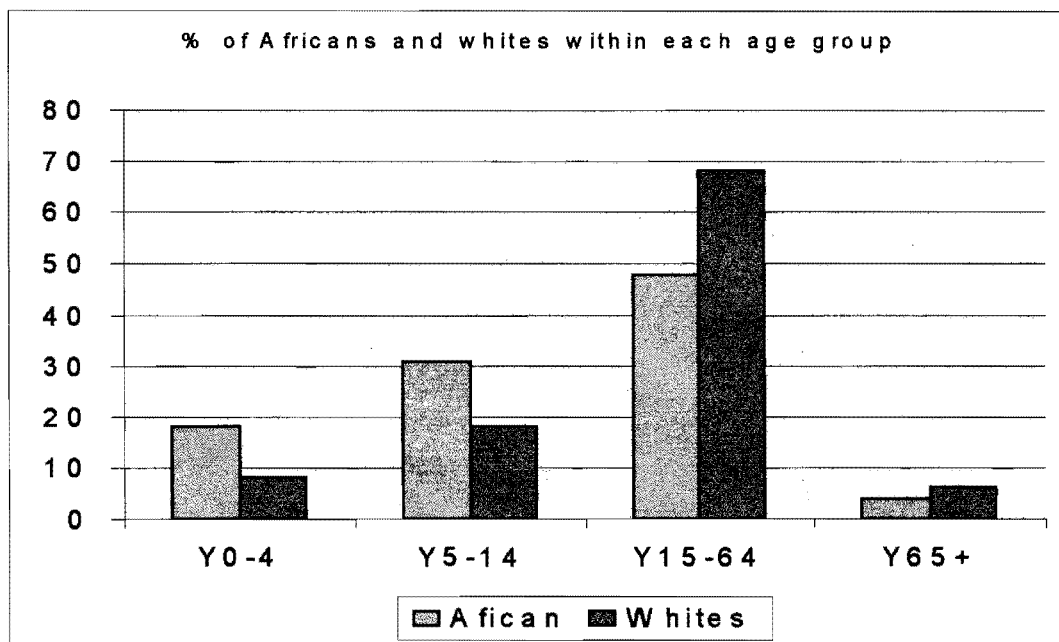


Table 5.4. Age and gender distribution of the people in the Limpopo Province by population group.

This shows a relatively young African population in which 18% and 31% are in age groups 0-4 and 5-14 respectively compared to the corresponding proportion of whites of 8% and 18% respectively. The proportion of the African population in the labour force (ages 15-64) is much smaller (48%) than the corresponding white population (67%). This implies that an economically active black person has a greater number of people

to maintain than his white counterpart. There are more dependant young people and more pensioners who in a way depend on the economically active adults among the black people as compared to their white counterparts. One reason for the few black people in the work force might be that their languages are rarely used in the economic sectors and if the African languages are used more people can be employed unlike if English and Afrikaans are preferred in the work situations. This can improve the economy and the people in what Bokamba (1999) calls "the political economy of planning African language" as will be explained in the next chapter.

The age distribution of the African people in the Limpopo Province varies between urban and non-urban areas. In non-urban areas a larger proportion of the population consist of children (those aged 14 years and younger): 49% compared to 40% in the urban areas. There are also more elderly people (4%) in non-urban areas than in urban areas (2%). Because of rural-urban migration, the proportion of economically active people is noticeably greater (58%) in urban areas than non-urban areas (47%). Rural-urban migration has implications for the development of non-urban areas in the Province because rural areas are characterised by a relatively high proportion (53%) of dependents compared to urban areas (with 42%).

I do not want to suggest that urban areas are always better than rural areas but I only have in mind resources like the infra structure, electricity, water and sanitation, which are not always found in most rural areas of the Province. Since urban and rural areas differ so much one expects differences also in the needs, expectations, attitudes, culture, identity, etc. therefore there will be a need for different language planning policies.

5.7 Language functions.

English and Afrikaans were both used in all public domains until 1994 even though Afrikaans was probably the preferred official language. The African languages were recognised statutorily, as official languages in the so called national states and self-governing regions. They had very little real meaning (Webb 1998). They were mainly used as media of instruction to introduce learners to education, then they were taught as subjects at schools and some universities. They were seldom used for economic, political and scientific functions, and were accorded the function of regional official languages only in their homelands.

Since the democratic elections of 1994 Afrikaans is being used less and less in official contexts and 'is undergoing gradual functional decline' (Webb 1998. 46). English, as already mentioned in Chapter 1, is rapidly becoming the only language of official use at all levels of government. For Limpopo Province to attain full democratisation, attention should be paid to the extended use of the African languages in public life. The languages should be given some new uses as the next chapter will suggest.

5.8 Language status.

The status of the languages in the province is as follows:

English commands very high status. It is used as an instrument for international communication and as an instrument of access to most domains of human achievement. It is a mark of prestige and civilisation and the means of wider communication within the Province, in the country and within parts of Africa. It is also used as a lingua franca in politics and the economy. People feel that knowing English is equated with success and civilization. It serves as a determining factor for national and international recognition,

job opportunities and a better life. This situation might be a dangerous one since the increasing dominance of English diminishes the use and development of other languages which can transform a number of institutions.

Afrikaans is viewed by its L1 speakers as having the same instrumental value as English and it embodies the Afrikaners's socio-cultural identity. Since some Afrikaans can be understood in the Netherlands and some areas in Belgium, it is also viewed as internationally viable by its speakers. For most non-Afrikaans-speaking people Afrikaans is seen as the language of the oppressor because of its association with the apartheid system of government. Many black people in the Province nevertheless have a speaking knowledge of it.

This dissertation tries to make people aware of the importance of the African languages for their political economy. African languages generally have a very low public status and are used for low-function communication purposes mostly, like interpersonal communication, ritual performance, deliberations at local gatherings, etc.

The homelands government system elevated the status of the African languages by making use of them in some government functions. More recently, linguistic consciousness is increasing among the Venda, Tsonga , Northern Ndebele and Swazi communities and this is demonstrated by the establishment of the committee for marginalised languages which tries to develop these languages and give them more uses.

5.9 Language growth and language shift.

Sociolinguistic status can also be indicated by determining language growth/decline and language shift. Language shift is a process whereby speakers of one language use a second language for more and more functions until only the second language is used by them for most or all communicative purposes. If all these people ultimately abandon the use of their first language, we then speak of language death, i.e. the people have completely changed their language preferences and identity and there are no more native speakers of what was a first language. From the information on South Africa's language growth and shift, data relevant to the languages mainly spoken in Limpopo Province can be extracted and used to illustrate this point. Schuring (1993) as quoted by Webb (1998:50) provides this information on the growth of languages in the country after 1990. The information shows which languages are declining and which ones are progressing and this is representative of the people's interests in the various languages.

* Afrikaans shows a decrease in second language speaker numbers from 19.4% of the total population to 15.03%.

* English shows an increase in primary speaker numbers from 8.59% of the total population to 9.01%

* Northern Sotho shows an increase from 6.86% to 9.64%

Language shift has occurred to some extent from Afrikaans to English according to Webb (1998:51).

According to Kamwangamalu (2000) "code-switching refers to language alternation across sentence boundaries, and code-mixing to language alternation within sentence boundaries." Even though research has not been done extensively on code switching and code mixing (on languages in the province) in diglossic situations English is the

donor rather than the receiver. Examples abound of words borrowed from English in all Bantu languages. It is used for high functions, and code switches and code mixing mostly involve English. It will benefit the province to teach and learn the African languages and refine the knowledge of English to expose people to additive multilingualism instead of emphasising bilingualism as the case was in the past.

5.10 Literacy.

It is difficult to specify the degree of literacy for the Province because the calculation of literate people depends upon the definition of literacy used. If one defines literacy as a grade 7 level of school education, then according to the findings of the October 1995 household survey, the proportion of the population 20 years and older that did not go to school is twice (27%) the national proportion (13%) (Orkin: 1996). Those who ended their education in primary school (grade 7 or less) are below the national proportion of 19% compared with 24%. This implies that more than 30% of the provincial population is presently in need of literacy and some adult literacy training and basic education.

5.11 Corpus development.

The concept "corpus development" implies different things for different languages in South Africa. For example, the concept standard language does not have the same meaning for English and Afrikaans as it has for the African languages. Cluver (1993:22) agrees with Hendrikse and Cluver (1996) in their definition of standard language. He writes:

A standard language meets certain structural criteria (it must be codified, it must have certain registers and a productive word-formation system). It is used in certain functional domains (eg. in education, the courts, in religious contexts, as

a literary language and as a language of the (central) government).

Standard language for Afrikaans and English meant: supra-dialectal variety of formal, public discourse, but in the case of African languages it means “the variety used in formal writing”. (Webb 1998. 52).

Afrikaans and English are highly standardised and their vocabulary for science and technology is adequate. The other major languages are also standardised and codified, but to a lesser extent. The African languages lack technical and scientific vocabulary. There are grammars written for Northern Sotho, Xitsonga and Tshivenda languages. Mention was made in Chapter Four that the African languages were initially standardised by missionaries and this had various consequences. Some speech sounds were difficult to represent. Most orthographies were not static. The South African government created language committees called Language Boards from the late 1950's. Their task was to develop the orthography and to create new technical terms but in effect very little was done about the vocabulary of the languages to make them adequate for scientific and technological uses.

The political changes that occurred in 1994 in South Africa presented new challenges to language planners. The speakers of the African languages speak varieties different from the standard forms. This may mean that the standard languages can become instruments of elitism and discrimination of a sort since the standard language is mostly known by the literates. Language may be used as a ‘yard stick’ to mark specific social levels.

5.12 Public functions and domains.

This section wishes to discuss the different functions that can be allocated to a language . I will only discuss four domains or functions in which languages serve, official languages, lingua francas, languages of education and languages of the judiciary.

5.12.1 Official languages.

Six of the eleven official language are spoken in different degrees in Limpopo Province. Each province in the country has the right to select their province's official languages. The provinces are expected to do the selection by considering only official languages and selecting dominant ones. The constitution of the Republic of South Africa states that "...the national government and each provincial government must use at least two official languages" (Act 108 of 1996:4).

It was mentioned in Chapter 1 that the Limpopo Province, and the country, does not have a comprehensive language policy. It is therefore not known what the provincial government has in mind with regard to the official languages in the Province. Fact is, the Province cannot use all the national official languages equally for all official functions. And also if one dominant language like English is used as the sole provincial language, it will be unconstitutional. Attempts to democratise the province must include the transformation of state departments and administration. In this area of transformation African languages must be given a dominant role in politics, the economy, media and education. Chapter 7 will propose a language policy and plan for the Limpopo Province.

5.12.2 Lingua Francas.

There is no provincial lingua franca but for most domains like political debates, higher

education and economic affairs, English is used as a language of wider communication (LWC). This is not true of the informal domains. For example, meetings at the University of the North are officially held in English but the participants discuss issues among themselves before and after the meetings in Northern Sotho since most members speak or understand Northern Sotho. As a dominant language in the Province Northern Sotho assumes the role of informal lingua franca.

5.12.3 Education.

All the official languages found in the Province are adequately developed to be used as media of instruction at lower primary school levels. Only English and Afrikaans are used in higher primary schools, secondary schools and throughout tertiary institutions. The choice of medium of instruction is a serious problem which caused widespread controversy in the black schools as mentioned in Chapter 1.

Today the policy on medium of instruction in all schools allows free choice from day one of the school programme. In this Province most schools opt for initial mother-tongue instruction with the tendency to shift to English. There are schools that start with English from day one at school as indicated already in Chapter 1. The medium of instruction is still an issue today and it will be touched on in Chapter 6.

