Profiling bilingualism in an historically Afrikaans community on the Beaufort West Hooyvlakte

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Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistics for the Language Professions

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December 2009

Declaration

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the owner of the copyright thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously, in its entirety or in part, submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

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December 2009

Acknowledgements

My special thanks go to:

My supervisor, Prof Christine Anthonissen. Christine, thank you for the inspiration, the wisdom, the patience and the academic guidance. I appreciate you very much!

My co-supervisor, Dr Frenette Southwood. Frenette, your input was invaluable.

My parents. Dad, thank you for dreaming big dreams for me. I dedicate this work to you with all my love. Mom, you're amazing! Thank you for your example and your support throughout.

My friends, thank you for your encouragement. I would not have made it without you!

My flatians, Beverley and Ann. Thank you for speaking hope to my heart and strength to my bones.

My heavenly Father, thank you for this journey! You made sure that I learnt about more than just linguistics. I learnt about You and I learnt the truth of John 15: 5b, that without You I can do nothing. Truly You carried me and showed me grace. I love You endlessly.

Summary

This sociolinguistic study examines selected aspects of the linguistic behavior of a rural language community in South Africa. The general aims are to establish first, whether this "coloured" community in the historically Afrikaans town of Beaufort West is still predominantly Afrikaans, second, whether there is evidence of language shift in the community, specifically following more use of English in other formerly Afrikaans communities after the change of government in 1994, and third, what the nature of such language shift may be.

An overview of pertinent aspects of the social and political history of South Africa generally and of Beaufort West specifically, is presented in order to contextualise the language dispensation – past and present – addressed in this study. History reveals that the town in question was first named Hooyvlakte and only later acquired the name of Beaufort West. Hooyvlakte is currently the name of one of the suburbs in which a section of Beaufort West's "coloured" community resides. For the purpose of this study the larger Beaufort West community which is in focus here, is also referred to as the Hooyvlakte community

The study is mainly of a qualitative nature. The respondents were 184 members of the Hooyvlakte community, they included individuals of both genders and were aged between 16 and 87 years. The only requirement for participation in this study was that the respondent should have been a Beaufort West resident for at least 15 years. Each respondent completed a questionnaire from which his/her language proficiency, language use and language preference could be assessed. The questionnaire also allowed respondents an opportunity to express their opinion on the value and practice of multilingualism in their community.

The results of this study indicate that the Hooyvlakte community remains predominantly Afrikaans. There is, however, an increase in the knowledge and use of English, and despite possible limits in actual English proficiency, the residents in the Hooyvlakte mostly view themselves as balanced Afrikaans-English bilinguals. This view is related to the gradual change in linguistic identity, from an almost exclusively (often stigmatized) Afrikaans identity to a (mostly proud) Afrikaans-English bilingual one. The stigmatized "coloured" and Afrikaans identities appear to be products of South Africa's sociopolitical history of ethnic and cultural categorisation and segregation. Stigma, on the one hand, and exclusion, on the other, have led to a desire in the Hooyvlakte community to associate with a language other than Afrikaans as well. This shift to an Afrikaans-English bilingual identity contrasts with the shift from predominantly Afrikaans monolingualism to virtual monolingualism in English found in other Coloured communities studied in the Western Cape's and Eastern Cape's metropoles (see Anthonissen and George 2003; Farmer 2009; Fortuin 2009).

Opsomming

Hierdie sosiolinguistiese studie ondersoek geselekteerde aspekte van die talige gedrag van 'n landelike taalgemeenskap in Suid Afrika. Die algemene doelstellings van die studie is eerstens, om vas te stel of die "bruin" gemeenskap in die histories Afrikaanse dorp Beaufort-Wes steeds hoofsaaklik Afrikaans is, tweedens, of daar aanduidings is van taalverskuiwing, spesifiek een wat neig na 'n toenemende gebruik van Engels, soos gevind is in ander histories Afrikaanse gemeenskappe na die regeringsverandering in1994, en derdens, wat die aard van so 'n taalverskuiwing sou wees.

'n Oorsig word gegee oor beduidende aspekte van die sosiale en politieke geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika in die algemeen, en meer spesifiek van Beaufort-Wes, om die huidige en voormalige taalsituasie soos dit in hierdie studie aan die orde kom, te kontekstualiseer. Geskiedkundige verslae wys daarop dat die dorp eers die naam Hooyvlakte gehad het voor dit verander is na Beaufort-Wes. Hooyvlakte is tans die naam van een van die dorp se woonbuurte waar 'n gedeelte van Beaufort-Wes se "bruin" gemeenskap woonagtig is. In hierdie studie benoem "Hooyvlakte" die "bruin" gemeenskap van die hele dorp. Dit is in húlle wat hierdie tesis geïnteresseerd is.

Die studie is hoofsaaklik kwalitatief van aard. Die respondente was 184 lede van die Hooyvlakte gemeenskap, en deelnemers het individue van beide geslagte tussen die ouderdomme van 16 en 87 jaar ingesluit. Die enigste vereiste vir deelname aan die studie was dat informante reeds 15 jaar in Beaufort-Wes woonagtig moes wees. Elke informant het 'n vraelys voltooi op grond waarvan sy/haar taalvaardigheid, taalgebruik en taalvoorkeur vasgestel kon word. Die vraelys het ook die informante geleentheid gegee om hul mening te lug oor die waarde en gebruik van veeltaligheid in hul gemeenskap.

Die bevindinge van die studie toon aan dat die Hooyvlakte gemeenskap steeds hoofsaaklik Afrikaans is. Daar is egter 'n toename in hul kennis en gebruik van Engels, en ten spyte van moontlike beperkinge in hul Engelse taalvaardigheid wat formele toetse sou kon uitwys, beskou deelnemers hulself steeds as gebalanseerde tweetalige sprekers van Afrikaans en Engels. Hierdie siening hou verband met 'n verskuiwing in talige identiteit, van 'n oorwegend eksklusiewe (meestal gestigmatiseerde) Afrikaanse identiteit na 'n (grootliks trotse) Afrikaans en Engels tweetalige identiteit. Die gestigmatiseerde Bruin en Afrikaanse identiteite blyk neweprodukte te wees van die (etniese en kulturele) klassifiseringsgebruike uit die vorige Suid-Afrikaanse sosio-politiese bestel. Stigma, enersyds, en uitsluiting, andersyds, het 'n begeerte in die Hooyvlakte gemeenskap laat ontstaan, om te assosieer met 'n ander taal benewens Afrikaans. Hierdie verskuiwing na 'n tweetalige Afrikaans-Engelse identiteit kontrasteer met die verskuiwing van hoofsaaklik Afrikaanse taalidentiteit na feitlik uitsluitlik eentalig Engelse identiteit, wat onlangs in "bruin" gemeenskappe elders waargeneem en opgeteken is (vgl. Anthonissen en George 2003; Farmer 2009; Fortuin 2009).

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1   Background

"Bilingualism" is the term used to refer to the phenomenon of individuals and communities who know and use more than one language, mostly a second language (L2) in addition to the individual's or community's first language (L1). Contact between persons who do not share a mutually intelligible L1 is a stimulus for an individual or community to become bilingual (Myers-Scotton 2006: 6).

Since acquiring an L2 requires some effort, there is usually a need or great motivation to do so. This motivation can be either of an instrumental nature or of an integrative nature. In the case of the former, the benefits of knowing the L2 are found in its value as an instrument for economic, political or social advancement. Integrative motivation has as its goal the need to learn the language for the purpose of advancing the relationship with the interlocutor group, sometimes to the extent that the L2 learner wishes to become a member of the alternative language group (Lambert 1963: 114; Gardner and Lambert 1972: 44-47). Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991: 258) also describe this kind of motivation as a desire "to adopt the lifestyle and values of the target-language group."

Along with these two kinds of motivation for learning an L2, it is also possible that a group may be obliged to learn an L2 because of unequal power relations. In cases where a dominant group holds economic and political power, the dominant language may be set as prerequisite for gaining access to resources. The choice to become bilingual is therefore not always one that is made freely; it can also be one that is directly or indirectly forced upon the minority group for their social integration or even survival in mainstream social activity.

South Africa is a linguistically rich country, with 11 languages enjoying official status since 1994. Such a diverse linguistic context makes contact between individuals who do not share the same L1 unavoidable. One would consequently assume that the majority of South Africans are bilingual. The political dispensation before 1994 however promoted separation between groups of different ethnicity, language and culture. This social structuring limited contact between speakers of different languages and also limited any external motivation for

the dominant groups to learn the languages of those groups who had considerably less power. Speakers of the indigenous languages however, were obliged to learn at least one of the two officila languages (Afrikaans or English) if they were to gain any meaningful employment or participation in wider social spaces. Many who could not achieve reasonable competence in Afrikaans or English were socially and economically isolated and their development was stunted. In predominantly Afrikaans monolingual rural communities such as the Beaufort West "coloured" community, the non-standard variety of Afrikaans of the group had a similar isolating effect.

In the absence of spontaneous or independent learning of a second, less powerful language (inhibited by the segregation of interlocutor groups), there were still external influences that encouraged and sometimes coerced L1 speakers of dominant languages, that is, of Afrikaans and English, to become bilingual. The apartheid regime largely promoted the power and interests of the White section of the South African population and so also promoted the languages that served this purpose. For almost 70 years, from 1925 up to 1994, Afrikaans and English were the only two official languages in the country. Many who were not proficient in Afrikaans, the dominant language of the power holders since 1948, and who additionally had L2 rather than L1 proficiency in English, would be limited in terms of educational and economic advancement opportunities. Proficiency in L1 English among Whites however, very limitedly affected life chances negatively – schooling and employment opportunities were still privileged.

Knowledge of Afrikaans was widely counted as a valuable resource in obtaining employment and for completing a school education. Through the Bantu Education Act No.47 of 1953, the apartheid government made proficiency in Afrikaans and English a requirement in all school curricula, but at the same time the policies and education resources made attainment of such proficiencies by L1 speakers of indigenous African languages virtually impossible. One limitation to gaining proficiency in Afrikaans was the prescription of mother tongue education in the first years of schooling and the introduction of an L2 at too late a stage in the school career for most children to make a smooth transition into the language of power and opportunity (Kamwangamalu 2001: 392-395)[1].