5.12.4 The judiciary.

Despite clear changes in the constitutional language stipulations, English and Afrikaans are still the major languages in the formulation of laws and in the courts of law. The interpreters interpret from Afrikaans and English into the African languages and vice versa. This is also a cause for concern since the practice discriminates against the

African languages and is in line with the point raised in Chapter 1 about the growing dominance of English which may lead the government into making English the main or only language of the courts. In the Sowetan of Wednesday, 15 March, 2000, Paul Setsetse and Effort Kgamedi (who both work for the Department of Justice) wrote that “Language of record in courts should be English” (16). This strengthens the dominance of English and reveals how little people care about both language rights and human rights. The courts as state institutions are important forums where the reality of language rights are put to display. They are also important because people have access to the law only through language. All reasonable and necessary steps to protect, promote and enhance all languages by officials at local, regional and national level, must be taken into account when addressing this complex issue.

5.13 Language planning institutions.

In order to facilitate delivery on reform in the new and democratic language policy, Act 200 of 1993 made provision for the establishment by Act of Parliament of the Pan South African Language Board. The Pan South African Language Board act, 1995: Act no. 59 of 1995 was subsequently promulgated and gazetted (No. 16726) on October 4, 1995. Item 8 (8) (a) and (b) of Act no. 59, 1995 in turn provided for the creation of provincial language committees to look into language services at provincial level for the Pan South African Language Board.

In response to this new dispensation, the Limpopo Province disbanded the old “Venda”, “Tsonga” and “Pedi” language boards and sought to replace them with a new language structure which in time came to be known as the ‘Northern Province Language Council’. (NPLC May 16, 1997). It serves to advise the Pan South African Language Board on any

language matter in or affecting the Province or any part thereof with respect to the languages used in the province; and shall perform such other functions as may be assigned to it by the Pan South African Language Board. The NPLC became ineffective and was passive for a while but was reactivated with a new leadership by the end of 1999 and then referred to as the Northern Province Language Committee (*now to be known as Limpopo Province Language Committee, LPLC*). According to Prof. C.N.Marivate (2000) this, and other such delays with other provincial language committees, happened because “a strategy was not developed as to how the Board would interact with the provincial structures and make use of their expertise and linguistic resources” (PANSALB, 2000.2).

Like other provinces were advised to do, the Limpopo Province Legislature also passed an act to provide for the determination of official languages in the Province; the establishment of the Limpopo Province Language Committee; to regulate and monitor the use of such languages; and to provide for matters connected therewith.

The programme of the LPLC for the year 2001 was as follows:

Table 5.5. Limpopo Province Language Council year programme.

DATE	ACTIVITY	VENUE
09 February 2001	meeting: ratification of the 2001 year plan, report on assignment given to PLC members during 2000	Pietersburg

22 February 2001	Consultative meeting for implementation of programmes emanating from report	Pietersburg
16 March 2001	Youth authorship workshop	Pietersburg
25 May 2001	Sign language and braille stakeholders's consultative meeting	Pietersburg
20-21 July 2001	Workshop on braille and sign language awareness	Warmbad
28 September 2001	Seminar on marginalised languages	Tzaneen
24 November 2001	Meeting: plans for 2002	Pietersburg

Source: LPLC year program from Prof. N.A. Milubi

The report on a survey of language infrastructure in National Government Departments and provinces of South Africa states that the provincial language committees have some advisory function as explained in the Government gazette no. 22451 as notice 112 of 2001. The survey was conducted in order to understand the financial implications of the language units as proposed in the Language Policy and Plan for South Africa (section 5, page 16). The province's Department of Sports, Arts and Culture has a language services section which translates and edits documents for the provincial departments. Like the national language services, it consists of a translation and editing section, a terminology section and a language planning section. (DACST, April 2001).

Beside this there is a non-governmental Committee for Marginalised Languages which includes Tshivenda, Xitsonga, siSwati and Northern Ndebele. Until now very little has been achieved by this committee but its existence is an indication of concern for language rights.

5.14 The vision and mission of the LPLC

The LPLC shall strive to serve the language needs of the people of Limpopo Province and the creation of conditions for the development and enjoyment of all languages and the furtherance of multilingualism in the Province and in South Africa, in accordance with the provisions of section 3 of Act 59 of 1995.

The mission of the LPLC will be:

1. To make grants available to any person wishing to develop and formulate a language policy for the Province that will stimulate the growth and the development of all languages used in the Province;
2. To foster respect for the understanding of the different languages of the Province;
3. To promote the use of these languages in the widest possible context in the furtherance of multilingualism;
4. To advise the Department of Sport, Arts and Culture on ways and means of implementing a national language policy and to identify areas where specific measures should be introduced.

For the sake of the policy proposal in Chapter 7, one needs to include a SWOT analysis of the five major languages. English will not be analysed like other languages as it commands very high status in the Province and occupies a dominant position and is therefore not comparable with the other languages. The following SWOT analysis is adopted from Webb (2000:13).

5.15 A SWOT analysis

a. Northern Sotho

Strengths

1. A strong language community of L1 speakers, 2 572 491.
2. Performs some high-functions as in formal instruction in schools and medium of religious practice.
3. Constitutional guarantees and national language committees and provincial language committees.
4. Reasonable language planning expertise as in PanSALB and the LPLC.
5. Mutually intelligible to two other South African languages, viz. Sesotho and Setswana.
6. Offered at universities and taught at primary and secondary schools.

Weaknesses.

1. Lacks technical and scientific vocabulary for high-function use.
2. Low prestige and negative self-esteem.
3. Absence of a comprehensive language policy and plan.

Opportunities.

1. Spirit of democratisation
2. Emphasis on the importance of development and thus the creation of opportunities to make a contribution.

Threats.

1. Uncertainty about the government's real commitment to the implementation of the constitutional language stipulations.
2. Lack of insight/understanding about the fundamental role language plays in public life.
3. Negative attitude in L1 is common and this is the major threat.
4. Over-appreciation of English by black South Africans. The knowledge of English is

viewed as a means to attain higher social and economic levels.

b. Xitsonga

Strengths.

1. Strong language community of L1 speakers, 1 102 472.
2. Performs some high functions as in formal instruction and medium of religion.
3. Constitutional guaranties and language specific committees.
4. Spoken in one other country, Mozambique.
5. It is offered at university and taught at primary and secondary schools.

Weaknesses.

1. Inadequate scientific and technical vocabulary.
2. Low status.
3. Negative self-esteem.
4. Absence of a comprehensive language policy.

Opportunities.

1. Spirit of democratization
2. Emphasis of the importance of development and thus the creation of opportunities to make a contribution.
3. Over appreciation of English among black South African.
4. Represented in the Committee for Marginalised Languages.
5. World wide support for minority languages.

Threats.

1. Uncertainty about the government's commitment to the implementation of the constitutional language stipulations.
2. The dominant position of English.
3. Lack of insight/understanding about the fundamental role language plays in public

life.

4. Dominance of Northern Sotho.

C. Tshivenda.

Strengths

1. A strong language community of L1 speakers, 757 683.
2. Performs high functions as in formal instruction and medium of religion.
3. Constitutional guarantee and language specific committees.
4. Offered at universities and taught at primary and secondary schools.
5. It is also spoken in Zimbabwe

Weaknesses.

1. Inadequate scientific and technical vocabulary.
2. Low status.
3. Negative self-esteem.
4. Absence of a comprehensive language policy.

Opportunities

1. Spirit of democratisation
2. Emphasis of the importance of development and thus the creation of opportunities for make a contribution.
3. Over appreciation of English by black South Africans.
4. Represented in the Committee for Marginalised Languages.
5. World wide support for minority languages.

Threats.

1. Uncertainty about the government's real commitment to the implementation of the constitutional language stipulations.
2. The dominant position of English

3. Lack of insight/understanding about the fundamental role language plays in public life.
4. Dominance of Northern Sotho.

Afrikaans.

Strengths

1. Dynamic group of young Afrikaner speakers who got rid of the previous exclusiveness of Afrikaans.
2. The language still performs several high functions as in formal instruction in education and medium in religion, politics and the economy.
3. Constitutional guarantees and essential language bodies: national language committees and language specific committees at provincial level eg. South African Language Academy for arts and Science.
4. Quality highly trained language planning expertise available.
5. Represented in the LPLC to promote the language.
6. Established culture/tradition of teaching in the language.
7. Sufficient teaching and learning materials (school books and curriculum).
8. Intellectually developed community of speakers.
9. Strong support and interest from foreign countries, eg. Netherlands.

Weaknesses

1. Negative social standing of Afrikaans among L2 speakers in Limpopo Province.
2. Absence of a comprehensive language policy.
3. Suspicion among non-Afrikaans speaking people that Afrikaans language activists are mainly interested in maintaining power and/or privileges.
4. Bad knowledge of African languages.

5. Divided language political community.

Opportunities

1. The spirit of reconciliation in the country.

2. The spirit of democratization.

3. Emphasis on the importance of development and thus the creation of opportunities to make a contribution.

4. Participation in the information era like the internet.

5. Availability and understanding of technological facilities.

6. Worldwide support for minority languages.

7. Negative language political oriented position of the African languages and therefore an opportunity to make a contribution.

Threats

1. Uncertainty about the government's real commitment to the implementation of the constitutional language stipulation.

2. Language oriented nationalism in Afrikaans communities.

3. Insufficient support among Afrikaans L1 communities for the upgrading/upliftment of the African languages.

4. The dominant position of English

5. Lack of insight/understanding about the fundamental role language plays in public life.

The chapter provided the socio-political context of the Limpopo Province and the sociolinguistic profile of the languages of the province, language families and language knowledge. The linguistic background provided revealed the linguistic complexity of the language situation. I then discussed multilingualism before giving the demographic

distribution, language functions, status, growth and shifts. I then discussed the corpus development, language planning institutions and provided a SWOT analysis of the language situation. The analysis gave the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of the languages of the province. The information provided in this chapter will be used in proposing a language policy in Chapter 7. The next chapter is on educating for social transformation.

CHAPTER 6

Educating for Social Transformation

The decisive instrument for social transformation in the province is formal education, in general. For the citizens to acquire knowledge and skill to overcome underdevelopment and the language problems effectively, formal education become a sine qua non. The issue of language in education must be addressed to allow the people of the province to develop to their potential educationally, economically and politically. This has to do with the role of the indigenous languages and proficiency in the non-indigenous languages. There are languages and dialects, of course, which are still underdeveloped in terms of function and prestige and the dominant English language makes its preference a deviation from the national vision of treating official languages equitably and promoting indigenous languages. Language teaching in the province should take cognisance of the province's linguistic complexity.

This chapter will look at the relationship between language and cognitive development, the role of African languages as languages of learning and teaching, and the differences between L1 and L2 teaching. Next will be an overview of realities of L2 learning in the Northern Province with emphasis on fluency and accuracy in language learning. After discussing the R.D.P and education I will look at Outcomes Based Education (OBE).

6.1 Cognitive development

Cognitive development is one objective of formal education. This development includes perceiving, understanding, judging, problem solving and inferring, all of which are involved in learning generally and in using a language. Learning, producing, and comprehending language are also cognitive processes (Taylor and Taylor 1990:19).

Kembo (2000) indicates the major task of formal education as the development of the pupils' cognitive abilities, i.e. "their memory, their ability to generalize, to comprehend and grasp relationships such as cause and effect, to predict the consequences of events, to grasp the essential message of a speech or book, and to evaluate situations" (p.289). She goes on to say that schools should also develop the pupils' affective skills by helping them to develop positive attitudes to work and study, loyalty to their country, and tolerance to people who may differ from them. Social skills should also be developed, i.e. the ability to work together with other people, to communicate with them and to support those who need assistance. All these skills require a great deal of understanding by learners from their teachers and this type of understanding can best be achieved if both pupils and teachers communicate in a language they know very well, which is generally a mother tongue. The language education policy should cater for cognitive development as an object of formal education by considering education in the mother tongue.