The historic tension between Afrikaans and English and the language communities that represented each, as well as the nature of Afrikaans-English bilingualism and its effect on

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[1] See Chapter 2 for a more in-depth discussion of the Bantu Education Act and the role that Afrikaans and English played in pre-1994 South Africa.

speakers' identities, warrants investigation. English in South Africa is an urban language, often given elite status. Afrikaans, although spoken by various ethnic groups within the country, was widely used in rural communities and increasingly also in urban areas. In popular perception Afrikaans was considered to be the language belonging to the White South African community who held power in government. The present study will attend to these circumstances and perceptions about language and ethnicity. More specifically, it will focus on the use of Afrikaans and English in a rural "coloured"[2] (hereafter simply referred to as Coloured) community in a Karoo town that historically has had a strong Afrikaans character. The focus on a rural community in this study is significant since other studies of Coloured groups and their use of Afrikaans and English tend to focus on urban communities for example, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth (see Anthonissen and George 2003; Farmer 2009; Fortuin 2009). This is a study that will give a profile of speakers' own articulation of their linguistic competences and identities. It is interested in social aspects of bilingualism and will not give a formal linguistic analysis of the varieties of English and Afrikaans, nor of linguistic features of Afrikaans-English bilingualism in this community. That is outside the scope of this project, but would be a very interesting and valueable study to follow up this one.

1.2   The Beaufort West community

One residential area in the town of Beaufort West was selected as study area for this research project. Beaufort West is a relatively small town on the sparsely populated outskirts of the Western Cape. Both the province of the Western Cape and the district of which the town forms part, the Central Karoo District, historically have a strong Afrikaans identity.

The community in question here is the group designated in rather sweeping terms as the Coloured community of Beaufort West. It was chosen as the singular focus of this study for a number of reasons. The first reason is one of practicality: as a member of this community the researcher has access as well as insider-observation opportunities. The second reason is that, to date, very little research has been done on the proficiencies and language behaviour of Coloured speakers outside of the greater Cape Town area. A practical constraint to conducting a sociolinguistic study of the whole town is the fact that it still consists of a number of socially separate groups. The different communities within the one town have been separated over time, not only by economic and accidental historic divisions, but specifically also as a result of racial classification; after 1994, this separation has largely been maintained.

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[2] See section 1.4.1 of this chapter for a definition and discussion of this term.

Beaufort West thus still reflects the divisions enforced under the apartheid regime through the Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950. Under this act, South Africans were assigned to live in designated areas based on their racial classification. The present day residential areas are to a large extent still occupied by the racial groups to whom they were assigned in the earlier part of the 20th century, and then specifically after 1950. The remnants of segregation are still very visible in this town, even though we now live in a post-apartheid era.

The social isolatiion of the Beaufort West communities has led to a certain degree of linguistic diversity within the town as a whole, even among different Afrikaans L1 communities. It is probable that many of the linguistic properties attributed to any one of the communities in Beaufort West may also occur in the language of other communities in this town. However, central to this study will be the assumption that there are in fact a number of differences in the language use of each group and that these differences mark the different groups, so much so that generalisations about the Afrikaans of the town as a whole cannot be made.

One of the residential areas in Beaufort West that is occupied by the Coloured group bears the name "Hooyvlakte" (literally, "hay plain"). As will be explained in chapter 2, specifically in the section[3] providing a socio-political overview of this town, this name is regularly used in telling the history of Beaufort West. In fact, Hooyvlakte was the name of the farm from which Beaufort West developed into a town. In this study "Hooyvlakte" will be used as an indicator of the identity of a long established Coloured community of Beaufort West.

1.3   Research aims and objectives

The present study aims to describe the distribution and use of Afrikaans and English in the Hooyvlakte community and the nature of Afrikaans-English bilingualism in this group. Attention will also be paid to how such bilingualism relates to the ethnolinguistic identity of this community. The socio-political and language history of this group in particular and the country in general will be taken into account in considering recently perceived changes in linguistic identitiies. The investigation and report of my work will be structured by the following guiding questions:

(i)   Has Afrikaans maintained its status as the dominant language of the town, even after the changes of 1994 and considering the wide use of English as lingua franca elsewhere?

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[3] See section 2.4 of Chapter 2.

(ii)   Is there currently an increase in the learning and use of English on the Hooyvlakte?

(iii)   What is the nature of Afrikaans-English bilingualism on the Hooyvlakte?

(iv)   Is there a shift from predominantly Afrikaans linguistic identity to an Afrikaans-English bilingual identity on the Hooyvlakte?

1.4   Definitions of key concepts and terms of reference

1.4.1   Ethnic labels

Under apartheid, there were four main racial categories (Blacks, Coloureds, Indians and Whites), each associated with numerous labels. Many of the labels used in reference to members of any of the non-White categories were derogatory in nature. The use and, more specifically, the choice of ethnic labels is still a much contested issue in South Africa. Whilst acknowledging that the use of such labels remains a sensitive matter and that causing offence is very likely, it should be emphasised nonetheless that the nature and focus of this study demands it. I will therefore briefly describe the various labels that exist for each of the ethnic groups and then indicate which labels (and the format in which they will appear) have been chosen for consistent use throughout this study.

Blacks

The indigenous Black population of South Africa is sometimes called "the Blacks", and at other times, the terms "African" and "bantu" are used to describe them. The term "Blacks" will be used from here on to refer specifically to black South Africans formerly identified as belonging to the traditional tribes of southern Africa. The term is sometimes used in South African politics to refer to all so-called "non-Whites", which would include Indians, Coloureds, and Blacks. In this thesis, however, the term is not used so inclusively.

Coloureds

In South Africa, the term "Coloured" is not used, as it is in the United States of America, to include those "with complete black ancestry", that is, to refer inclusively to all "people of colour" (Smith 1992: 497). Instead, "Coloured" is used here, to refer to a person who is neither "White" nor "Black". The general understanding is that persons from the Coloured group have mixed ancestry. Other terms used to refer to this group include "Brown" as well as

the Afrikaans terms "kleurling" and "gekleurde" (which can both be translated as "coloured"). The more derogatory terms, "hotnot" (from *Hottentot*) and "boesman" (from 17th century Dutch *bosjesman*), derive from names given to the indigenous Khoikhoi and San tribes who were hunter-gatherers and are now virtually extinct as an indigenous group. They too are forefathers of some of those belonging to the heterogeneous Coloured group we know today. The term "Coloured" is at times also used in conjunction with the phrase, "so-called", so as to indicate that its use is undesirable. This additional phrase will not be used in this study, for the sake of simplicity.

Indians

The Indian population, as the name indicates, has its origins in the Asian country, India. The majority of this community is descended from indentured labourers who arrived in a series of shiploads since 1860. They were primarily brought to the country to supplement a working force, destined for the sugar plantations in the province of Natal on the South African east coast (Davenport 2000: 105). The Indians also had other, more derogatory names, but these will not be discussed here or later in this thesis, seeing that, as a group, the Indians are not pertinent to this study.

Whites

For the purpose of this study, this group can be divided into two on the basis of language: L1 English speakers and L1 Afrikaans speakers. The part of the population that speaks English is sometimes derogatorily referred to as "Rooinekke" (that is, "Rednecks" or "Souties". The Afrikaans speakers are generally referred to as "Afrikaners", but the terms "Dutchman", "Boer" or "Rockspider" are sometimes used to refer to them in a derogatory sense. Also, "Whitey" is used in a derogatory way to refer to both groups. In this study, the term "Whites" will be used to refer to this group as a whole, and distinctions made on the basis of language will be made clear, for example, "White Afrikaans speakers" or "White English speakers".

It is also necessary to note here that the term "non-White" refers to any and all of the racial groups besides Whites. This term reveals something of the ideology formerly adhered to in this country, a form of eurocentricity that distinguishes ethnicity very roughly in terms of skin colour.

These terms will appear uncapitalized and unitalicized in this thesis. The lack of italicized and capitalized letters should not be interpreted to mean that these terms of reference are the norm. It has been chosen here for the sake of uniformity and ease.

Chapter 2[4] will take a more in-depth look at ethnic labels: how they originated, the associations attached to them, and their effects, specifically on the ethnic identity of the Coloured group that form the focus of this study.

1.4.2 First language and second language

For the purposes of this study, the term "first language" (or its standard abbreviation, "L1") has the same meaning as "mother tongue", "native language" and "home language". All these terms denote the language a speaker acquired first and that, in cases of bi- or multilingualism, he/she presents as the language in which he/she is most fluent. In most cases (but not in all), the mother is her child's primary caregiver and her language is the language first learned by that child. As noted by Richards, Platt and Weber (1985: 188), there are exceptions, where children may "first acquire some knowledge of another language from a [carer] and only later on acquire a second [language] which they consider their native language."

"Second language", or "L2", refers to the language which is mostly acquired at a later stage than the L1. In North America, "second language" is interchangeable with "foreign language" (Richards *et al.* 1985: 108), meaning a language that is foreign to that country. In South Africa, however, there are ten other official languages that a speaker can acquire as L2, and in such a case, the L2 is not considered a foreign language. The term "second language" will therefore not include the meaning of "foreign language" as is noted in Richards *et al*. (1985: 108).

In this thesis, the terms "first language" and "second language", or "L1" and "L2" for short, will be used throughout.

1.4.3 Bilingualism and multilingualism

The term "bilingualism" in essence refers to the ability to speak two languages. Individuals who are bilingual can exhibit differing degrees of competence in each language and there are different terms for expressing these varying degrees of competence. There is also an important difference between a bilingual individual and a bilingual society; every individual

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[4] See section 2.3.3 of Chapter 2.

in a bilingual society is not necessarily a bilingual person. In Chapter 3, more will be said about the differences between individual and societal bilingualism, and the various measures of competence of the bilingual individual.

The term "multilingualism" refers to the ability to speak three or more languages (Richards *et al.* 1985: 185). "Multilingualism" is sometimes used interchangeably with "bilingualism" where both terms in essence mean the ability to speak more than one language (see Romaine 1995: 11). In such a case, the ability to speak specifically two languages is denoted by the term "minimal multilingualism" (Davies 2005: 98).

In this thesis, however, these two terms will not be used interchangeably, and in Chapter 2 the term "bilingualism" will be defined more narrowly – note that, in the South African context, "bilingualism" was previously used to refer specifically to the ability to speak Afrikaans and English[5].

1.4.4 Dialect

The term "dialect" refers to different varieties of the same language. One variety of a language can differ from others in terms of vocabulary (that is, on a lexical level); in terms of grammar (morphologically and syntactically); and/or in terms of pronunciation (phonologically). Essentially there is no one variety that is inherently better than another. However, the dialect with the most status generally gains the label of "standard variety", as for example with Standard Afrikaans. The status that is attributed to the standard variety of a language is commonly based on the language use (that is, the speech and writing) of the educated L1 speakers of that language (Richards *et al.* 1985: 80, 271).

1.4.5 Identity

'Identity' as a concept used in Linguistics "concerns the role of language in providing a speaker with individuality and group membership" (Trask 2007: 112). One's language use gives an indication of the type of person one is, where one comes from, and what social class one belongs to; even one's age and gender can be deduced from one's language use. One of the most important functions of language is that of providing each speaker with an individual and group identity (Trask 2007: 112).