6.2 The use of African languages as languages of learning and teaching.

In Chapter Two I mentioned that a UNESCO committee recommended that the language which should be used for instructing beginning learners should be the mother-tongue, where the mother-tongue is a vernacular. This conclusion was reached because cognitive development, affective development and social development occur more effectively through a mother-tongue. This implies the use of a first language for learning and teaching. Kembo (2000:289) asserts that learning in general occurs more effectively "if the required cognitive development has already occurred through the use of a first language as a language of learning" (289). She goes on to quote Cummins (1984) that "optimal first language education provides a rich cognitive preparation for the acquisition

of a second language and that the literacy skills already acquired in the first language provide easy transition to the second language medium education” (Kembo 2000: 289).

Based on this argument, speech communities should be introduced to education via their L1 as this will prepare them for education in general and for learning the second, third or other languages for inter-ethnic and/or international communication, as the situation may dictate. This will be mentioned in the policy recommendation in the next chapter.

Peoples’ knowledge of the primary languages, or their proficiency in the languages of the province must be increased. Knowledge of and respect for one another’s culture is equally vital for social transformation. This implies the meaningful recognition for minority language rights, and attitudes of tolerance. Actually it means the acceptance of the principle of multilingualism. School curricula should include components focusing on culture. For example, the cultural characteristics of people, how cultural differences arise, how they relate to power relations, the dangers of cultural stereotyping and cultural prejudices, the conflict potential of cultural differences, and how to deal with language conflict.

To develop a just and democratic society, the school programme should promote the recognition of cultural diversity in a positive way, should reflect the histories, experiences and cultural contributions of cultural and linguistic minorities, should develop positive cross-cultural attitudes, should reduce racial and cultural prejudices, domination and discrimination. These programmes can equip the student by providing him with the skills for meaningful participation in a multicultural society. People should

guard against the possible disadvantages of these types of programmes. There can be a danger of emphasizing cultural differences at the expense of commonality or by suggesting that cultural differences are innate.

If the learners' competence in the mother-tongue is inadequate, they will not have any advantage when the second language is introduced. Actually it will be difficult for them to acquire second language skills and this may lead to educational failure if the language of instruction is a second language. If education ignores the first language, and learners learn the L1 less than the second language, it will be further weakened by the switch to the second language and this could lead to language shift if the second language becomes too dominant over the first language.

The implication is that there should be a move towards strengthening mother-tongue education to lay down a strong literacy base on which L2 teaching can be based in cases where the mother-tongue cannot be used for higher education should the need so arise. The period of mother-tongue instruction in the primary schools is inadequate in this province and should be expanded. Beside mother-tongue instruction, indigenous languages should be taught as subjects as well.

There is a growing ill-feeling about people using or studying African languages even at some higher education institutions, for example the University of the North had a zero registration for first year students in Northern Sotho for the academic year 2001. But unless the African languages are accorded greater functional status, very little can be achieved as the economic value of these languages is more basic than other uses. Choosing a language for study or as LoL/T is already allowed by the government

because teachers and parents now have to make their choices. But unfortunately people make uninformed choices.

African languages should be used to teach school subjects, must be taught as subjects themselves, and be taught at institutions of higher learning to encourage people to study them seriously and to do research on the languages.

There is a need for citizens who are balanced culturally and educationally. This can be achieved by the greater use of the African languages as people who know their languages show a more positive self-image and respect for other people and their languages. The goals of first language study have been outlined by Kembo (2000) as follows:-

- *the development of pupils' skills in performing advanced language-based cognitive skills, such as reasoning, understanding, and explaining abstract concepts, more specifically, listening, reading, speaking and writing skills need to be fully developed; and school leavers should have the ability to comprehend complex texts, to produce such texts themselves and to interpret and evaluate them
- * the development of linguistic skills in the standardised variety of the language (in other words, the acquisition of the ability to operate effectively in formal contexts and public life in the first language)
- * understanding the linguistic character of pupils' first languages
- * understanding the way in which language is used in social and public life
- * understanding and appreciating the products of the first language community, including its literary products

- * the development of pupils' ability to perceive information (language as a heuristic tool), to explore their own inner world, and to develop their creativity (something that can only occur in a language that is known extremely well), and
- * understand the role of language in cultural life, including the development of an attitude of tolerance towards communities with different languages" (2000:290-291).

This is fundamental to the individual and society and, moreover, the first language proficiency is vital to the success of pupils in other subjects as skills can be easily learned in a language that learners use to learn other subjects.

6.3 Learning the second language.

The section above indicated the role of the L1 in educational and social development but the need to learn a second or third language is always there in a multilingual context like the Limpopo Province. It might be important here to differentiate between L1, L2 and L3 and the different approaches to be followed in teaching the languages at each level.

First language acquisition initially takes place spontaneously, second language learning takes place both in formal environments like schools where learners acquire rules and units of the target language through guided instruction from teachers and through exposure to the language in everyday life. Foreign language or L3 learning only takes place in formal learning situations but the target language is not part of the everyday experience of the learners.

In Wilkins' words (1974:47) the term 'second language' refers to a situation where the

child is exposed to a 'structured language teaching situation'. The situation is limited in terms of length and duration of exposure to the language, and classroom practice is often incompatible with the actual or practical linguistic needs of the learner. Language attitudes towards cultural aspects of the L2 influences language learning . Wilkins (1974) affirms that "In one sense language cannot be learned without familiarity with features of the culture since language and culture are inextricably connected" (Wilkins 1974. 49). The black L2 learners in the province learn it with a few cultural features of the language. If learners, for any reason, dislike the speakers of their L2, they will develop negative language attitudes which will affect their motivation to learn the language.

Second language learning and third language learning have a similar goal: to enable learners to gain competence in the target language that resembles native proficiency. The learning processes, however, are different, and the assumptions about the teaching methods are also different.

For the most part, the Limpopo Province is rural. The second and or third languages like English and Afrikaans taught to most African language speaking learners are mostly only learned in school. The outside environment does not need learners to use the target languages and the language is therefore not reinforced in the immediate community. This leads to inefficiency in the acquisition of the target languages and it contributes to high failure rates if most subjects are learned and taught in a language which is being acquired as a third language. I need to expand on what L2 learning entails. This information will help one to look at the way L2 is learned in the province and gauge whether the L2 knowledge is adequate to be used in all high function

contexts as the dominance of English may imply.

6.4 The realities of second language teaching in Limpopo Province.

English and Afrikaans are the two L2's or L3's taught to most African language speaking learners in the Province as shown earlier in Table 5.3. Generally, learners are not proficient enough in these languages mainly because the realities (which will be explained later in the chapter) of teaching these languages do not allow their adequate acquisition. Learners do not find these languages of immediate need in the communities in which they live, most of which are rural or semi-urban settlements without English or Afrikaans L1 speakers. The languages do not play a meaningful part in the lives of the communities from which learners come. Learners rarely meet situations which compel them to speak the 'L2'. Most learners do not have adequate exposure to these languages except in school classrooms, the radio and television.

One other reality, which I have observed, is that most teachers, who function as role models for the learners, are also L2 users with a limited proficiency in the languages. English, which is the preferred L2 and medium of instruction, is taught by teachers who have low professional qualifications in the language. Most of these teachers were trained at teacher training colleges by lecturers who are themselves not proficient in the language. The practical performance of teachers in class leave much to be desired. This might be because in their training not enough tuition was incorporated in the curriculum to provide them with the necessary professional knowledge.

Rammala (1993:20) argues that lecturers at teacher training colleges have inadequate professional standards. English language teaching trainers who supervised in practice

teaching in Lebowa were usually academic graduates and not professionals. A few of them had specialised in English literature but not English Language Teaching (ELT) or applied linguistics. (At Naphuno College of Education in Lebowa in 1992, only two of the nine lecturers in English had a B.A in English and the others had English at levels lower than the third year of university). In fact teachers of other subjects were even allowed to supervise teaching practice in ELT on the basis of their having done English at secondary school.

Such a lack of relevant knowledge and skills limit the supervisor's power in assisting the student teacher. Most supervisors depend on the general effect and impression of the lesson without basing it on any acceptable principles of language learning and teaching. Lecturers do not possess the necessary English subject knowledge, the skills and the methods to enable them to let accelerated, planned and organised intervention take place. They lack the knowledge of effective methodology and approaches to language teaching in particular. It therefore becomes difficult and sometimes impossible to achieve some of the objectives of the syllabus, for didactics and supervisors themselves are not conversant with the communicative approach that the syllabus advocates, and as Kembo (2000:287) has observed "proficiency in the ex-colonial languages remain inadequate, partly because the necessary cognitive skills needed for effective learning have not been developed", let alone the new Outcomes Based Education (to be discussed later in this chapter).

Lecturers who are acquainted with recent methods of language teaching are able to teach the theory but have problems with supervision since they have not been trained for supervision. Some of these lecturers have never taught before they became teacher

trainers, moreover there is no provision of in-service training for them in the province.

By observation, besides the low standards of teacher training there is a scarcity of physical resources in many schools, mostly rural schools. Some schools have no classrooms and pupils are taught in the open, some have a shortage of desks, insufficient space and poor lighting. All these realities make education extremely difficult. Pupils lack discipline, they show very little interest in learning.

Formal language teaching is generally aimed at 'correctness', i.e. accuracy as opposed to fluency and successful communication. In the history of language teaching the term *accuracy* refers to language teaching which will result in accurate L2 usage, rather than the use of language in the classroom for communicative purposes. Traditional syllabuses have always had a basis in the accurate construction of the target language. Accuracy is a relative term, based on a social judgement of the language used by a speech community. This does not imply that fluent language may not also be accurate language; it simply refers to a focus by the user, because of the pedagogical context created by the teacher.

Ellis (1985) asserts that learners will be more responsive to an emphasis on fluency. The distinction here is between what is good and bad in language teaching because each has its merits and demerits. Any language activity that is not being carried on with the learners apparently operating in the same way as they do in natural, mother-tongue use is an accuracy activity. Fluency may be distinguished as the ability to talk in coherent, reasoned and semantically diverse sentences, showing a mastery of the semantic and syntactic resources of the language. According to Ellis (1985) fluency is

to be regarded as natural language use. It can be seen as the maximally effective operation of the language system so far acquired by the learner. The aim of fluency activity is to develop a pattern of language interaction within the classroom which is as close as possible to that used by competent performers in mother-tongue in normal life. This is not possible in the province because of lack of reinforcement and exposure to L1 speakers.

6.5 Education and teacher training as recommended in the RDP (1994)

The issue of teacher training is a necessary consideration when one studies the role of language in education. The words *change, transformation, reconstruction restructuring* and development are in vogue in South Africa today. These words are used in every institution in the country in politics, the economy, education, etc. The demand for change also affects teachers and the teaching profession. Therefore, in considering social transformation in the province, we have to consider the role of teachers as well.

The teacher's role today is determined by a variety of informal and conflicting forces and expectations that are difficult to trace to their source. Fortunately the government of the day has produced a document, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP: 1994) which is an integrated guiding policy framework that focuses on various aspects including the teaching profession. I will only refer to aspects that deal with education broadly and teacher education specifically.

6.5.1 The development of human resources.

'The challenge that we face at the dawning of a democratic society is to create an education and training system that ensures that people are able to realise

their full potential in our society, as a basis and a prerequisite for the successful achievement of all other goals...' (RDP. par.3.1.5. p.59).