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[5] See section 2.1.2 of Chapter 2.

1.4.6 Ethnolinguistic identity

The study of ethnic identity as it relates to language has been termed "ethnolinguistics" (Trask 2007: 86). The term "ethnolinguistic identity" refers to one's identity as derived jointly from one's ethnic group membership and one's language use jointly. Ellis (1999: 152-3) defines "ethnolinguistic identity" as the psychological and social representations that language performs with respect to ethnicity.

1.5   Chapter layout

The thesis will be organized in the following way. Firstly, it is necessary to gain an understanding of key aspects of the South African sociolinguistic context, especially in light of the fact that traces of the country's recently abolished political policies are still evident in the geographical and social organization of Beaufort West and the Hooyvlakte. Secondly, it is important to sketch the social history of the Hooyvlakte in order to better understand the patterns of language knowledge and use of its people. The socio-political history of South Africa and Beaufort West will be the focus of Chapter 2. A discussion of the theory underlying bilingualism and how it relates to ethnolinguistic identity will be set out in Chapter 3. The relevant literature in which this study is grounded will be referred to throughout as each area of specific scholarly interest is introduced, and not in a separate chapter that would not reflect how various sections are related and integrated. The empirical investigation that will inform the main questions of this study will be the focus of the final two chapters of this thesis: the data will be presented in Chapter 4 followed, in Chapter 5, by a discussion of how it answers the aforementioned research questions.

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Chapter 2

Socio-political overview of South Africa and Beaufort West
relevant to a study of Hooyvlakte linguistic identities and patterns of bilingualism

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In this chapter, I shall give an overview of the social and political context that is pertinent to this study. First, I shall describe the geographical setting, and then give some statistics that provide an indication of the racial and linguistic diversity of the Hooyvlakte communities. This chapter will also give a brief overview of the South African history, explaining the development of Afrikaans and English as two strong official languages and their distribution among various sections of the South African population. The chapter furthermore gives an overview of the history of the area first identified as the Hooyvlakte, and later as the Karoo town of Beaufort West. In the final part of the chapter, I give some introspective autobiographical data that document my personal experience of the relationship between Afrikaans and English in the Hooyvlakte community. This will serve as background to an analysis of the data on bilingual skills and identities in this particular community, and as a basis for reflection on the notion of 'ethnolinguistic identity' on the Hooyvlakte.

2.1   South African statistics

2.1.1   Geographic and population statistics

The Republic of South Africa, situated at the southern tip of Africa, covers a land area of 1 219 912 square kilometres (471 011 square miles). Compared to other countries, South Africa is the size of about an eighth of the United States of America, but is twice the size of France and almost four times the size of Germany[6]. The country is divided into nine provinces: Eastern Cape, Free State, Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo, Mpumalanga, Northern Cape, North West and Western Cape.

According to the latest figures available (Statistics South Africa 2007), South Africa has a multi-racial population of 47 850 700 people, consisting of Blacks (79.5%); Whites (9.1%); Coloureds (8.9%); Indians/Asians (2.5%).

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[6] http://www.southafrica.info

2.1.2   Language statistics

The 11 official languages of the Republic of South Africa are isiZulu, isiXhosa, Afrikaans, Sepedi, English, Setswana, Sesotho, Xitsonga, siSwati, Tshivenda, and isiNdebele (Statistics South Africa 2003: 14). IsiZulu (23.8%) and isiXhosa (17.6%) are the two languages with the most L1 speakers in South Africa, with Afrikaans (13.3%) and English (8.2%) taking third and fifth place in terms of number of L1 speakers (Statistics South Africa 2003: 14, reporting figures obtained in the 2001 census).

In a country with such linguistic diversity, it is difficult to imagine that individual and societal bilingualism and multilingualism are not widespread. It is only since 1990, however, when the present democratization process began, that the term "multilingualism" started to be more widely used. Before 1990, the term "bilingualism" was much more commonly used in South Africa to refer specifically to "a knowledge of Afrikaans and English", and not to "knowledge of (any) two languages" (Webb 2002: 78).

Webb (2002: 80) presents the incidence of Afrikaans-English bilingualism in South Africa in 1980 in the table, cited here as Table 2.1. The incidence of multilingualism in 1996, almost two decades later, is also presented here as Table 2.2.

Table 2.1: Knowledge of both Afrikaans and English ("bilingualism") as a % of the total South African population, by race (1980).

Asian people	Black people	Coloured people	White people	Average
29	21	51	74	31

Source: Webb 2002: 80

Table 2.1 presents a distorted image of the various population groups' linguistic ability, because it focuses on Afrikaans and English only. If the focus had been on any two languages, then the Black group would have far exceeded the other groups as bilingually skilled people. It is nonetheless useful to see how prominent Afrikaans-English bilingualism was among the various population groups, about three decades ago. Bilingualism in the sense of knowing only Afrikaans and English is still most common among Asian, Coloured and White South Africans (Webb 2002: 80).

Table 2.2 gives a more accurate indication of South Africans' linguistic ability. As this table indicates, each of the official languages is used not only as home language, but also as an L2 for other functions.

Table 2.2: Estimated knowledge of the 11 official languages, in numerical order (1996).

Language	Number of L1 speakers in millions and as % of the population		Estimated knowledge of language as L2, in millions	Estimated total of (L1+ L2) speakers in millions
isiZulu	9 200 144	22.9%	24 200 000	33 400 144
isiXhosa	7 196 118	17.9%	18 000 000	25 196 198
Afrikaans	5 811 547	14.4%	16 500 000	22 311 547
Sepedi	3 695 846	9.2%	12 600 000	16 295 846
English	3 457 467	8.6%	18 500 000	21 957 467
Setswana	3 301 774	8.2%	11 300 000	14 601 774
Sesotho	3 104 197	7.7%	10 500 000	13 604 197
Xitsonga	1 756 105	4.4%	4 700 000	6 456 105
siSwati	1 013 193	2.5%	3 400 000	4 413 193
Tshivenda	876 409	2.2%	2 500 000	3 376 409
isiNdebele	586 961	1.5%	2 200 000	2 786 961

Source: Webb 2004: 7 (adapted)

Afrikaans-English bilingualism may not be common among Black people, but multilingualism certainly is. In their study of urban (specifically, township) linguistic identity, Slabbert and Finlayson (2000: 123) found that residents (most if not all of whom are Black) consider that "being able to understand and speak a multiplicity of languages is a feature that not only identifies the urban individual but is also a highly esteemed aspirational value." Van Vuuren and Maree (1994) confirm this notion by indicating that 69% of the urban Black population know three or more languages (24% know up to five languages), where Afrikaans and English are usually included.

2.2 South Africa's socio-political history

Throughout the past 360 years, South Africa has been fraught with socio-political struggles. Among the first memories of this country are those that relate the story of the colonizer and the colonized. The Dutch were the first Europeans to establish themselves at the Cape of Good Hope. The British later followed and aimed to not only occupy the Cape colony, but to make it British in culture and character. In all spheres of public life, Dutch was then replaced by English (Davenport and Saunders 2000: 45). As colonization was phased out, a new system of rule arose, one which distinguished between citizens on racial and ethnic grounds and so was arguably more detrimental to the well-being of the country than its colonial predecessors. Each of the systems of rule made an indelible imprint on the linguistic landscape of South Africa. After democratisation in 1994, the constitution was developed to accommodate one of the world's most liberal language policies, giving official recognition to 11 languages.

2.2.1 The founding of a colony

In 1652, Jan van Riebeeck landed in Table Bay, under orders of the Dutch East India Company ("Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie", or VOC). The VOC, established by Dutch merchants to capitalise on the foreign trade with the Indonesian Archipelago, saw Table Bay as a strategic location for a refreshment station. From here, fresh fruit and vegetables could be provided to victual passing ships en route to the East. This settlement in Table Bay later became known as the Cape (Giliomee and Mbenga 2007: 40-41). In time, many VOC officials became "free burghers", that is, people who settled at the Cape and established new communities. The Dutch presence at the Cape indirectly led to the development of Afrikaans as an indigenous South African language.

The year 1795 marks the arrival and formal takeover of the Cape by the British. In 1802, the colony was returned to The Netherlands but repossessed once more by the British around 1806. The Colony's British status became formalised in 1828 (Giliomee and Mbenga 2007: 4 & 85).

2.2.2 The founding of the Union of South Africa

British occupation of South Africa was synonymous with a policy of Anglicisation, so that across much of the country, especially in the urban areas, an ideology of English nationalism prevailed (Giliomee and Mbenga 2007: 96). From 1814 (long before Britain's possession of

the entire Colony would be official), Lord Charles Somerset wanted to ensure the British character of the area under his jurisdiction in the Cape and so sought to "replace Dutch by English in all spheres of public life" (Davenport and Saunders 2000: 43-45). This was done by imposing English on the education system and the legislature. The policy, however, did not have a lasting effect on the Colony or country. Resistance to it only served to form the basis of Afrikaner nationalism that would later develop – the exact opposite of what Somerset's government set out to achieve. It is no surprise then that the advance of Afrikaner nationalism has been laid at the door of Somerset's Anglicisation policy on more than one occasion (Davenport and Saunders 2000: 45).

Moodie (cited in Kamwangamalu 2001: 366) furthermore points out that Afrikaner resistance to the policy was a contributing factor to the South African War which raged from 1899 to 1902 and ended in British victory. This war was specifically directed at the then Republics of Transvaal ("Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek") and the Orange Free State ("Oranje Vrystaat") and often referred to as the Anglo Boer War. It has since been renamed the "South African War" (in the most recent sources) to acknowledge the active participation of Black people on both the Boer and British sides (Giliomee and Mbenga 2007: 223). This conflict was a precursor to the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910. Along with the founding of the Union came the recognition of English and Dutch as co-official languages. In theory, it also brought an end to the policy of Anglicisation. In practice, however, Dutch, and later Afrikaans, was still viewed as unequal in their struggle against the hegemony of English. This was the case until the National Party came to power in 1948 (Kamwangamalu 2001: 366 and 2004: 114).

2.2.3   The years of National Party rule and apartheid policy 1948 - 1994

After the National Party came to power in 1948, a system of rule was introduced that would aggressively separate the various racial groups in the country. This new government's intent was the elimination of trends towards inter-racial integration, and for this purpose, they implemented "legislation to establish distinct biological categories among the population groups and legislation to prevent their residential mixing" (Davenport and Saunders 2000: 378). The engineers of the apartheid system worked on the assumption that races were inherently unequal and that any cultural attainments (be they intellectual, artistic or educational) were racially determined (Omer-Cooper 1999: 974).

A number of harsh laws were introduced in order to organize the South African population along racial lines. The following are some of the laws that were passed with this in mind: the

Population Registration Act No. 30 of 1950, the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act No. 55 of 1949, the Immorality Act No. 23 of 1957, the Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950, the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act No. 49 of 1953 and the Pass Laws (more precisely the Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents Act No. 67 of 1952).