The implication of the paragraph above is that teachers play a significant role in ensuring that 'people are able to realize their full potential'. We need teachers of good quality. Structural improvements like increasing the number of schools, giving out stationary and textbooks to pupils are important but cannot surpass the transformation of the human resource in the form of producing and grooming competent teachers. It is common in this country for people to blame the lack of material resources as a cause of failure. But even those who have the resources may fail equally. This implies that what we lack is inner resources such as persistence, commitment and singleness of purpose. (Ramogale, 1998). It is true that material scarcity impinges negatively on good performance but it is fallacious to assume that the availability of material resources gives rise to excellence. If competent teachers are produced, we will not point at the lack of facilities as the cause of poor performance in our schools and other institutions. A good curriculum and a good policy cannot be properly implemented without better prepared (trained) teachers. The preparation of dedicated and well informed teachers is the springboard for the development of our human resources.

The resuscitation of the culture of learning and teaching, which is one of the aims of the RDP, also revolves around well motivated and prepared teachers. Such teachers can inspire their charges (learners) to develop inquiring minds and emotional stability. The culture of learning logically devolves from the culture of teaching and is mostly dependent on it.

6.5.2 Education and training

In my opinion a country or province that is proud of its human richness and diversity rather than perceiving it as a problem, must in its transformation begin with the very young by breaking down the barriers that have been erected between children of different races and languages. The children have to be given a fair chance to learn to understand, work and live with their counterparts from other languages and races. Teachers should stress to their learners the principle of unity in diversity and give them proper technical and vocational training. To achieve this we require non-racial teacher education institutions so that non-racial and non-sexist values can be inculcated into prospective teachers.

6.5.3 Co-ordination of formal and non-formal education.

'A progressive system of education and training is one that is integrated and enables learners to progress to higher levels from any starting point. Such a system enables learners to obtain recognition and credits for qualifications and credit towards qualifications from one part of the system to another' (RDP.1994, Par. 3.3.7. p.62).

This implies that education, training and other forms of planned formal and non-formal learning should be interspersed with work throughout life. This can be done through the recognition of prior learning, i.e. taking into account the experiential knowledge that the learner brings to the learning task. Education should be made available over the individual's whole life time at appropriate stages related to his own needs and aspirations. It should alternate with work and similar experiences. This strategy can work

provided it evolves from the provision of a basic education, and primary and higher levels of formal schooling which are flexible enough to allow people to have exits at some points and still allow those who wish to remain in the system to do so in the style of the National Qualifications Framework (NQF) and the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA), which is the national statutory body promulgated in terms of the South African Qualifications Act of 1995.

6.5.4 Adult basic education and training

‘All children and adults must be able to read, write and count in a development-oriented country. To achieve this, the RDP suggests a national literacy or adult basic education programme which will involve employers, trade unions, and all levels of government’. (RDP.1994, Par. 3.3.9.1. p.63)

The importance of adult basic education was alluded to earlier in the discussion of recurrent education. Tanzania’s president Nyerere was committed to education-in-development practice and he put it thus:

‘Adult education should promote change, at the same time as it assists men to control both the change which they introduce and that which is forced upon them by cataclysms of nature... In that case, the first function of adult education is to inspire both a desire for change and an understanding that change is possible’ (Nyerere in Hall and Kidd 1978:17-18).

According to Fordham (1993) the idea of adult education as a tool for social transformation has long been influential in South Africa’s liberation movement. It was

even echoed by Steve Biko in his court testimony in 1976, when he linked black 'consciousness' and ideas about 'conscientization' derived from Paulo Freire (Biko 1979:28, and Freire, 1972). The adult literacy project pursued by Biko and the South African Student Organisation (SASO) was designed to help "Blacks grapple realistically with their problems...to develop...an awareness of their situation and to be able to analyse it, and to provide answers for themselves. The purpose behind it really being to provide some kind of hope.." (Biko 1979: 26-27).

Lately there has been debate in the country about the link between adult basic education and social transformation. This is in line with the education-in-development practice of Nyerere as quoted above. Nyerere took adult education as a movement from liberation to development. These coincided with international adult education which started promoting the democratisation of research through the idea of participatory research, where research, learning and action are intertwined (Fordham 1993:4-5). In dealing with this issue, starting from the background of group experience, themes like poverty, segregation, disease, floods, etc, are used to motivate and increase understanding and develop the people's capacity to change and improve the quality of their own lives. The following three areas from Lenyai (1995) illustrate the importance of adult education:

Health

In this province children die from a variety of diseases such as cholera, malaria, malnutrition and Aids. Through adult education rural communities can be enlightened about how diseases are communicated and how they can be controlled from spreading rapidly. We have problems of large families and children whose parents do not want

them because they can't support them. Family planning education require adult education approaches as well. The eruption of HIV has caught every sector of the community and to spread information to all people about HIV and AIDS adult education, offered in the language that people know well, is a necessity.

Literacy

Adult education must promote literacy, as cited earlier. The importance of this can be gauged by the many adults that received voter education prior to the 1994 general elections. The voter education drive has made people realise the serious need for literacy projects in the province.

Community development

This aspect seems to be the most vital as it concerns everybody in the community. It is so because the problems of underdevelopment are largely community problems. Community development is an activity designed to create conditions of economic and social progress for the whole community with its active participation and fullest possible reliance upon its initiative. People should do for themselves in the spirit of 'masakhane'. The best language to use in the planning and discussion of all these with the community is its mother-tongue.

6.5.5 Teachers, educators and trainers

According to Lenyai (1995), in his unpublished speech at Naphuno College of Education one of the problems in the preparation of teachers in the Province is what may be called educational 'disjunctions'. The educational enterprise is divided into separate exclusive parts. There is a dichotomy between the preparation of the college-trained primary

school teachers, the secondary school teachers and university-trained teachers. This disjunction does not augur well for teacher education and education in general because standards in the different institutions differ. Teacher education has to be co-ordinated among all teacher training institutions. This co-ordination will help in identifying the priorities on which it should focus at each level.

In his parliamentary talk on March 14, 2000, Education Minister Kadar Asmal said that there was enormous competition for national funds, but education had been identified as a priority and allocated 21% of the budget for the 1999-2000 financial year. He said that if the country did not improve the quality of the public education it offered to its citizens, private institutions would always be ready to exploit the situation. He said it was only through the social institutions that the nation's principal values and the key to its identity could be conveyed to successive generations.

In part, the department's vision is clear. They are concerned with transformation. The minister also mentioned that by June 2000, the council on higher education would have a report on the future size and shape of the higher education system. This will bring together experts at institutions of higher learning to run programmes that will take this country to international levels. The Universities of the North and of Venda are both in a bad shape and need to be reconfigured to provide excellence in education.

The improvement of teacher education in this Province will require, inter alia, distance education. The main advantage of distance education is that it is able to reach large numbers of teachers quickly and cost-effectively; and it can improve the quality of teachers without removing them from schools.

6.5.6 Further education and training

“Students learning within formal institutions, workers in industries, the out-of-school youths and adults should be exposed to balanced and flexible curricula which should open learning paths consistent with the goals of lifelong learning”. (RDP 1994, par.3.3.12.2. p. 66).

Lenyai (1995) remarked that the South African system of education has primarily been geared to preparing pupils for study at university. In this way our education system has created a syndrome of the so-called ‘educated unemployed’. These people range from school leavers who shun away from manual labour jobs, to trained technicians, artisans and university graduates who cannot be employed in the labour market because there are no jobs or they possess irrelevant qualifications. This warrants a need to incorporate into our education programmes education and training which is job-oriented.

6.5.7 The Outcomes Based Education and Curriculum 2005

The South African government is committed to transforming the education of the citizens, and to be consonant with the broader national vision concerning education. The Department of Education regularly reviews the curriculum. The department prefers the Outcomes Based Education system. To implement it the department had prepared a curriculum called Curriculum 2005 which addressed the eight learning areas (Natural Sciences, Economic and Management Sciences, Human and Social Sciences, Language, Literacy and Communication, Arts and Culture, Life Orientation, Mathematical Literacy, Mathematics and Mathematical Sciences, and Technology), (*Media in Education Trust in Sowetan, 20 May, 1997*). The integration of knowledge and skills is one of the key principles of the new curriculum. Previously there was a rigid

division between theory and practice, and knowledge and skills. This is rejected by OBE.

Even though the curriculum focussed on the outcomes of learning, i.e. what learners should know and be able to do at the end of a process of learning (both critical and specific outcomes), its implementation strategy had been found wanting and a new curriculum is to be formulated and called curriculum 21.

The OBE stresses two types of outcomes:

a. Critical outcomes.

The full name of these outcomes is Critical Cross Field Outcomes. The South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) has defined seven critical outcomes. These outcomes state the essential abilities that all aspects of learning should lead towards. They appear as follows:

- i. Identify and solve problems in which responses display that responsible decisions using critical and creative thinking have been made.
- ii. Work effectively with others as a member of a team, group organisation, community.
- iii. Organise and manage oneself and one's activities responsibly and effectively.
- iv. Collect, analyse, organise and critically evaluate information.
- v. Communicate effectively using visual, mathematical and/or language skills in the modes of oral and/or written presentations.
- vi. Use science and technology effectively and critically, showing responsibility towards the environment and the health of others.
- vii. Demonstrate an understanding of the world as a set of related systems by recognising that problem-solving contexts do not exist in isolation. (*Media in education trust, 20 May 1997:3*)

b. Specific outcomes.

Specific outcomes are context specific. They describe the competence which learners must demonstrate in particular areas of learning. These outcomes serve as the basis of assessing the progress of learners. It is not necessary to list the outcomes in this dissertation as they differ according to learning areas and time and space do not allow a full listing.

The eight learning areas listed above stress the importance of the integration of knowledge and skills. OBE set out to produce people who are rounded, unlike the previous approach (explained earlier), which produced people who are either irrelevantly qualified or lack specific skills required by the work situation. Learning area number 3 (Human and Social Sciences) stresses the importance of sound judgements in a culturally diverse and democratic society which is a direct contradiction of the racist apartheid government. Learners will learn about relationships between people, and people and the environment. Learning area 4 (Language, Literacy and Communication) stresses human development and the importance of life-long learning with language as an important tool. In a multilingual context like the one found in the Northern Province, languages should be learned to enable people to make easy contact and interact with one another. This learning area also encourages learners to have access to information and lifelong learning which has been identified as one important aspect of social transformation.

A study of culture includes studying its expression through the arts, modes of life, heritage, knowledge and belief systems. Learning area 5 links art with culture, which will promote the ability to make and create meaning and understanding of our diverse

culture. All the learning areas, taken by learners in any acceptable combination, can transform and/or develop the individual and create an atmosphere in the community of socially and educationally balanced citizens.

Teachers in the field will need to study the new curriculum and come up with programmes that suit their respective environments specifically. Distance education has already been recommended for purposes like this. The Department of Education, teachers' unions and organisations can also assist through in-service training and regular courses to feed teachers with the new approach to teaching in the style of the Outcomes Based Education.

There are institutions of higher learning which have already laid down programmes to assist teachers in this regard, so that they remain relevant to their professional expectations. The Limpopo Province Education Department should lay out a plan on the retraining of teachers to suit the OBE. At local levels needs analysis should be conducted to find out empirically what the Limpopo Province needs, that can be achieved through OBE. All methods and approaches of teaching and learning are recommendable only when appropriate to the context.

The South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) is also committed to transforming the education of the country by implementing curriculum 21. Its deputy president Edwin Pillay mentioned that the Union planned to train a core of teachers in all nine provinces to address the shortcomings of curriculum 2005, including the newly introduced Outcome Based Education (OBE) system. Sadtu's Curriculum Development Capacity Building Project would also place support systems around clusters of schools

to sustain the professional development of teachers. He said that the project aimed to offer accredited training in OBE and to provide, through its culture of learning, teaching and service (Colts) programme, effective management and teaching in a conducive environment with the necessary learning materials. Sadtu has also launched a campaign to provide HIV/Aids life skills training to grade one to four teachers. The campaign includes the introduction of an Aids education programme into school curriculum (Gopher:/gophr. anc. org.).

Sadtu shows their commitment to educational transformation in the country as a whole. The next chapter will suggest practicable ways of achieving these objectives, as well as an improved teaching profession which could transform the learners and the country in general.

In this chapter I explained the role that language can play in education and stated that effective formal education is one better means to achieve social transformation. The next chapter proposes a policy that displays how language can be used in education to pursue social transformation.

Chapter 7

Developing a language policy for social transformation

7.1 Introductory background

The statutory establishment of a democratic government in 1994 in South Africa is seen as the beginning of a process of transformation. The creation of provinces was aimed at allowing regions to develop on their own but within the auspices of the central government. It has become necessary for the newly formed provinces to reconstruct their administration, education, the economy and all organs of provincial jurisdiction. Language plays a very important role in this process as it can help to transform the people of the province socially by promoting communication, creating regional loyalty, promoting tolerance, facilitating development and supporting effective state administration. Language acts as a tissue that binds society, as explained in section 2.1

The Limpopo Province has been granted some political power to enable it to pursue political and socio-economic objectives regionally. The province has further been divided into local governments to enable it to reach out to the people on the ground. The provincial government is therefore an instrument to pursue the interest of groups and classes of people. Actually, political power is in the final analysis about socio-economic resources and their allocation. It is important for the provincial government to give directives as to how individuals, groups and communities relate to capital in particular and resources in general. The Limpopo Province as a matter of priority must cater mainly for black workers, the black middle strata, small black business in its various offshoots, the rural poor and all who, to different degrees, have been denied opportunities by the apartheid government. The province also needs to educate the white people in this area, an attitude of non-racism should be developed and the white people should learn the

African languages as well. This will empower the speakers of these languages and allow everybody to participate positively in bringing about transformation in a larger whole. All these groups of people share a common interest in the advancement of the course of social transformation.

Major official African languages should be brought to parity with English and Afrikaans and this must be catered for by policy to restore the power relations between all the official languages. The provincial government must develop policy to guide people as to how it intends raising the marginalised official languages to equity with the other major official languages. It must state how the state departments should stop advantaging English and disadvantaging other official languages. (Webb 1997:80). As already mentioned in Chapter 1, some first language speakers of African languages have a negative self esteem. How then should the negative attitude of these people towards their own languages be changed? Parents should be well informed so that they can make informed decisions as to the most appropriate languages of learning and teaching for their children.

In its social development, the Province needs a united, well-trained labour force. An indigenous, majority language can be used for vocational training and as a language of the workplace to develop the work force as desired. The social services as mentioned earlier include educational systems which will need mother-tongue instruction for most of the subjects if not all.

Language and language planning can help transform the community of the Province and as for the educational backlogs mentioned in 2.1, language can be used as an

instrument of meaningful access to education. For the Province to maintain sound partnership and communication between the Provincial government, local governments, business, local communities, labour and all other stakeholders, it needs to depend on the participatory function of language. It must have at least two languages that will serve as official and that will allow citizens to participate in the politics of the Province.

For the province to transform socially, it should be ensured that citizens are well informed about the formulation of policies and they must be actively involved in their formulation and implementation. This means the policy should also proceed bottom-up. The poor and the disadvantaged should be catered for, but this does not imply that in its transformation of society the Province should be directed only at the poor and disadvantaged; instead there should be equitable sharing of benefits. This is so even though a transforming province will prioritise the interest of those who are in need of transformation, development and the upliftment of the poor and disadvantaged. Government representatives should then identify the priorities at local level first, and take them up with the provincial authorities.

The reconstruction process cannot be allowed to develop in a non-controlled way. Chapter 1 exposed the historically determined tensions, divisions and discrimination in the Province. The present tensions and fears between language groups and the educational, economic and social inequalities as explained require the Province to develop instruments which will guide it to a socially, economically and politically developed region. Pertaining to language this implies that the Province must have a comprehensive language policy and language plan. Usually language policy and language planning decisions arise in response to socio-political needs. Language

planning decisions are required in a situation where a number of linguistic groups compete for access to the mechanisms of day to day life; or where a particular linguistic minority is denied access to such mechanisms directly or indirectly (Robinson, 1988:1). Language planning may affect all areas of language use but typically concentrates on the more observable ones like the over-dominance of one language, language-related developmental problems, the politicised language-related scenarios, the shortage of well-trained language practitioners, etc, as mentioned in Chapter 1.

It is assumed that decision-making occurs at the highest levels in language planning, i.e. in the language planning institutions or government circles, rather than throughout all the layers of society. Some language planning endeavours ignore grassroots attitudes and, according to Schiffman (1998:1), “western notions of the ‘efficiency’ and ‘logic’ of monolingual policies are often preferred (at least by official planners) over linguistic diversity and multilingualism”.

A comprehensive provincial language policy and language plan cannot develop in isolation. In the context of the Limpopo Province it must be in line with the national constitution, programme for reconstruction and development as well as the provincial government’s vision expressed in the constitution of the Limpopo Province Language Council as described in the previous chapter. The policy and plan should be structured with reference to the larger national framework. This chapter will provide the larger national framework within which language policy and language plan for the Limpopo Province can be structured for social transformation and then give the suggested policy. According to Webb (2000: 61-63) the national framework looks thus:

7.2 National ideals.

The main task that the present national government was faced with from 1994 includes, inter alia, to bring together the diverse groups of people who had been divided and were antagonistic towards one another. For the Limpopo Province this means integrating communities, which are different and were even subjected to different governing structures, into one provincial government. The New South African Government had the following tasks to perform:

- To centralise communities who had been disadvantaged over a long period.
- To redistribute ownership of the country to all the people.
- To facilitate the educational development of marginalised people.
- To redistribute national wealth.

To add to these visions the government has the following missions:

- To provide equitable state services in regard to housing, health and language usage.
- To structure organs of government, and
- To maintain effective public administration (Webb, 1999:61).

These ideals are set by the national government and the provinces. Each province is supposed to implement them in their respective areas with monetary allocations from the national coffers; and provinces remain responsible to the national government.

Besides establishing a democracy, the government aims to promote equity and human rights and to develop the people of the country. For the retention of the country's cultural diversity the government allows each community to practice its culture. Affirmative action is to be implemented. With regard to language this requires a multilingual approach which encourages additive multilingualism.

7.3 Reconstruction and Development Programme(RDP)

This programme is directed at nation-building and democratisation. It is a strategy for the development of the country's human, natural and financial resources. It is aimed, inter alia, at creating employment opportunities and breaking down social barriers. The RDP co-ordinates public programmes into a coherent and purposeful whole, to meet the aspirations of the citizens and involve their direct participation.

Lo Bianco (1996.43) as quoted by Webb (2000) points out that the role of language and language policy in the RDP is not covered in the RDP document. He argues that if the active participation of civil society is to be obtained, the society, which is a multilingual civil society 'will have to be addressed in all its languages'. There are employment sections in the province which require specific language planning and language or literacy training (such as tourism, welfare, human resource development). All training programmes are directly dependent on linguistic skills.

7.4 The Constitution

The third component of the theoretical framework is the Constitution and I will confine myself to Act 108 of 1996. The mood in which the Constitution should be read is created in the preamble which touches on the injustices of the past but stresses unity in diversity and condones democracy, human rights and equality before the law.

It is not necessary to list all the language stipulations of the constitution but a few remarks are important. The stipulations state, inter alia, the languages which are official. It is the duty of the provincial governments to elevate the status and advance the use of the official languages. PanSALB must promote and create conditions for the

development of all official languages. It is not the Government's view that all eleven official languages be used for all official functions in all domains of public life. Provinces are expected to use at least two languages for official purposes.

The language stipulations can be undermined by the absence of clear definitions and the many escape clauses found in the stipulations (usage, practicality, expense, regional circumstances, preferences of the population in the province concerned).

The South African constitutional language stipulations are vague through its escape clauses. It is not clear who determines the needs. How should the preferences be determined? How can these two matters be balanced? The stipulations regarding the Pan South African Language Board are also less specific even though the specifics are described in the parliamentary act which deals with the Board.

7.5 Bill of Rights

The Bill of Rights in short accord people the right to use and be addressed in a language of their choice, without any sort of discrimination. People have the right to receive education in the official language of their choice in public schools, while at the same time they can establish their independent institutions which, however, should not be discriminative. People have the right to use their language, practice their culture and their religion. Detained or accused persons must also be tried in a language they understand. The Constitution also provides for self-determination on cultural and linguistic grounds. Section 235 of chapter 14 states that:

“The right of the South African people as a whole to self-determination, as manifested

in this constitution, does not preclude, within the framework of this right, recognition of the notion of the right of self-determination of any community sharing a common cultural and language heritage, within a territorial entity in the Republic or in any other way, determined by national legislation".(Act 108 of 1996:131)

All the stipulations pertain to the eleven official languages and speakers of the non-official languages have the right to receive respect for their languages, as well as government support for their development. It may be difficult to practice language equity (parity of esteem and equal treatment). This may be so because of the inequalities of the eleven official languages with regard to status, functional value, language knowledge, language development, resource potential and speaker-numbers. What seems clear is that government funding should be directed at promoting the African languages through funding extensive research work, improving teaching methods and undertaking development projects.

The basic requirements for policy and planning development have been outlined in Chapter 2. South Africa does not yet have a language policy. There is only a draft of the policy and plan for the country that was compiled by the advisory panel to the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, dated 29 February 2000 (now a white paper). I will make regular reference to this draft document in this section. Mention was made of the fact that a language policy has to indicate explicitly how it wishes to achieve the specific language ideals which the Government has set for the country. It must state the specific aims it wishes to achieve, state who should do what with what and when it should be done. The African languages in the Province should be revalorised with the purpose of serving the interests of the people of the area and not for and unto

themselves, as mentioned in Chapter 2.

7.6 Language policy requirements relevant to the Limpopo Province

Before proposing a language policy for the Limpopo Province it will be necessary to comment on issues which need to be kept in mind when constructing such a policy. Languages should be seen as resources which can be used to promote productivity, effectivity and efficiency in any government institution. Some politicians and even some linguists have seen language diversity as a problem and not as a resource. The plan should not be based on the view that multilingualism is a problem or that the languages must be promoted because they are objects of human rights, but as a resource one can use for the betterment of living conditions in the area under discussion. Languages should be seen as instruments of development and tools necessary for transformation to take place. One considers the bonding role of languages as touched on in Chapter 2. The majority of the Limpopo Province community can be bonded by using an indigenous language, which is dominant statistically, as official language; and then using other regional African languages as official in designated districts. This is the view I will follow in my proposal.

Language promotion can occur through the teaching of the African languages to the people of the Province, including white people, to empower these languages and the people who speak them. For most of the African language speakers, vocational training can best be offered in their languages to allow easy acquisition of the necessary skills. These skills can be transferred into any other language. A pronouncement that certain languages will from henceforth have parity of esteem, and be treated equitably, will not be enough. The proposal must state in clear terms where one language will be used and

for what purposes.

Kashoki (1993:15) put a politico-philosophical question saying: what kind of citizen is to be regarded as an ideal citizen from a sociolinguistic point of view? The view is increasingly coming to be accepted today that in multilingual countries, in order to match language policy with sociolinguistic reality, the multilingual and not the monolingual individual ought to be regarded as the ideal citizen of the area. In the same way Ayo Bamgbose (1991:78) says: "In the African situation, a person who speaks several languages is to be regarded as a better integrated citizen than one who is only proficient in one language". The proposal in this dissertation will also be based on the view that a multilingual citizen is an ideal citizen of the province. The proposal is based on the demographic background provided in Chapter 5 and the constitutional stipulations discussed earlier in this chapter.