The first three laws encouraged the establishment of distinct biological categories. The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, as the name suggests, made marriages between members of different races illegal. The Immorality Act banned all cross-racial sexual relations, and the Population Registration Act ordered the racial classification and segregation of the country's citizens into the following categories: White, Black, Coloured or Indian (Davenport and Saunders 2007: 378).

According to Christopher (1989: 329), "the official policy of apartheid aimed at far more than straightforward racial residential segregation … [it] would enable the White population to maintain control of the postcolonial state in which they were numerically a minority." This would be possible if the Black population, who constituted 75% of the entire population, could be kept from cohering into a unified group. The government achieved this aim by encouraging, or rather enforcing, what Louw (1992: 53) terms "African tribalism in South Africa."

The Natives Land Act No. 21 of 1913 made a distinction between White farming areas and "Reserves for Blacks". It meant that about 87% of the country was "White land" and the other 13% (as of 1926) was designated Reserves (Ross 1999: 88). These reserves were to become independent nation states and were called "Bantustans" (or "homelands"). These nation states had to have national languages, and so the Black population was further divided into ethnic groups based on language. As such, languages that were dialectically related and not racially or nationally distinctive were "invented", as Herbert (1992: 2-3) states. In essence, the establishment of these nations had more to do with the engineering of languages and the "geo-political divide-and-rule needs of apartheid than with linguistic criteria" (Louw 1992: 53). The list of the nation states and their national languages is as follows:

> Transkei and Ciskei (the 'national languages' of both these was Xhosa); Kwa-Zulu ('national language' Zulu); Bophuthatswana (Tswana); Lebowa (North Sotho); Qwa Qwa (South Sotho); Venda (Venda); Kazankulu (Tsonga); Kangwane (Swazi); and KwaNdebele (Ndebele).
>
> Louw (1992: 53)

The dismantling of the apartheid government in 1994 brought about the rejoining of these homelands with the rest of South Africa.

The aforementioned Pass Laws inhibited the free movement of Black South Africans to and from their designated nation state. Every Black adult had to own a properly endorsed pass (or reference book containing details of their employment history and rights of residence) and display it on demand, if they lived or visited outside the homelands, which the vast majority of the Black population did. According to Abel (1995: 24), the Pass Laws, of all the apartheid practices, may have inflicted the greatest indignity.

2.3   Ethnic labels and ethnic identity in South Africa

Under the apartheid regime, ethnic labels had a categorical function, but more often than not they were used in a derogatory manner. Considering that such labels are reminiscent of an era of oppression and discrimination, one has to consider whether it is appropriate to continue using these categorizations. The following section will reflect on the reasoning behind the creation of these labels and consider what purpose they still serve in post-apartheid South Africa.

Along with the Population Registration Act of 1950 came governmental "name calling" – the establishment of various ethnic labels, most of which were experienced as derogatory and confining. This piece of legislation would classify and divide the population along ethnic lines. Classification in any of the categories of White, Black and Indian was a relatively straightforward exercise. The fourth category, Coloured, was however "the most nettlesome of the four" (Wallerstein 1987: 374). The reason for such difficulty was that this category was not based on evident distinctiveness but rather on exclusion – on not being any of the other categories (that is, not White or Black). In reference to the creation of this category, Wallerstein (1987: 373) finds that an "issue [that is] complex or puzzling or indeed anything but self-evident" was reduced and applied as if it was completely unproblematic.

It is clear that these labels served a purpose in the apartheid era, albeit an unjust, destructive and derogatory one. The question, however, remains: why are these distinctions still being used today? Based on the following sources, I would argue that ethnic labelling is perpetuated in post-apartheid South Africa because of internalization and the need for social, political and economic redress.

The usefulness of ethnic labels in pursuing redress – righting the wrongs of apartheid – is aptly set out by Statistics South Africa (2005: iv): "Statistics South Africa continues to classify people by population group, in order to monitor progress in moving away from the apartheid-based discrimination of the past."

Martin (2001) in his article titled "What's in the name 'Coloured'?" grapples with a similar question to the one above: "Given that ethnicity, language and [skin] colour determined membership in state and society in the recently abolished apartheid system, how can formerly excluded communities be recognized without perpetuating apartheid categorizations?" An answer to this question would be that no recognition of formerly excluded communities, and with it no redress, is possible without perpetuating apartheid categorizations. Nonetheless, it is ironic that the very terms that divided and offended so deeply, are now required to achieve unity and set things right.

Another reason for the perpetuation of ethnic labelling is the fact that communities have internalized these labels, and as a result refer to themselves in this manner. According to Statistics South Africa (2005: iv), "membership … [of the four main groups of the apartheid era] is now based on self-perception and self-classification, not on a legal definition".

This self-perception originated from outside, in that the labels were imposed upon individuals and communities. It has, however, become something of an internalized concept. Makoni (1996: 265) explains that "what started out as an 'etic' category, that is, identities imposed externally on people by groups in positions of power, in this case the apartheid system, ended up becoming an 'emic' category, that is, an internal self-definition of the imposed category."

Kamwangamalu (2001: 116-117), in answer to the question of Martin (2001) on how formerly excluded communities can be recognized without perpetuating apartheid categorizations, also points to this notion of self-perception. He states, in reference to Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985: 181) and Tabouret-Keller (1997: 323), that "these categories will continue to be used as markers of social identities for as long as the people who use them (i) are able to identify themselves as a distinct group; (ii) have both adequate access to the group and ability to analyse and recognise their behavioural patterns; (iii) have sufficiently powerful motivation for joining the group, with reinforced or lessened motivation gained by feedback from the group; and (iv) have the ability to modify their behaviour."

In Chapter 1, the ethnic categories and the various labels used to describe each were briefly mentioned. The following section aims to elaborate on the meanings and in some cases the origins, of these labels.

2.3.1 Whites

Mmusi (1993: 54) notes that the term "White" has always been acceptable as a label for all people with a European origin and also (not without some contestation) other groups of ethnically different categories such as people of Japanese and Chinese origin, specified in former government documentation to received privileged status in South Africa.

The terms distinguishing the White group are associated with the language spoken. English speakers are simply "English" or "Englishmen", but the terms "Soutie" and "Rooinek" ("Redneck") are often used to refer to this group in a derogatory sense. Afrikaans speakers are generally called "Afrikaners" or derogatorily referred to as "Dutchmen". The term "Dutchman" literally means a man of Dutch birth or nationality, but this ethnic label has been pejorated to refer to an Afrikaner and it has become a derogatory label.

The term "Afrikaner" was first used by Hendrik Bibault in 1707 who said "Ik ben een Africaander" (De Klerk 1997: 24). However, it was not until later in the 19th century that the term became used as a collective proper name (Webb and Kriel 2000: 29).

Vic Webb (in personal communication with Kamwangamalu) makes the highly contested claim that the term "Afrikaner" is a label for a person who (i) supports White self-determination/apartheid/political separatism, (ii) is White in racial terms, (iii) is a member of the Dutch Reformed Church (thus in religious terms), (iv) has an exaggerated sense of a glorious past (thus in historical terms) and (v) ascribes to particular values, attitudes and norms (thus in cultural terms)" (Kamwangamalu 2001: 435). Similarity is not the only element binding the term "Afrikaner" to the Afrikaans language; the latter is also "regarded as a fundamental symbol of sociocultural identity by many of its White speakers, who profess to 'love' it and are prepared to sacrifice 'materially' for its continued maintenance" (Webb and Kriel 2000: 20). Bosch (2000: 52) confirms the strong link between the Afrikaans language and the notion of Afrikaner identity with the following: "a person's claim to 'afrikanerness' is often based on knowledge of the Afrikaans language rather than on religion or origin."

2.3.2 Blacks

The term "African", in Mmusi's (1993: 51-53) view, is the term that is preferred by this group, but its use has however been avoided by those "doing the labelling ... since it could be confused with the term 'Afrikaner' which the Dutch settlers and their descendants reserved for themselves in their effort to break ties with their motherland." As a result, the Black population has become the group in South Africa who has been given the most labels throughout history. The term "bantu", which is derived from the Nguni (that is isiXhosa, isiZulu, isiNdebele, and siSwati) *abantu* ("person"), was at first used by the Black group to self-identify, but through its use by the authorities, such as in the Bantu Education Act, the term became a pejorative one. The term "Black", which is used in this thesis, is slightly more positive than the other terms used for this group, because of its political connotation which can be traced back to the Black Consciousness Movement.

A brief definition of 'Black Consciousness' is that it refers to "the ideas and action which emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s, with the aim of uniting Black people to oppose apartheid and white supremacy"[7]. Steve Biko spearheaded the Black Consciousness Movement and he propagated the following ideas about Black Consciousness: "[that it] takes cognizance of the deliberateness of God's plan in creating Black people black. It seeks to infuse the Black community with a new-found pride in themselves, their efforts, their value systems, their culture, their religion and their outlook to life"[8].

2.3.3 Coloureds

In South Africa, the definition of the term "Coloureds" is generally accepted to mean "people of mixed race". This would imply that they are descendants of Black/White unions or of unions between members of various other race groups, such as Indian, Chinese, etc. (Kamwangamalu 2004: 115). Wallerstein (1987: 376) explains how the term was used with racist intentions to refer to people considered to be marginal:

> The term 'coloured' did not evolve out of a distinctive group, but was rather a label pinned on to a person whom the Population Registration Act of 1950 defines as 'who in appearance is obviously not white or Indian and who is not a member of an aboriginal race or African tribe'. [This] definition [was] based on exclusion – [on what a person is not].

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[7] http://www.sahistory.org.za
[8] http://www.sahistory.org.za

Davenport and Saunders (2000: 378) note that the sorting procedures that organised the population into racial groups were at first dependent "on the impressionistic decisions of officials" and that these practices often lead to Coloured people "trying for White". In other words, Coloured people, usually those with a fair complexion and straight hair, would try to have themselves classified or re-classified as White.

Kamwangamalu (2004: 115) vividly illustrates how Coloureds have been defined in terms of "otherness" by quoting a statement made by the late former first lady of South Africa, Marike de Klerk, who, in opposing a marriage between her son and a Coloured girl, described the Coloureds as "a negative group," "the leftovers," and as "people that were left after the nations were sorted out." The study of a particular Coloured community has led Kamwangamalu (2004: 116-117) to believe that "Colouredness" as an identity marker is deeply entrenched and internalised in that community, much as it is in other Coloured communities around the country.

This residual type of definition of the term "Coloured" was already being challenged as far back as 1987. Wallerstein (1987: 376-377) quotes the protestors of the day as having said:

> We reject the racists' framework, we reject their terminology … we should see the prefix "so-called" as the first step in coming towards a solution of something which has been a scourge for years … People are now saying that we have the choice of what we will be called, and most, in the spirit of the nation in the making, opt for 'South African'.

A more recent challenger of the traditional definition of Coloured people is Zimitri Erasmus (2001: 14), who argues forcefully that "coloured identities are not about race mixture or miscegenation but [are] based on creativity, creolised formations shaped by South Africa's history of colonialism, slavery, segregation and apartheid."

As previously noted by Wallerstein, there is a desire among Coloured people to be referred to as "South African." Central to defining their identity then is the nation, or at least the idea of a non-differentiated whole. Zegeye (2001: 188) echoes this sentiment in her description of Coloured people as "the country's 'living conscience'; that is, they are an ongoing example, warts and all, of what South Africa could have been without apartheid."

2.4 South Africa's language history

Contact between different language communities and ensuing language struggles are an unquestionable part of South African history. Since the 17th century, there has been language contact between the following languages: the indigenous Khoe and San languages, various Dutch and German dialects, French, and the most common of the slave languages, Malay and Portuguese (Steyn 1980: 117). The genesis of Afrikaans – how it developed – is still a much debated issue. What is undisputed, however, is the fact that the abovementioned languages came into contact with each other at the Cape. Most scholars agree that by 1740 a variety of Dutch had come into existence and grew steadily alongside "standard" Dutch until about the end of the 18th century, when a clearly separate but related "Netherlandic language" could be discerned (Roberge 1993: 18-19).

The British occupation of the Cape in the early 19th century brought Dutch (and its regional dialects which eventually were identified as Afrikaans) into contact and inescapably also into competition with English (Steyn 1980: 119). All three these languages have enjoyed a "period of glory" in this country, each associated with the ruling power of the time. Dutch was the language of commerce and culture during the V.O.C. era, whereas English advanced during the time the Cape was a British colony. Afrikaans rose to language of prestige and power with the establishment of the National Party as the country's ruling power. The era of democracy that was introduced by the 1994 election has in a certain sense dethroned Afrikaans as the language of prestige and power, making it equal to ten other official languages. Although the government now gives equal (official) recognition to 11 languages, in practice, *de facto*, there is largely only one language associated with economic and social prestige – English.

2.4.1 Afrikaans

The origin of Afrikaans

In an historical overview of the development of Afrikaans, Roberge (1993: 1) emphasises the fact that even though many differing opinions exist regarding the origins of Afrikaans, no one who has ever investigated the history of the language would seriously dispute that its emergence was as much a social fact as it was a purely linguistic one. Yet, not everyone has placed equal emphasis on this truism (as is clear from the differing views of Hesseling 1897 and Scholtz 1980: 29-34).

In discussing the major positions and issues regarding the genetic transmission of Dutch in Southern Africa, Roberge (1993: 12-48) distinguishes three categories: spontaneous views, philological views and creolist views. The competing models overlap to various degrees, showing that they are not necessarily incompatible. In an attempt to simplify the explanation of these models, I suggest that they be viewed as though parts of a continuum. At the one pole of the continuum, one could place the spontaneous view, which posits that Afrikaans developed entirely from an internal evolution of Dutch; this view assumes minimal language contact (see Kruisinga 1906, Boshoff 1921, and Bosman 1923).

The philological paradigm of the development of Afrikaans could then be placed in the middle of the suggested continuum. According to this view, internal changes together with language contact were responsible for the development of Afrikaans (see Scholtz 1963, 1980 and Raidt 1974, 1991). At the other pole of the continuum, one would place the classical creolist view, which holds that Dutch colonists passed their language on to their descendants (Thomason and Kaufmann 1988: 25; Den Besten 1989: 226) and that pidginization[9] and subsequent creolization[10] took place within the Afro-Asian substrate (Roberge 1993: 44).

It is evident that the latter two views on the genesis of Afrikaans acknowledge the influence of the other languages present at the Cape to a greater or lesser degree. Some maintain that the antecedent European Dutch dialect(s) played a major role, whereas others give more credit to the Afro-Asian influence. For example, Den Besten (1989: 217-224) acknowledges and emphasises the role played by the languages of the Khoikhoi. Ponelis (1993: 70) highlights an instance where such acknowledgement of the non-White influence on Afrikaans led to direct opposition by fellow linguists: Hesseling emphasised the Coloured ancestry of Afrikaans, and this stood in stark contrast with the views of those who believed that the elevation of Afrikaans rested on emphasising Afrikaans' impeccable Dutch and German descent. Bosman (1916, 1923), who was one of Hesseling's detractors, "contended that it was not borrowing from 'Malayo-Portuguese' (in other words, language mixture) but interlectal influence (the approximate acquisition of Dutch by foreigners), especially that of upper caste (as opposed to half-caste) interlectals, that was the main factor in the origin of Afrikaans" (Ponelis 1993: 70).

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[9] *Pidginization* is the process by which a language develops as a contact language when groups of people who speak different languages come into contact and communicate with one another (Richards *et al.* 1985: 219)

[10] *Creolization* is the process by which a pidgin language becomes the L1 of a group. The sentence structures and vocabulary range of a creole are far more complex than those of a pidgin (Richards *et al.* 1985: 67-68).

Roberge (1993: 87) concludes that there is no single view on the genesis of Afrikaans and nor is this issue by any means simplistic. The only certainty is that three linguistic traditions – European, African (Khoikhoi) and Asian – have met and hybridized with one another to produce a new whole, which is truly more than the sum of its parts.

The socio-political development of Afrikaans

Dutch was the language of administration, government and school education in the Cape colony during the late 17th century and most of the 18th century. During this time, Afrikaans was left to develop relatively unhindered (Steyn 1980: 116-119). It did however not have many speakers in comparison to Dutch and many different variants of Afrikaans existed by the early 1900's. The attitude towards Afrikaans at that stage was also not very positive. It was considered to be the language of the lower classes, because it was also spoken by the non-Whites at the Cape, that is, by the Khoikhoi and the slaves. Afrikaans was deemed an unsuitable language for the discourse of the learned, and was reserved for low functions such as conversations with family and friends, for making jokes and for cursing (Moodie 1975: 40; Steyn 1980: 120). By contrast, Dutch (and later on English) was spoken by the social elite and used as high function languages (Webb 2002: 74; Den Besten 1989: 224-226).

Negative sentiments toward Afrikaans are clearly expressed in the following extract from a leading article in the Cape Argus of September 19, 1857. Besides calling it a "bastard jargon, not worthy of the name language at all", the writer of the article was also of the opinion that

> the poverty of expression in this jargon is such, that we defy any man to express thoughts in it above the merest common-place. People can hardly be expected to act up to sentiments which the tongue they use fail entirely to express. There can be no literature with such a language, for poor as it is, it is hardly a written one.

(cited by Ponelis 1993: 59).

The influence of the Anglicisation policy on the development of Afrikaans

The Anglicisation policy indirectly caused the growth and supremacy of Afrikaans which occurred during the apartheid era. The first phase of Anglicisation was led by Lord Charles Somerset (whose term as governor stretched from 1814-1827). In 1822, English was proclaimed the official language of the whole colony. The education system was identified as one of the key areas for the implementation, albeit subtle, of the Anglicisation policy. Somerset also implemented Free Schools at the Cape, in which pupils would be taught through the medium of English with the exclusion of any instruction in or about Dutch

(Kannemeyer 1976: 9). These schools were at first very popular, as no school fees were required and the children of the colonists who attended these schools were guaranteed employment within the civil service (Gabriels 1999: 11).

The second phase of Anglicisation commenced after the South African War of 1999 to 1902, in which the British subdued the Boer Republics of Transvaal and the Orange Free State. This time, the campaign was driven by Lord Alfred Milner (Governor of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony). Similar to Lord Somerset, Milner also saw the education system as the best vehicle for continuing the implementation of the policy. As a result, he prohibited the use of Dutch as medium of instruction in government schools. Dutch was only to be used to teach English to those learners who were not mother tongue speakers of English, and English was to be used to teach everything else (Davenport and Saunders 2000: 236-239).

Both Somerset's and Milner's policies of Anglicisation are taken to have been instrumental in the conception and growth of Afrikaner nationalism. An Afrikaner elite consequently emerged and struggled against Anglicization (De Klerk 1975: 119; Davenport and Saunders 2000: 245-247). In particular, they struggled for (i) Afrikaans/Dutch to become an official language alongside English; (ii) the right of Afrikaners to send their children to Afrikaans-medium schools; and (iii) the implementation of bilingualism within the government's administration (De Klerk 1975: 119).

The use of Afrikaans was promoted in all public domains – in government, courts of law, churches and schools – to such an extent that it eventually gained official recognition. By 1910, when the various provinces were unified into a single British colony, Dutch and English were considered equal and both were deemed official languages (Davenport and Saunders 2000: 259). In 1925, Afrikaans was added to the list of official languages (Maartens 1998: 29), which meant that Dutch would gradually be replaced by Afrikaans. It was not until 1983 that the status of Dutch as official language was ended, along with the change in constitution introduced by the National Party (Webb 2002: 74-75).

Afrikaans during apartheid

The development of Afrikaans was an important task set by the government during the apartheid era (1948-1994). Besides directing all available financial aid toward its development, the government also ensured that the language was used extensively in domains such as the media, civil administration, the army, education, economy and science, to list but

a few. As Afrikaans was a compulsory subject for high school matriculation (the qualification that indicated the successful completion of high school), educational attainment and subsequent employment depended on proficiency in Afrikaans (Kamwangamalu 2001: 370; Van Rensburg 1999: 81).

The education system was engineered to promote Afrikaans and White interests. Education in Black schools was at first characterised by instruction in the pupils' L1, while English and Afrikaans were taught as subjects. By grade five (then standard three), the pupils had to switch to English as medium of instruction. In 1953, legislation in the form of the Bantu Education Act No. 47 was introduced with the aims of establishing equality between English and Afrikaans as languages of instruction in Black schools and extending L1 education up to grade eight (then standard six), after which instruction would continue in Afrikaans only (Kamwangamalu 2001: 390 - 392).

The Bantu Education Act was instated under the guise of L1 education as put forward by UNESCO. In Alexander's view (1999: 2), the apartheid government was simply using "the very sensible UNESCO declarations on the importance of using [L1s] as media of instruction in schools in order to justify and beautify its racist curriculum." The actual intent of this piece of legislation, as summarised by Kamwangamalu (2001: 392-394), was to deny Black pupils access to higher education and to restrict their social and economic mobility. The enforcement of this act resulted in the infamous Soweto uprising of 16 June 1976. Moreover, the Bantu Education Act imbued distrust of L1 instruction and more particularly a distrust of the Afrikaans language and its speakers.