The views expressed above clearly suggest that in multilingual societies, notwithstanding questions of cost and the highly sensitive nature of the issue of selection, it is highly desirable that multilingualism ought to be the cornerstone of language policy. In Kashoki's view (1993:16), a multilingual language policy touches in quite a fundamental way on the democratic principle of effective participation of citizens in their administrative affairs. When multilingualism is built into the language policy as a dominant principle, it broadens opportunities for more citizens to participate in political affairs. A multilingual language policy has democratizing consequences.

It is not easy for a multilingual language policy to accommodate all the languages within the area's borders. A good policy must state the functions to be performed by all other

languages as all the languages within the borders are to be recognised and accepted as a source of mutual enrichment. Kashoki (1993:16) points out that “some matters pertaining to language maintenance and language utilisation will have to be left to the communities themselves as their direct responsibility, while the state concentrates on the use of others for official purposes”.

According to Bokamba (1999:1) the adoption of a particular language policy vis-à-vis education and government (administration) is generally viewed, in the sociolinguistic literature, as the allocation of a critical resource to the fundamental process of national or provincial development. “Such a policy, which is adopted as an attempt to solve perceived communication problems at regional or national level, is theoretically regarded as a major contribution to education, political, economic, and socio-cultural development or transformation”.

Bokamba (1999:1) also argues that “African languages constitute necessary investments without which educational, economic, social and political development cannot occur”. This view, which he characterises as the political economy of planning African languages, is argued for on the basis of successful language policy data from selected developed nations in North America, Europe and Asia against the background of failed language policies in African countries. As stated in Chapter 3, the policy model of planning I will propose will adopt Bantu languages to empower the people who already speak these languages and bind them together as a result.

The idea of promoting and developing African languages is not intended to negate the complementary useful roles non-indigenous languages have played in the past and to

date. There is also an awareness of the need to communicate globally in our universe, and citizens of the province should also be equipped with the communicative competence necessary to make them citizens of the world. For this reason the citizens of the Province must also have access to a means of global communication, which will obviously be a non-indigenous language. This is reality. The challenge for this proposal is actually how to achieve this dream, which and how many African languages and non-indigenous languages are to be learned in the education system within the limits of government resources and which languages can be learned outside the education domain.

There is an argument made by those who question the suitability of African languages in their present state as viable instruments of modern governments. From discussions in preceding chapters it is realistic to expect African languages to be promoted to functional languages of the government. The case of Afrikaans in the context of South Africa is both instructive and illustrative in this regard, as mentioned in Chapter 4. The case of Afrikaans demonstrates that any language can rise to the occasion as an official language sufficient in every way for the functions of a modern province or state. Political will is a necessary ingredient in the transformation of a language from a state of inadequacy to a state of adequacy as an official language. This should, however, be followed by an unfailing commitment and sustained practical support in the form of continuous provision of financial and other resources to ensure the modernisation of the language(s) in question. All languages are inherently capable of being modernised. To emphasise this point, Bokamba (1993) writes that the history of the evolution of English from a tribal language (of the Angles and Jutes) in 150 A.D. to become a national language in 1362 and eventually the current undisputed international language of

communication, science and technology is one example that demonstrates eloquently the potential for language modernization.

In multilingual settings, as in the Province, specific languages must be selected for specific purposes. The selection of one, two or more languages as official or government working languages is a more problematic undertaking socially and politically. What actually causes ethnic conflicts in such cases? The sociolinguistic literature (cf. Bokamba, 1993), informs us of two basic factors: (1) Language loyalty and ethnicity, and (2) Empowerment.

Language loyalty defines an individual culturally, socially and psychologically. Membership of specific language communities as a native speaker signals the identity of that individual at a certain level. Any perceived threat to this linguistic loyalty is often reacted to instinctively, but not necessarily rationally, according to Bokamba (1993:22). But linguistic loyalty can be attained through direct or indirect persuasion just like provincialism which may be done without considering the language situation or the speakers of different languages. This is possible because language is not the only element that defines the identity of an individual: education, socio-economic status, religion and political party membership also contribute to an individual's identity (Bokamba,1993:22).

The elevation of a particular language to serve as official or government working language accords empowerment to its speakers, especially L1 speakers. This happened with the speakers of Afrikaans in South Africa. For example, if a language is selected for administration and education, it makes employment and political opportunities

accessible to those citizens who speak the language concerned. If the language is used for instruction it determines a student's chances for academic success. It becomes a benefit for its speakers and an obstacle for non-speakers. Language empowerment applies to any language; indigenous or non-indigenous. The solution (as stated in the Constitution) is therefore to adopt a calculated multilingual policy that allocates different functions to the official languages and thereby allows a wider access to the resources and opportunities to the interested and capable citizens. The policy may have its problems but it offers a more liberating personal, community, and national path than a monolingual policy.

Bokamba (1993) also argues that the fact that a monolingual policy fosters unity is unsupported by facts. Political and social divisions occurred in monolingual states like Japan and Korea. One should remember that factors such as political ideology, economic and educational status, and religion also contribute to divisions. To modernize the Bantu languages so as to enable them to function effectively as media of administration and education at all levels will require a long term and a heavy investment of resources. Once again the history of the evolution of English and Afrikaans is illustrative in this regard.

Bokamba (1993:26) argues that development, viewed from a holistic perspective, involves more than educational, scientific and economic development. These factors are mostly used (without basis) to argue against the use of African languages saying they are inefficient and ineffective. But development also encompasses "political, cultural and social factors, which may be facilitated by educational, scientific and economic developments but are not automatically entailed by them" (26). This implies that some

languages may be used for vocational training, some for political discussions, for instructing other subjects, for religious purposes, etc.

In compliance with the constitution, the best language policy for the Northern Province is a multilingual one that allows the Province to empower its citizens by using their languages or the local lingua franca and still permit it (the province) to remain a "partner and player" in the national and global market of goods, knowledge and politics. This implies that there should be special functions for the selected African languages and a language that can be used nationally and internationally. The policy must further call for the mobilization of the African languages and cultures, and not destroy them or create linguistic and cultural alienation.

7.7 The language policy

The following language policy is aimed at the promotion of the major African languages in the province. It also wishes to encourage respect for language rights as cited at the beginning of this chapter. The purpose is to formulate, within the parameters of the Constitution of the country, DACST's Language Policy and Plan for South Africa of 21 September 2001, a comprehensive language policy and implementation plan to match the framework provided in Chapter 2 and be suitable for the socio-political conditions of the Limpopo Province as set out in Chapter 4. Emphasis is put on the following missions:

- major official languages must enjoy 'parity of esteem' and be treated equitably,
- the status and use of indigenous languages must be enhanced,
- people must have equality of access to government services and to knowledge and information,
- education must be introduced to learners through mother-tongue to allow them

to acquire the necessary cognitive skills,

- learners should learn other South African languages spoken within the national borders to allow easy communication in the promotional support of national multilingualism,
- citizens must at the same time be ready to become world citizens by learning at least one language, like English, for international communication and technological advancement,
- supporting the learning and teaching of South African languages.

The above-mentioned principles are in consonance with the proposed final draft of the national language policy and plan issued on 21 September 2001.

For the purpose of this dissertation *language policy* refers to and is proposed for:-

- * The provincial and local governments of the Limpopo Province.
- * Bodies supported by government in the province like commercial, professional and industrial organisations.

Even though the Advisory Panel on Language policy and Plan for South Africa prefers the principle of using four categories of language on a rotational basis, I recommend the following for Limpopo Province:

To insure 'parity of esteem and the equitable use of the official languages', all the major languages prevalent in the Province must generally be used in government structures except in instances where all the 11 official languages have to be used. These major official languages are Northern Sotho, Xitsonga, Tshivenda, Afrikaans and English. Since each province must use at least two official languages I recommend that the languages be grouped thus:

- i. Afrikaans/English be used for deliberation in the legislature on rotational basis as a provincial official language with
- ii. Northern Sotho,
- iii. Xitsonga and Tshivenda to share equal times with (i) and (ii) above.

This implies that the official languages for the province in order of preference will, two years after implementation, be English or Afrikaans, Northern Sotho, Xitsonga and Tshivenda.

In designated districts, where they are in the majority as shown in section 5.3 and table 5.2 above, the dominant language must be used for local government and for communicative functions in general.

This is proposed to develop language loyalty to these L1 communities as this will drive them and create a political will so that communities can see their language rights practised. It will empower communities linguistically and they will see the need to study and protect their languages and other associated heritages.

I am aware that there is an expectation by some elites that all or most government documents should always be in English and occasionally also in other South African official languages. I have in the previous chapters touched on the dominance of English. It will, however, be discriminatory to use only (or mainly) English for government documents. It is not practicable as most citizens do not know English well and furthermore it won't be as instrumental in binding the Limpopo Province communities together as an African language can be. One should emphasise here that the African languages designated as official in the Province should be modernised. They must be developed to enable them to function as media of administration and education. To

achieve this level of modernisation one requires a long term and heavy investment of resources in the undertaking.

1. Language policy on internal oral communication for all provincial government structures.

All government structures must agree on Northern Sotho and English/Afrikaans as their working languages, for internal oral communication , intra- and inter-departmentally. They may agree to use Northern Sotho or Afrikaans/English, but no person shall be prevented from using the language of his or her preference at any given time.

2. Language policy on internal written communication for all provincial government structures.

All government structures must agree on Northern Sotho and English/Afrikaans as their written working language for internal written communication, intra- and inter-departmentally, i.e. Northern Sotho, English/Afrikaans and/or another dominant language in the region.

3. Language policy on external oral communication for all provincial government structures.

All official provincial government communication with the provincial public must take place in the language(s) of the target audience, with the assistance of technical means whenever necessary. The language of the district, the purpose and the audience will determine the means.

4. Language policy on external written communication for all provincial government structures.

In the case of written communication between the provincial government departments and citizens, the official languages or the language of the district will be used. If the communication is initiated by the provincial government, the

target audience will determine the language to be used. Communication between the provincial government and the national government will be in any of the first two provincial official languages. International communication will normally be done in English.

5. Provincial legislatures.

The provincial official languages will be used in all legislative activities. Northern Sotho to have equal time with English/ Afrikaans for the first two years and thereafter Xitsonga and Tshivenda also to have equal time with the other official languages.

6. Local government

Local governments must develop their language policies within the provincial language policy framework. Upon the determination of the language use and preference of the communities, local governments must, in consultation with their communities promote, publicise and implement a language policy.

7. Administration of justice.

7.1. Language of courts.

Accused persons must be tried in the language of their choice. Wherever this is not practicable, the proceedings must be interpreted into that language. Judicial officers have the discretion to decide upon the language to be used during court proceedings, subject to the provisions of paragraphs 1 to 6, above.

7.2. The language of record.

The language of record shall be the language of the proceedings of the court and translation shall be provided for whenever necessary.

7.3. Interpreting

As stated by the constitution any accused person in criminal proceedings, applicant or respondent in civil proceedings, as well as any witness in any court, shall have access to a professional interpreter if required. The provincial government must provide for

funds and training of such interpreters through its institutions of higher learning and on completion they should be accredited by the regulatory Body for the Accreditation of Translators and Interpreters for the country as a whole.

8. Languages of learning and teaching

The National Language Policy and Plan draft (21 September 2001) states that learners should be strongly encouraged to use their primary languages as LoL/T at all levels of schooling. They should also have the opportunity to learn additional languages as will be shown in (ii) below.

I recommend the Limpopo Province Education Department's provincial Language-in-Education Policy Draft II of October 1999 as a working document, *mutatis mutandis*:

- i. The use of L1 to refer to a home language which is one of the official languages should be read as LoL/T (Language of Learning and Teaching).
- ii. The optional L3 in grade 4 should necessarily be an African language.