Afrikaans after 1994

The birth of the New South Africa in 1994 was accompanied by a "socially reformed" Afrikaans. Not only was the intimate connection that Afrikaans has had with power and oppression severed, Afrikaners also emphasised the fact that Afrikaans is the community language of Blacks (read here as including Coloureds) as well as Whites (Silva 1997: 4). Despite this reform, Afrikaans has lost some of the functions and social space it had during the apartheid era. For instance, Afrikaans is no longer a compulsory school subject in the country; it is gradually being replaced by English as the language of the civil services, such as is clear in the military (Barkhuizen and De Klerk 2000: 97); it shares television and radio air time not only with English but also with the nine official African languages; and it no longer has the financial support it once had (Kamwangamalu 2004: 119).

On the eve of the fall of apartheid, Ponelis (1993: 58) nonetheless maintained that Afrikaans remains both "a prominent transactional language in South Africa" and the only language (at that time) that competes for territory against English in most of the higher domains of language use. In fact, "some Afrikaners have recently identified themselves in public forums with speakers of the African languages, 'standing together' against the perceived threat of the juggernaut, English" (Silva 1997: 4).

Other (post-apartheid) contenders for Afrikaans are adamant that Afrikaans' position in the country is still favourable. Van Rensburg (1999: 90-91), for example, asserts that more than any other language in South Africa (except English), Afrikaans has taken on the functions of a lingua franca. Furthermore, when considering that in many parts of South Africa, Afrikaans is widely used on factory floors and farms, in construction work, shops, and other places, it is clear that Afrikaans remains a vibrant language, despite what some call "the fall of Afrikaans" after the dismantling of apartheid (Maartens 1998: 32).

Afrikaans dialects

As was mentioned in the previous chapter, the term "dialect" refers to a variety of a language. Dialects differ from each other on a lexical and grammatical level. Although it is sociolinguistically accepted that no dialect is inherently better than another in that one is not more able than another to be useful in communication, there are very often status differences between the speakers of the various dialects of a language. As a result, the dialects become associated with the prestige, or lack thereof, of their speakers. The following section looks at the influence that the segregationist society of former years has had on the development of dialects of Afrikaans, focusing on so-called Coloured Afrikaans.

The segregation that was enforced through apartheid has contributed to the development of many varieties of Afrikaans. The different ethnic groups who spoke Afrikaans had limited exposure to and opportunity to acquire other groups' speech patterns. Klopper (1976: 19), for example, attests to the fact that the Afrikaans (and even the English) used by different ethnic groups have unique characteristics that distinguish them from each other. He particularly pointed out the difference between the speech of the Coloureds and that of the Whites. As Standard Afrikaans was the variety used in school and state bureaucracy, it has generally been attributed to White speakers, seeing that they were formerly in control of the government and schooling system. Conversely, it has commonly been accepted that non-standard varieties of Afrikaans are found among the Coloured speakers of the language, as these are the cases that

have been most documented. Furthermore, it is notable that most, if not all, of these non-standard dialects of Afrikaans are stigmatised.

Du Plessis (1930: 14-17), for example, distinguished between Coloured Afrikaans and a Malay[11] Afrikaans dialect, whereas Le Roux (1949: 44-49) further distinguished between Malay Afrikaans and Griekwa Afrikaans[12]. There is also an Afrikaans dialect called "Kharkamstaal", studied by Links (1989), which will be discussed in detail below. All these dialects are used by speakers within the Coloured population group.

Klopper (1976: 117-118), in his study of the social stratification of language use among Coloureds in the Cape, showed that Coloured Afrikaans is evolving in the direction of Standard Afrikaans. His study further highlighted the fact that the Cape Coloured community is socially stratified, and that the pressure that exists between the upper class (who associate themselves with the White lifestyle) and the working class, influences their language use as well as the tempo at which Coloured Afrikaans is evolving in the direction of Standard Afrikaans.

An example of White speakers' Afrikaans being influenced by that of Coloureds is noted by Von Wielligh (1925: 126 & 132). He pointed out that White Afrikaans speakers in the Western Cape had adopted a phonological feature first exhibited by Coloured speakers: the unrounding of vowels. It is interesting that this feature can still be perceived among many White speakers of Afrikaans in the Western Cape today, especially when compared with the White speakers of Afrikaans in other regions in the country.

A certain dialect of Afrikaans is spoken throughout the Northwestern parts of the country collectively named Namaqualand. This area includes especially the rural parts of most of the Western Cape and the Northern Cape. Links (1989), in his study of this dialect, focuses on a town called Kharkams and consequently names the dialect "Kharkamstaal" (literally Kharkams' language). He shows how Kharkamstaal differs from Standard Afrikaans on a phonological, lexical and syntactic level. Because Kharkamstaal is a dialect of Afrikaans spoken by a relatively isolated rural Coloured community (similar to the Coloured rural community of the Hooyvlakte), each of these levels on which Kharkamstaal differs from

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[11] Formerly, Cape Malay coloureds were distinguished from other coloureds on the basis of their religious affiliation. As followers of Islam, Malay coloureds formed a cohesive and exclusive community (Klopper 1976: 5-6). In some cases, they were also seen as Indian (Tiflin 1984: 16).

[12] This dialect is associated with the coloureds of the former Northwest Cape and South Free State, which are known today as the Northern Cape and Free State provinces, respectively.

Standard Afrikaans will be noted briefly; an in-depth account of this dialect falls outside the scope of the present study. On a phonological level, Kharkamstaal differs considerably from the standard variety of Afrikaans (Links 1989: 28). Three of the vowels in Standard Afrikaans, namely [ɛ], [a], and [ɔ] change to schwa [ə] in this dialect (Links 1989: 10-14).

[ɔ] → [ə] in words like:

mos [məs]	(a discourse marker with no direct English translation)
hom [həm]	"him"
daarom [d*a*:rəm]	"for that reason"

This change is especially apparent when these words are in the unstressed sentence position.

[a] → [ə] in words like:

familie [fəmili]	"family"
m*a*:ma [m*a*:mə]	"mom"
t*a*:ta [t*a*:tə]	(as in "papa")

It is clear that the vowel becomes weakened here to become the schwa, because the [a] is in the unstressed position.

[ɛ] → [ə] in words like:

agent [axənt]	"agent"
met [mət]	"with"
skenk [skənk]	"donate"

This change commonly, but not exclusively, occurs when the [ɛ] precedes a nasal consonant.

It is also notable that nasalization very seldom occurs among the Kharkamstaal-speaking respondents (Links 1989: 26). In Kharkamstaal, it is common that the [n] remains intact, whereas in Standard Afrikaans it is common that coalescence occurs in words like *ons* "we/our/us" (/ɔns/ → [ɔ̃:s]), *mens* "human/person" (/mɛns/ → [mɛ̃:s] and *dans* "dance" (/dans/ → dɑ̃:s].

On the lexical level, it is worth noting the following word formation practice among the speakers of Kharkamstaal (Links 1989: 31-36).

Substantive + -goed (literally "stuff", here "and others")

Antie Luis-goed	"Aunty Luis and the rest"
Elias-goed	"Elias and the rest"
Meneer-goed	"Sir and the rest"
Neef-goed	"(male) cousin and the rest"

This construction dates back to the Khoi-language and has most probably been taken on because of a need to express the category of the collective. Also, although *-goed* words (such as *rookgoed* "smoking things") do occur in Standard Afrikaans, the use of this *-goed* construction is more extensive in Kharkamstaal than in Standard Afrikaans.

Regarding the diminutive suffix, there is a tendency in Kharkamstaal to double this suffix or to overextend it.

Doubled diminutive suffix

	Standard Afrikaans	Kharkamstaal	
nes	nes*sie*	nes*sietjie*	"small nest"
huis	huis*ie*	huis*ietjie*	"small house"
twak	twak*kies*	twak*kietjies*	"small amount of tabacco"

Overextension of the diminutive suffix

geld*jie*	"money"	(diminutive)
watert*jies*	"water"	(diminutive)
plannet*jie*	"plan"	(diminutive)

This phenomenon has a high frequency among the Kharkamstaal speakers. It is also interesting to note that this phenomenon is rarely exhibited in the writing of these respondents; it is restricted to the colloquial spoken language of the people.

Syntactically, it can be noted that Kharkamstaal does not differ greatly from Standard Afrikaans. Two phenomena are mentioned here due to their high occurrence in the speech of the Kharkamstaal respondents and to show the possible Khoi influence on the dialect (Links 1989: 71-74).

Verbalizing of the preposition

Standard Afrikaans	Kharkamstaal
Ons is toe die bult *uit*.	Ons is toe die bult *geuit*.
"We then went up the hill"	
Ons is toe laas by Julie ook *aan*.	Ons het laas by Julie ook *geaan*.
"Last time, we also went by Julie"	
Die bo'jaan (=bobejaan) is toe *deur* die land.	Die bo'jaan is toe die land *gedeur* .
"The baboon then went through the field"	

In Kharkamstaal, that which is deemed to be important in the sentence is postpositioned – thus placed in the sentence-final phrase position – so that it carries the main focus or introduces the new information, as indicated in the following examples:

> Het jy dit al gaan koop, my kind, die lampolie?
> "Have you already gone to buy it, my child, the lamp oil?"

> Dis net behalwe hier Krisjan wat ek by bly, die kêrelkind en die jongestetjie wat nie getroud is, het gesterwe, Bêrend.
> "Apart from Krisjan, it is only me living here, the boyfriend/male child and the youngest who is not married passed away, Bêrend"

> Daar het ek toe vir baie jare onder die boere gewerk en gebly, en later getrek kom, ek en en die oumens.
> "There I then worked and lived under the farmers for many years, and later moved, me and and the old person"

This phenomenon is not strange in Standard Afrikaans, but is very noticeable in Kharkamstaal because of its high frequency of occurrence.

2.4.2   English

The history of English in South Africa

English was introduced to the country in the time of the British occupation of the Cape (1795 and 1806). The policy of Anglicisation that was imposed on the predominantly Dutch/Afrikaans-speaking colony at that time influenced this language group to view English as the language of the enemy. Feelings of hostility toward English increased with the British victory in the South African War (1899-1902) and are to a certain extent still evident today. There are however those who regard English highly as the language of empowerment, aspiration and the social elite. Among them are a section of the Afrikaans-speaking group and the majority of the Black population, many of whom were introduced to English through missionary schools.

The founding of the Union of South Africa in 1910 established English as official language along with Dutch (and Afrikaans in 1925) (Silva 1997:1).

English during apartheid

The official status of English meant very little to the government during the years 1948 to 1994, when the National Party was in power. During this time, government funding was

channelled toward the development and establishment of Afrikaans as language of culture, business and administration (Silva 1997: 1).

Afrikaans was in essence the language through which apartheid was enforced, and it subsequently became synonymous with this oppressive regime. English, however, was chosen as language of communication by the African National Congress and other liberation organisations that actively opposed apartheid. As a result English became known among many as the language of liberation (Kamwangamalu 2001: 367; Silva 1997: 4). This particular view of English in South Africa during the years of struggle for an inclusive democracy, is what shielded it from being perceived as intruder language – a view often associated with English in other post-colonial societies (Silva 1997: 4).

The character and status of English in South Africa

English in South Africa, also collectively referred to as South African English (SAE), has a unique position, compared to the position of English in countries like Australia or Canada where it is the predominant language. In South Africa, it is one of 11 languages, it has an L1 speaker base of less than 9% of the population, and the ten other languages that influence it are widely divergent in origin and structure (Silva 1997: 2). One would therefore expect that English would not be very prominent in this country. The following section will however indicate the opposite.

As a result of the language contact between English and the ten other languages in the country, SAE has become a variety of English that "reflects the way in which all South African communities have appropriated the language" (Silva 1997: 2). Lexical borrowings occurred from, for example, Afrikaans (*boerewors* "sausage" and the Nguni languages such as isiXhosa and isiZulu (*lobola* "bride price"). In addition, there are also differences in pronunciation and intonation used by various speaker groups of SAE. In fact, Silva points out that "there is no one South African English, but a number may be distinguished – mother-tongue, Afrikaans, Black, Coloured, and Indian English." These differences are related to the different ethnic groups in the country and are largely a result of the Group Areas Act, which separated communities along racial lines.

English is not the L1 of a majority of speakers in South Africa – neither in statistical nor in geographical terms. Referring back to Table 2.2, however, it should be pointed out that although English does not have as many L1 speakers (nearly 3.5 million) as Zulu (nearly 9. 2

million), it does have the second most L2 speakers (nearly 18.5 million) of the official languages in the country.

Its wide L2 speaker base can be attributed to the fact that English is perceived as a neutral, "colourless" language that not only facilitates interethnic communication but also international communication. Furthermore, English is a symbol of prestige and associated with upward mobility and empowerment (Silva 1997: 6; Webb 2002: 83-84).

According to Kamwangamalu (2001: 367), English currently enjoys far more prestige than any other official language in South Africa, because it is the medium of instruction in most schools throughout the country and it is competing for space with Afrikaans at historically Afrikaans-medium schools and universities, in order to accommodate Black students' demand for English. Webb (2004: 7) concurs by stating that although South Africa has no general national lingua franca (that is officially endorsed), English currently fulfils the role of lingua franca in various high-level contexts. Silva (1997: 5) also notes that efforts to promote multilingualism in the country are inhibited by the very real challenges of practicality, cost and public opinion. These challenges often lead to English being used as (sole) lingua franca instead of encouraging the acquisition and use of the other official languages.

It is ironic that the historically disempowered (and particularly the Black rural poor) in their attempts to access English as language of upward mobility, become even more disempowered because of their inability to access this resource. For instance, in schools where English is preferred as medium of instruction, many teachers have (as an inheritance of the Bantu Education Act No.47 of 1953 or due to a lack of exposure to English in rural areas) not acquired enough knowledge of English to effectively teach in English. However, reverting to L1 instruction would not be an option, because this type of instruction is still synonymous with disempowerment, L1 instruction having been imposed through the Bantu Education Act (Silva 1997: 5-6).

De Klerk (1996: 7) further illustrates the harmful effect that English can have on the South African society by stating that

> alongside its growth because of its perceived neutrality and its high status ... and despite a pragmatic recognition of what English can offer, there is a very real possibility that elitism, domination and social injustice, as well as personal language loss could result from the spread of English ... and this is particularly true of South Africa.

2.5 Beaufort West, its languages and their speakers

2.5.1 Geographic position

Beaufort West is a rural town situated on the periphery of the Western Cape. It lies south of a ridge of hills between the Gamka and Kuils Rivers. To the north are the Nuweveld Mountains boasting rocks that are said to be 230 million years old (Beaufort West 1955: 2). The vast plains below these mountains are characteristic of the Karoo (Beaufort West 1955: 2). This vastness makes Beaufort West the most isolated town of its size in the country (Bekker 2002: 6) and is probably the reason why it is locally referred to as the heart of the Karoo.

Natural scientists view the Karoo as one of the great wonders of the world. This rating is mostly ascribed to the fossils that have been found there. David Baird, son of the town's first magistrate, found the first reptile fossil near the town in 1827. After many more such finds the area became known as the world's richest collecting grounds for these fossils (Beaufort West 1955: 2).

As semi-desert area the Karoo also is home to the richest desert flora in the world. It has the largest variety of succulents in the world. In fact in comparison to Great Britain, the Beaufort West area alone has more flora species than the whole of that country (Beaufort West 1955: 2).

2.5.2 Population statistics

According to the census of 2001, the town has a total population of 37 073. The population is multiracial, although the vast majority of the town's inhabitants are Coloured (27 157). This group constitutes 73% of the town's population, while the Black and White groups make up the rest of its population: 16% (5 860) and 11% (4 029), respectively. There are more females (19 278 or 52%) than males (17 795 or 48%). Furthermore, in terms of age, the group aged 15 to 34 years is the largest overall (33%). The group of persons aged 35 to 64 is the second largest (29%), with the smallest group (6%) being the one made up of persons older than 65 (Statistics South Africa 2001)[13].

The statistics on the level of educational attainment achieved and employment status of Beaufort West in general and the Hooyvlakte in particular are as follows: 8% of the Beaufort

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[13] Statistics South Africa offers an interactive service whereby statistics at municipal level can be accessed electronically. All the statistical information regarding the Municipality of Beaufort West has been accessed using this interactive service http://www.statssa.gov.za/census01/html/C2001Interactive.asp.

West community as a whole has no formal education; 5% have completed primary school only; 10% have passed Matric (Grade 12); and only 3% have pursued tertiary education. Ten percent of the Hooyvlakte community have no formal education; 6% have completed primary school; 6% have passed Matric; and 2% have pursued tertiary education. The rest either fall below school level in age or between early primary school level and matric.

Only 21% of the whole town is employed, and of the Coloured group in particular, only 20% is employed. The percentages that are unemployed and economically inactive are 14% and 28%, respectively. It is interesting to note that these percentages are exactly the same for the Coloured group, and therefore for the community living in the Hooyvlakte.

Most Coloured people in the town live without employment security. This contributes to the development of strong community ties. An attitude expressed by the phrase "today I will help you because tomorrow I might need your help" prevails. A tight-knit community generally share values, norms and linguistic behaviour. The language behaviour of an individual from such a community will then offer an accurate picture of that community as a whole.

2.5.3   Distribution of languages

The majority of the population (31 470 or 85%) indicate Afrikaans as their home language, the second biggest language group (5 100 or 14%) is IsiXhosa and English has the smallest representation, (353 or 1%). The language distribution among the Coloured group specifically is 99.34% Afrikaans speakers, 0.46% English speakers and 0.13% isiXhosa speakers.

2.5.4   The history of the town

Beaufort West was founded during the period that the Colony at the Cape expanded inland. In the early 18th century, the VOC encouraged farmers to establish cattle stations further north and east of the settlement in the Cape (Vivier and Vivier 1969: 1). The colony thus expanded in such a way that by 1760, thus about 100 years after the Dutch trading post was started, many stock farms were established in the rough and uncharted territory of the Karoo (Davenport and Saunders 2000: 30). The area beneath the Nuweveld Mountains was ideal, a hunter's haven offering "vast plains teeming with game herds" (Beaufort West, 1955: 2). Two hundred years later, by the 1960s, the production of meat had become the second largest industry in the area (Vivier and Vivier 1969: 106). To this day, sheep farming is the largest industry in the area.

The implementation of Somerset's Anglicisation policy encouraged Dutch settlers to move further and further away from the colony and its control, and indirectly aided in the growth of Afrikaans (Perry 2004: 99). The further away the farmers of that time settled, the more isolated they became and the more difficult it was for the government at the Cape to enforce law and order. The northern borders of the Cape were at that stage not well defined, and the entire area was controlled from the drostdy (the official residence of a landdrost or "magistrate") towns of "Tulbagh in the west or Graaff-Reinet in the east – a full 600km between them" (Fransen 2006: 170). The increasing number of settlers and the many conflicts between the various groups of inhabitants put great pressure on these drostdys, and a sub-drostdy that could relieve the farmer of its vast territory was called for. For this purpose, the magistrates of the Tulbagh and Graaff-Reinet drostdys, J.H. Fischer and Andries Stockenström, selected the area between the Gamka and Kuils Rivers (Fransen 2006: 170).

The choice for this new town fell on the farm Hooyvlakte. It belonged to the farmers Jacob and Abraham le Clercq (or *de Clercq* as cited in Fransen 2006: 170) and was registered in their names in 1760. Presumably the farm was named *Hooyvlakte* (a literal translation would be "hay plain") because of the dense growth of tall grass all over the farm and its resemblance to fields of hay (Vivier and Vivier 1969: 3).

Hooyvlakte (together with another farm belonging to le Clercq, namely Boesjesmansberg) was bought for 13 333 rix dollars (+/-R2051.00)[14] by the Cape government and proclaimed the town of Beaufort in 1818. The name Beaufort refers to the Duke of Beaufort, the father of the then governor, Lord Charles Somerset (Vivier and Vivier 1969: 5). Around 1861, the town was renamed Beaufort West so that it could be distinguished from other towns similarly named, such as Fort Beaufort and Port Beaufort (Vivier and Vivier 1969: 6).

Although the name *Hooyvlakte* was never used in official reference to the town of Beaufort West, it is reminiscent of the original farm, and it survives in the name of a certain outlying part of the town. Today, the Hooyvlakte is a residential area occupied by the town's Coloured people, and as was mentioned in Chapter 1, the name *Hooyvlakte* will be used to identify the whole Coloured population of Beaufort West.

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[14] http://www.beaufortwestmun.co.za

Socio-political history

The segregation of ethnic groups in rural towns was common practice also in the Hooyvlakte communities long before the establishment of the apartheid regime in 1948. Early written records of Beaufort West note that non-White people (the Coloureds and Blacks) lived among the White people of the town until 1879, when the town council gave orders for the relocation of the Coloureds. The new location was gradually populated by Blacks and Coloureds until, in 1925, it was proclaimed as a Bantu-location[15] (Vivier and Vivier 1969: 127). This township later became known as Kwa-Mandlenkosi (translated as "the place of Mandlenkosi"[16]) and was considered a separate municipal area up until 1994, when it became amalgamated with the Beaufort West Municipality.[17]

It was not long before Kwa-Mandlenkosi became overpopulated and dilapidated and a source of great irritation and burden to both the town managers and the Kwa-Mandlenkosi inhabitants. With little or no infrastructure and municipal services available in this township, it was not difficult to motivate residents to move. New residential areas were established for the Coloured people to move to. The first development of new housing specifically provided for the Coloured population came in 1942, resulting in the community of Rustdene. Soon after, more residential areas followed, as well as a separate school and recreational hall for Coloureds (Vivier and Vivier 1969: 127).