The protection of individual rights is taken as provided on page 5 of the Language Policy and Plan for South Africa of 21 September 2001.

9. Mandated public media

All five of the major provincial languages must be provided for by the provincial public broadcaster (SABC). The African languages must be given equal airtime with other languages on television to be equitable.

10. Public service

The provisions of paragraphs 1 to 4 above will apply *mutatis mutandis*.

11. All of the above from 1-10 apply *mutatis mutandis* to bodies supported by government.

12. Private sector

Private enterprises should be encouraged to develop and implement their own language policies in consonance with the framework of the provincial language policy. It is noted

that all the national official languages with the exception of Sesotho are provided for in the schools of Limpopo Province. This policy encourages local developments to include all the other official languages which are not included in the five major provincial languages. Their development will depend on the needs of the communities which speak these languages. It was mentioned earlier in the dissertation that the Province also have people who speak Northern Ndebele in the Mashashane area which is not included in isiNdebele (see table 5.2.). The communities that speak this variety should be allowed by the policy and encouraged by the plan of implementation to develop it, reduce it to writing and use it as a Language of Learning and Teaching (LoL/T).

7.8 The Implementation Plan.

Language units, language code of conduct and language audits will be treated as outlined in the Language Policy and Plan for South Africa, 21 September 2001, pp. 17-18.

1. Language awareness campaigns.

ACTIVITY	ACTORS	TARGET GROUP	TIME FRAME
1. Raise the status of African languages by conducting language awareness campaigns.	The Limpopo Provincial Language Committee(LPLC), all government departments, the Provincial department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, PanSALB	The public	As soon as possible and continuous.
2. Identify other language issues and raise awareness on the role of language in society.			

2. Development of African Languages

ACTIVITY	ACTORS	TARGET GROUP	TIME FRAME
<p>1. Identify priority areas for the development of African languages in the Province.</p> <p>2. Support existing structures which are promoting the development of African languages.</p>	<p>PanSALB, Provincial equivalent of DACST, LPLC and organs of civil society</p> <p>PanSALB, Provincial equivalent of DACST, PLC. UNIN and UNIVEN, professional bodies, NGO's, and government departments.</p>	<p>All users of African languages and other affected people</p> <p>Institutions of learning, researchers, teachers, academics, school governing bodies, parents, professional bodies, NGO's, material providers.</p>	<p>From as early as possible and ongoing</p> <p>Ongoing</p>
<p>3. Establish and assist in establishing new structures and programmes for the development of African languages.</p> <p>4. Use the African languages in the appointment and promotion criteria in government departments</p> <p>5. Use African languages in the Provincial government gazette and for public announcements, as well as languages of training of public administration</p>	<p>PanSALB, Provincial equivalent of DACST, LPLC, institutions of learning, private sector, NGO's, individuals, professional bodies, and government departments. Government departments, Institutions of higher learning</p> <p>Government departments, SABC, institutions of learning and vocational training</p>	<p>Institutions of learning, research institutions, professional bodies, private sector, NGO's, Community based organisations (CBO).</p> <p>The employed government and public servants as well as the public as a whole</p> <p>Employed personnel, trainees and the public</p>	<p>Ongoing</p> <p>As soon as possible and continuous</p> <p>Ongoing</p>

6. Use of African languages for health projects and for extension projects like support for farmers.	Department of Health, that of Agriculture and forestry and all other concerned stakeholders.	The public Staff of hospitals, clinics, researchers, workers in development projects	Ongoing
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3. Language and technology

ACTIVITY	ACTORS	TARGET GROUP	TIME FRAME
Adopt and develop appropriate technology in order to facilitate the development and use of African languages and all other official languages	Provincial equivalent of DACST, PanSALB, Department of communication, language practitioners, Institutions of learning, research institutions, and Information Technology agencies.	Language programme providers, language practitioners, language users, government departments and agencies.	Ongoing

4. Languages of learning and teaching

ACTIVITY	ACTORS	TARGET GROUP	TIME FRAME
Finalise and systematically implement the existing provincial language in education policy as presented with amendments and additions. Organise curriculum for non-African speaking people for literacy in the African languages.	Provincial Education Department, Teacher training colleges. Educational material developers. In-service training and pre-service training programme providers.	All learners, educators and training institutions. The non-African speaking population.	From the beginning of the following year and ongoing. Each non-African speaking learner to be exposed to an African language for at least five years.

5. Budget

ACTIVITY	ACTORS	TARGET GROUP	TIME FRAME
Provide annual monetary allocation per activity for the implementation of the language policy	Department of Finance, LPLC, and all government departments and relevant structures.	All agencies responsible for implementing the language policy.	As soon as possible and ongoing.

There are a number of other issues of implementation that I have not included because the national language policy stipulations also covered them adequately. They relate to language units, a language code of conduct, language audits, the South African Language Practitioners council, telephone interpreting services of South Africa (TISSA), etc.

I have portrayed the larger national framework with which the policy and plan for the province should be structured. The portrayal includes the national programme for reconstruction and the province's language council vision expressed in its constitution. I have mentioned that African languages, if seen as resources, can be used to promote productivity, effectivity and efficiency in any institution or generally improve living conditions. Multilingualism is not a problem. The multilingual citizen and not the monolingual one should be regarded as an ideal citizen in multilingual areas and this also supports the democratic principle of effective participation of citizens in their administrative affairs.

I have shown that language planning formulations should take into account local conditions and needs. With this both legislators and educators can make informed choices about language policy in areas such as educational policy and access to basic

services. Additive multilingualism is one way of incorporating various needs on different levels of society. Compromises will have to be made at local levels in order to provide education first in the psychologically advantageous mother-tongues and in languages of wider communication to equip the citizens for international communication as well. This will help to open up more economic and cultural opportunities to children and adults.

I have a full understanding, in supporting Robinson (1999:405), that policies are instruments of government, they are made by government, and any input from the grassroots depends on how willing, or how obliged, a government is to listen and respond. "The grassroots can bring the multilingual realities of African life back into policies that were for long based on extraneous models" (Robinson, 1999:405).

The next chapter will provide conclusions, proposals and recommendations on the language policy and plan for social transformation.

Chapter 8

Summary, conclusions and recommendations

The dissertation presented the language problems of the Limpopo Province, which has inherited some historically determined tensions from its past. Language has always been a central issue in the country with events like the 1976 riots being a good example. .

Language was used to identify people and to define racial groups, and by so doing strengthening the apartheid system of government. It was also used as an instrument to provide access to certain privileges, as English is used today to retain privileges, and this was discriminatory. English and Afrikaans were the official languages even though the majority of the African speaking people did not have adequate knowledge of the two languages. Inter-group communication has always been difficult in the two languages and relatively few white and coloured people of South Africa know any of the African languages. Bilingualism was preferred to multilingualism, with bilingualism implying knowledge only of English and Afrikaans.

The indigenous languages like Northern Sotho, Xitsonga, Tshivenda, and Northern Ndebele of the Province are not fully developed as funds were only available for their terminological development and standardisation. Little has been done to render these languages adequate to serve most or all social functions. Some languages like Afrikaans in the Province have acquired some socio-political attachments as it is stigmatised as a language of oppression by most black citizens in the Limpopo Province . English is seen by most of them as a language of liberation. The autochthonous languages are seen by some as low status varieties with no meaning in public life.

Some language-related issues like mother-tongue instruction, have been politicised and most black parents prefer English medium schools for their children despite teachers' limited competence in English. If people cannot speak to one another, they cannot develop into a nation or as individuals.

The Province has a diverse distribution of home languages most of which are Bantu languages. The homeland system had an influence on the present language situation of numerous languages with a conflict potential.

Afrikaans competes with English as working official languages. Black people struggle to speak these languages as their languages are not used in economic and political activities and also because of the negative self-esteem these people have about their language. They are also not accorded parity of esteem and equitable treatment as demanded in the 1996 Constitution.

Reference was made to the role of missionaries with regard to language. They spread a knowledge of English among black people and reduced the indigenous languages to writing. They taught these languages even in non-religious contexts. British colonial rule preferred basic schooling in the relevant indigenous languages and promoted English medium instruction long before 1910. The apartheid language policies strengthened ethnic divisions and resulted in the division of the black people into a large number of conflicting and competing ethnic groups.

The present language policy does not state explicitly which language should be used by who in which situations. Cases of language conflicts at schools have been cited. The problem of immigrants and the language problem they pose, can be addressed if, in

formulating policy, one takes into considerations the politics, culture, geography and the socio-economic conditions found in a particular area. The main challenge is to work towards policies that guarantee multilingualism as enshrined in the Constitution.

Structures like PanSALB and NGO's like the Committee of Marginalised Languages are expected to defend the Constitution actively and advance a progressive, inclusive approach to language policy to benefit everyone. Language planning must promote tolerance of diversity and property by using linguistic resources effectively. The effects of the dominance of English may endanger social transformation and the development of other languages.

The Province also has language-related developmental problems. One of them is the inadequate development of its human resources, in which language plays a fundamental role. The educational development of most individuals in the Province is below the expected potential.

Although there is a Committee of Marginalised Languages, the major problem of the speakers of most marginalised African languages is the negative self-esteem they have and the fact that they underestimate the instructional value that their languages have. Revalorisation of these languages is recommended. The Province also displays a shortage of language practitioners to meet the needs of the new situation.

The dissertation needed a theoretical framework for the study of language-related conflicts and conflict resolution, a comprehensive language policy and an associated language plan as well as strategies for the implementation of the plan. Language policy for the Province should be informed by the Constitution, the Bill of Rights and the RDP

policies of the country.

The dissertation aimed to show how language policies can help to bring about social transformation and ultimately help in building a nation, mainly through the use of African languages in education. It also aimed at showing how language planning can promote socio-political unity or common loyalty. Multilingualism is recommended to facilitate communication within the Province. The other aim is to support the revalorisation of the indigenous languages and their adaptation to present-day needs. Linguistic and cultural diversity should be positively recognised.

I discussed the theoretical framework of social transformation explaining the systems model and the dynamic social field model of transformation.

Language planning is viewed in itself as an instrument of social change in support of Cooper (1989). All strategies of social transformation need to be transmitted in the most appropriate language. Language planning should contribute to both continuity and change, not only in the language, but also in other social institutions. It promotes new functional allocations of language varieties and structural changes in those varieties as well as the acquisition of these varieties by new populations. Language planning strengthens the individual's dignity, self-worth, social connectedness and meaning as a member of a group. It is a necessary condition for economic development. People with well-defined communicative means acquire the economic power. Language planning can be a pursuit of power by those in authority.

It is divided into corpus, status and acquisition planning. It is carried out for the attainment of a number of non-linguistic ends. The problem to be solved is usually not

a problem in isolation within the region but is associated directly with the politics, economic, scientific, social, cultural and/or religious situation. (Cooper 1989: 88). It may not be directed only towards aggregates at national or state level, but also at smaller aggregates like the ethnic, religious, occupational and racial communities.

Language planning includes language education planning which focuses specifically on the language of learning and instruction for both the formal and the non-formal systems of education.

A number of factors influence language planning, Appel and Muysken (1987) identified the socio-demographic, linguistic, socio-psychological, political and religious factors. Vernacular language education was discussed as initially proposed by UNESCO in 1951, which emphasises the importance of introducing learners to education via the mother-tongue as the language that learners can effectively use.

The study also looked at language-based conflicts in comparable countries, Nigeria, Kenya and Tanzania and explained the implications of these experiences for the Limpopo Province.

Individuals are attached to their nations sentimentally and instrumentally. I explained that instrumental attachments must be improved before creating a strong sentimental attachment. A peaceful political atmosphere is a priority because only when there is political stability can language planning be given serious objective consideration.

Most African states continued the colonial policy with regard to languages of education. Language policies have been explained as almost always political decisions as most

colonial language policies reflected the political philosophies of the colonial powers. Policies exemplified in Chapter 3 are examples of a rapid Europeanisation of the media of education. The use of mother-tongue in education has been gradually phased out. Considerations that dictated the present language policies of African states vis-à-vis education are efficiency and expediency, national unity and national progress or development. Bokamba and Tlou (1977) indicated some disadvantages of colonial language policies.

Case studies were quoted from Nigeria, Tanzania, Kenya and South Africa looking at the relationship between school outcomes and language acquisition. The overall conclusion on the above is that bilingual programmes that shift the LoL/T from mother-tongue to L2 before the learner reaches a certain age or level of cognition may fail.

One may learn that policy needs clarity of objectives in a policy statement from the Tanzanian case. From the Kenyan case one learns that vagueness in a policy gives room for loose interpretations. From Tanzania one realizes the importance of social marketing campaigns to precede a language policy support and adoption by all stakeholders.

I also touched on characteristics of language policies in Africa some of which, according to Bamgbose (1991) are avoidance, vagueness, arbitrariness, fluctuations and declaration without implementation. The three exemplified countries are critically discussed in relation to the above characteristics.

Implications for the Limpopo Province include the fact that its language policy should be explicitly stated and have a comprehensive plan for implementation. The role(s) played

by each language should be defined (mostly official languages) and the non-official languages should be provided for somewhere in the policy. It must state exactly what should happen to them. The position of the non-indigenous languages like English must be clear and well motivated.

The sociolinguistic history of the Limpopo Province looked at the first six languages selected in terms of their number of speakers. Northern Sotho, Xitsonga, Tshivenda, Setswana, Afrikaans and English were discussed and their historical background in the province, their development and the social positions given to them, were provided. This information is useful in evaluating the language situation and suggesting possible alternative policies for the revalorisation of some of these languages.

I provided the socio-political history of the African languages prevalent in the province and commented about their standardisation and social uses.

The history of the Afrikaans language was traced from 1652, through to the Free Burghers and the Great Trek in 1836 when Afrikaans was used as the written and cultural language. Afrikaans became an official language in 1925. The National Party declared Afrikaans as medium of instruction in schools. Resistance to this practice intensified and led to the 1976 riots and to the stigmatisation of the language and its association with apartheid by most Blacks.

English is a prestigious dominant language in the country generally even though there are varieties like the Natal English, Eastern Cape English, Afrikaans-English, Indian English and African English. Most black people prefer English over Afrikaans.

None of the African languages discussed is homogeneous since each comprises a number of dialects. There is a diglossic situation at Ga-Mashashane in the Province where Northern Ndebele and Northern Sotho are used. Both Xitsonga and Tshivenda have influences from Northern Sotho mostly in their written forms. Their speakers are able to speak and/or understand Northern Sotho. The Northern Sotho speakers are dominant statistically and are evenly distributed through the Province and this allows regular intercourse between speakers of these languages. Afrikaans is presented as an African language and a second language to most African language speakers.

Chapter 5 provided a socio-political characterisation of the language situation in the Province. It is not easy to count languages as the distinction between language and dialect is not clear. The politics of the country also make the task of the language counter even more difficult and most of the information given may be seen to be biased. The Province houses the Germanic and the 'Bantu' families of languages.

Concerning language functions, English and Afrikaans are still in more use in government circles with English becoming very dominant. The African languages still have little real meaning. English commands very high status. Afrikaans is viewed by its L1 speakers as having the same instrumental value as English. Moreover, it embodies the Afrikaner's socio-cultural identity. African languages have a very low public status and are used for low-function communication purposes mostly.

The African languages lack Western technological and scientific vocabulary. The Province has not yet decided on which languages to use as official languages for provincial use.

For educational purposes, all the official languages in the province are at least

adequately equipped to be used as media of instruction at primary school level.

In the judiciary, English and Afrikaans are still the major languages in the formulation of laws and in the courts of law. Interpreters interpret from English and Afrikaans into the African languages and vice versa.

With regard to language planning institutions, Act 108 of 1996,- the Constitution- provides for 11 official languages at national level, and Act 59 of 1995 made provision for the establishment of PanSALB. Item 8 (8) (a) and (b) of the same Act provided for the creation of provincial language committees. The Limpopo Province then established the LPLC as discussed in Chapter 5 of this study. Beside this there is a Committee for Marginalised Languages in the province.

The provincial government must give directives as to how individuals, groups and communities relate to capital in particular and resources in general. This Province must cater specifically for its black population, the workers, the middle strata, small business, the rural poor, and all who have been denied opportunities by the Apartheid government.

Formal education is described as one decisive factor for social transformation as it may allow citizens to acquire knowledge and skills to overcome the economic and technical backlogs effectively. For the Province, language in education has to deal with the role of the indigenous languages and proficiency in the non-indigenous languages. There is a need to know more than one language for inter-ethnic communication. Schools should develop the pupil's affective skills through development of positive attitudes to work and study, loyalty to their country and tolerance for people who may differ from them. This together with social skills require a great deal of understanding which can best be done

in a mother-tongue.

My argument for the use of African languages as LoL/T is based on the UNESCO committee recommendation to use mother-tongue, where mother-tongue is a vernacular. Once cognition is developed through the mother-tongue it also provides a rich cognitive preparation for the acquisition of a second language and other subjects of study. The use of L1 for the introduction of education to learners is recommended as it prepares the learner even for education in general in areas like vocational training, and for the second language, third or other languages for inter-ethnic and /or international communication. This is strongly recommended.

Since mother-tongue education lays a strong base on which to base education through non-indigenous languages, I recommend that the period for mother-tongue instruction should be increased. Teachers should be encouraged to retrain in the teaching of African languages. These languages should be used to teach school subjects and be taught themselves up to higher learning institutions to enable people to do research into these languages. I hinted that the province need more balanced people, i.e. educationally and culturally, and this is fully covered in the outline I made of the goals of learning the African languages.

In outlining the realities of L2 teaching in the Province, I showed that they do not allow learners adequate acquisition for various reasons. Teachers for these languages also have a limited proficiency in the languages. Besides, there is scarcity of physical resources in many schools. Education is extremely difficult as a result.

I included the issue of fluency and accuracy to show what the objective of L2 teaching

should be in the context of the Limpopo Province. I then touched on education and teacher training in the RDP document which aims at developing human resources, since teachers play a significant role in ensuring that people are able to realize their full potential. It further recommends a single integrated system of education that provides equal opportunities to all indiscriminately. Stress is laid on co-ordinating formal and non-formal education which will also allow learners to obtain recognition and credits for qualifications and credits towards qualifications from one part of the system to another. (RDP, par. 3.3.7. p.62)

I argued for the system of recurrent education that encourages a lifelong concern for the integration of work and study wherein adult education becomes an important component of the system. Education, training and other forms of planned formal and non-formal learning should be interspersed with work throughout life.

Adult basic education should involve employers, trade unions and all levels of government. Adult education should provide change as Nyerere (1978) put it. I emphasised the link between adult education and social transformation. It is mostly important in health, literacy and community development movements where indigenous languages are recommended for use.

Since education was been identified as a priority by the ministry of education in the year 2000 for his five-year term, the country is committed to improving public education. Distance education is recommended as another alternative for improving teaching standards without removing teachers from their schools. The outcomes based education should be contextualised to suit local conditions.

Chapter 7 argues that the Province must have a comprehensive language policy and language plan. For the province linguistic diversity and multilingualism should be preferred over monolingual policies. The policy can not be developed in isolation but in line with the RDP, the vision of the LPLC, and the larger national framework.

The ideals, set by the national government and the provinces, are supposed to be carried out by respective provincial governments with monetary allocations from the national and provincial coffers. Communities are allowed to practice their own culture and affirmative action is to be implemented.

The RDP has been described as a strategy for the development of the country's human, natural and financial resources aimed at, inter alia, creating employment opportunities and breaking down social barriers.

The Constitution implies that it is the duty of the provincial governments to elevate the status and advance the use of the official languages. PanSALB promotes and creates conditions for this development. The Bill of Rights has been outlined with self determination on cultural and linguistic grounds.

The study argues that languages should be seen as resources which can be used to promote productivity, efficiency and effectivity in any institution. Multilingualism is not seen as a problem, but as a resource one can use for the betterment of living conditions. Language promotion can occur only if the languages concerned acquire some economic and educational value. The view I take is that a multilingual citizen is an ideal citizen of the Province. Multilingualism should then be the cornerstone of language policy in my context. This touches on the democratic principle of effective participation of citizens in

their administrative affairs. A multilingual language policy has democratising consequences.

I adopted Bokamba's (1999) view that the adoption of a particular language policy vis-à-vis education and government (administration) is viewed as the allocation of a critical resource to the fundamental process of national or provincial development. Such a policy is theoretically regarded as a major contribution to educational, political, economic and socio-cultural development/transformation. The African languages are necessary investments. I have mentioned that the need to promote African languages is not intended to negate the complementary useful roles that non-indigenous languages have played in the past and to date. In my view citizens of the Province should be equipped with the communicative competence necessary to make them citizens of the world as well. They must also have access to a means of global communication, which will obviously be a non-indigenous language.

It is clearly put that the case of Afrikaans demonstrates that any language can rise to the occasion as an official language and political will is a necessary ingredient in the transformation of a language from a state of inadequacy to a state of adequacy as an official language if the transformation is followed by an unfailing commitment and sustained practical support in the form of continuous provision of funds and other resources to ensure the modernisation of the language(s) in question. I recommend that specific languages be selected for specific functions.

The elevation of a language to serve as official or government working language accords empowerment to its speakers, especially L1 speakers. I recommend the adoption of a calculated multilingual policy that allocates different functions to the selected languages

and thereby allows a wider access to the resources and opportunities to the interested and capable citizens.

I have shown that the fact that monolingual policies foster unity is unsupported by facts, but the modernization of African languages to enable them to function effectively as media of administration and education require a long term and heavy investment of resources. The evolution of English and Afrikaans is illustrative in this regard. I see development as also encompassing political, cultural and social factors which may, of course, be facilitated by educational, scientific and economic developments even though not necessarily entailed by them. Some languages may therefore be used for political, cultural and social development mainly.

I recommend a place for the selected African languages and a language of wider communication. The policy I recommend should encourage the mobilisation of the African languages and cultures, and not destroy them or create linguistic and cultural alienation. Linguistic diversity should be promoted. I have outlined principles on which my policy is based and stated that the policy is for the provincial and local governments of the Limpopo Province including as well the private sectors operating within the province. The recommended policy puts the five major official languages of the Province on a par with one another but with English/Afrikaans and Northern Sotho being official provincial languages for the first two years and then Xitsonga and Tshivenda also following. I further recommended that in the mean time, Xitsonga and Tshivenda be used in designated districts in the place of Northern Sotho as local conditions may dictate in cases where such languages are in the majority. I then suggested a plan of implementing the policy.

I have shown that language planning formulations should take into account local conditions and needs. Additive multilingualism is one way of incorporating various needs on different levels of society. I recommend that compromises be made at local government level in cases where a minority language community has to take up a local dominant language. I agree that some languages will naturally shift, some may change and even die by themselves or be killed by others, but in formulating a policy one should not opt for a wholesale death of any language in favour of an exclusionary policy.

I have explained that policies are instruments of government and that any input from the grassroots depends on how willing, and how obliged, a government is to listen and respond.

Various language planning aspects have not been treated in the required detail because the empirical sociolinguistic research on the Province is not available. I have not done research on the use of African languages specifically for vocational training. Such research may illustrate that if skills are mastered in one's mother-tongue, the rewards may be maximised better than when skills are learned through a second, third or other language of instruction. I therefore recommend that research be pursued on the effectiveness of using African languages in vocational training as well as the use of African languages in economic activities in the province.

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