In keeping with the apartheid government's ideal that each ethnic group should live in its own area and become self-governed, the Coloured community obtained its first Coloured management body in 1965. It was considered then to be the most important event in the development of facilities for the Coloured community to date (Vivier and Vivier 1969: 127). The more independent the non-White groups were from the White elite, the more closely segregation could be regulated. As was required by the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act No. 49, this Coloured community had "netjiese, doeltreffende winkels, kafees, 'n slaghuis, 'n haarkappery, en so meer" ("neat, efficient shops, cafés, a butchery, a hair salon and so on) (Vivier and Vivier 1969: 127-128).

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[15] This type of segregation was a forerunner to what would later be lawfully imposed under the Group Areas Act.
[16] Mandlenkosi Kratchi was a freedom fighter who was shot and killed in a police raid on 22 January 1985. His death so shocked the community that they changed the township's name to honour his memory (http://www.beaufortwestsa.co.za/Kwa-Mandlenkosi.htm).
[17] http://www.beaufortwestmun.co.za

The segregation that was enforced in Beaufort West under the apartheid regime, and which was in fact already in place before the legalisation of such segregation, is still apparent in the present day layout of the town. The various residential areas are still occupied by the same group of people for which they were originally meant. Although the public life of the town is much more integrated now than ever before, integration on a social level is still minimal.

2.5.5 Language practices in Beaufort West

By the time Beaufort West was established (1818), the official language policy of the colony had already elected English and so replaced Dutch (1806). Available sources of town history make no specific reference to language practices within the town. However, some useful deductions can be made from the practices of the town's printing press and its education system.

Print media

The town's local newspaper*, The Beaufort Courier*, was first printed in 1869. This paper and the associated publishing company were established and managed by James Bryant, who immigrated to the Colony in 1854 and worked in Cape Town and Worcester before moving to Beaufort West. An English version of the paper was published on a Tuesday and a Dutch version, *De Beaufort West Courant*, on a Thursday. Later on, a bilingual version of *The/Die Courier* was distributed weekly (Vivier and Vivier 1969: 116-117). To this day, Beaufort West still has this bilingual paper, and it still bears the same name and still has a weekly distribution cycle. Such a steady stream of bilingualism from the print media of this town would imply that even during the anti-English years leading up to the Union of South Africa, and during the pro-Afrikaans years of 1948 to 1994, the bilingual character of the newspaper was not relinquished in favour of Afrikaans only.

Education

In Vivier and Vivier's words (1969: 77), no part of the Colony could "escape" Lord Charles Somerset's policy of Anglicisation. All government schools were provided with English-speaking teachers, and this was thus also the case for the very first school established in Beaufort West in 1820. The first recorded entry of Afrikaans into the Beaufort West education system was in 1916, when Afrikaans books were bought for the school library. About a year later, all the teachers of one of the town's schools were sent to attend a special holiday course or summer school in Afrikaans so that they would better be able to communicate with the

majority of their learners (Vivier and Vivier 1969: 86). Afrikaans continued to gain ground in this fashion, to such an extent that by 1920 it was possible to present Afrikaans as a subject in the Boys' High School of the town. The biggest breakthrough for Afrikaans came in 1926 with the establishment of Central High School "[waar] skoolkinders van Beaufort-Wes vir die eerste maal in Afrikaans onderrig [is]" ("where schoolchildren of Beaufort West were taught in Afrikaans for the first time"; Vivier and Vivier 1969: 90).

The high schools of the town developed a custom of distributing yearly reports on school life to the public. The first publication of such a report was a joint effort of the Girls' Public School and the Boys' High School in 1918. This "Hoëre Skole Jaarboek/High Schools Annual" was printed and circulated for a few years, and then discontinued due to paper scarcity and rising printing costs. In 1946, the year book tradition was reinstated by Central High School, with the publishing of its *Verba* (Vivier and Vivier 1969: 94). It is not clear whether the *Verba* was a bilingual publication from the outset, but certainly by 1997[18], the *Verba* that was published by this predominantly Afrikaans-medium school had some sections written in English.

Vivier and Vivier (1969) have very little to say about the schooling system in the Hooyvlakte, especially about the language policy adhered to in these schools. The assumption will be that the language used in the broader community was the same as that for the Hooyvlakte schools – namely Afrikaans. Any difference in language, such as the presence of English-medium instruction in these schools, is very likely to have been mentioned. By 1896, a number of well-off parents in the Hooyvlakte chose to have their children sent to a separate school. This school was situated on the bank (*wal* in Afrikaans) of the Gamka River and was thus called the *"*Walskool" (Vivier and Vivier 1969: 128). Another school was opened in 1930 and developed into a high school by 1956, called the "Karoo Hoërskool" ("Karoo High school"). This school too was supported by the wealthy segment of the Hooyvlakte.

At present, there are many schools in the Hooyvlakte: four primary schools among which John D. Crawford and A.H. Barnard (both of these schools were named after their benefactors, a lawyer and reverend, respectively), and two high schools, namely Beaufort West Secondary (which developed from a secondary school into a high school) and "Hoërskool Bastiaanse" ("High School Bastiaanse"). All of these schools make use of

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[18] This information has been gained through first hand experience when the researcher was a learner at the school.

Afrikaans as language of instruction and all are accessible to both the wealthy and poor in the Hooyvlakte.

However, the wealthy in the Hooyvlakte still choose to send their children to what they perceive to be the better schools in the town – the schools formerly reserved for the White group only. They are Niko Brummer Primary and Central High; the preparatory school called "Voorbereidingskool" is also attended by Coloured children. Since these schools became accessible to all groups after the abolition of apartheid, language has become more of an issue. Mostly Black learners, but some Coloured learners as well, have an L1 other than Afrikaans, and the need for English as medium of instruction has consequently increased. Although there is no clear movement toward developing a policy of parallel medium instruction (that is, English classes alongside Afrikaans classes) in these schools, minimal concessions are being made in that English is used alongside Afrikaans in the same class (dual medium instruction).

A recent development in Beaufort West is the establishment of a preparatory school that offers instruction through the medium of English only. Living Light Christian School is a private school which addresses a need that has developed among the current generation's parents (young adults aged roughly between 20 and 35) who choose to raise their children in English. In my opinion, the parents who send their children to this school are more motivated by the fact that it is an English school (the first in the entire town) and by the prestige associated with it than by the Christian principles according to which the school functions. This tendency is especially observable among the parents of the Hooyvlakte and though it is not yet very pronounced, the existence of this school is evidence that it is not merely a temporary practice.

2.6   An insider's view of language on the Hooyvlakte

2.6.1   Language at home

Beaufort West is the town where I grew up. Our family's L1 is Afrikaans. My mother, however, made a special effort to ensure that we were able to speak English. I cannot quite recall how she did it, but it was always clear to me that the ability to speak English was valued and applauded. My mother, for instance, was called and congratulated by my brother's first grade teacher on the day he first read in English. I remember some instances where my

mother would pretend to be a television show host and we children would then be the guests whom she interviewed. She would ask us things like "What is your favourite colour?" and "What would you like to be when you grow up?" I quite enjoyed these games.

I also recall that if ever I came to her for help with my English grammar homework, she would always ask me: "What sounds right?" In this way, she encouraged me to develop a keen awareness of language and to rely on my "instinct". Thus, even with Afrikaans as our L1, we were brought up to be bilingual. It had always been my aim to sound like a mother tongue speaker of English, and I enjoyed it when I was mistaken as such.

Although Afrikaans was and still is our family's L1, the ability to speak English was and still is highly valued and celebrated. The fact that my grandfather on my mother's side was a Capetonian and an Englishman was fondly and proudly remembered; as was the fact that he was an English teacher. At the school where he was a teacher in Beaufort West, he used to write the school plays and articles in English. His family and friends in Beaufort West remember him for the way in which he was always busy reading an English book. These memories have cemented in my mind the association that English has with learnedness and prestige.

Afrikaans, on the other hand, was not as highly valued. Perhaps only on occasions when interacting with friends from Cape Town who spoke a stigmatised Afrikaans dialect, would we revel in our "proper Afrikaans". This "proper" Afrikaans was still a non-standard variety of Afrikaans, but one that was closer to Standard Afrikaans than that spoken by our Capetonian friends. Adopting Standard Afrikaans, especially the accent of Standard Afrikaans speakers, was not applauded at all in my community. In fact, you were looked down upon by your friends if your Afrikaans was too "good", that is, too close to Standard Afrikaans. This sentiment toward the standard version of my L1 only served to push me further in the direction of my L2, English.

2.6.2   Language on the street

As a community, we rarely had the opportunity to speak English outside of the English classroom. One would speak English when someone from out of town visited (like the aforementioned friends from Cape Town) who could not or would not speak Afrikaans.

Informal conversations with the townsfolk of Hooyvlakte during this study revealed their insecurity in speaking English. Many recounted experiences of their first confrontation with

the language at out-of-town institutions where they received their tertiary training. In order to study further, young people in our town need to go elsewhere. The most common destination is Cape Town, where both daily life and education/training require proficiency in English. For most young people from the Hooyvlakte, this was and remains a sink or swim experience. Many return home with a strong motivation to raise their children in English, to spare their offspring the fear and shame they had experienced. For others, the language still inspires fear, and no attempt is made to improve their proficiency in the language.

Another sentiment expressed by those who are choosing to perpetuate the legacy of Afrikaans as L1 of the family, is that their children have sufficient exposure to English through television, computers and cell phones. These are all modern devices which were not available or as easily accessible to children in former years as they are today.

2.6.3 Language on the stage

Besides the interaction with English-speaking relatives and friends from out-of-town, the stage (concerts, sporting events, high teas) was the one other place where the use of English was always present. These public meetings were given an air of grandness through the use of English. I would venture to say that if one were to attend any of the abovementioned community meetings in the Hooyvlakte today, English will most definitely be the sole language used there. It may be that the residents of the Hooyvlakte hardly speak English to one another on the street, but once they are on stage, they seize the opportunity to speak it.

2.6.4 Language pride and dialectal pride

Standard Afrikaans is only one of many dialects spoken in Beaufort West. The number of Afrikaans dialects present in the town as a whole and in the Hooyvlakte in particular has yet to be determined, and the particular features of these dialects have yet to be described. The example of an Afrikaans dialect that was discussed in the previous section on Afrikaans dialects, Kharkamstaal, offers the closest comparison to the dialect(s) spoken in the Hooyvlakte. In fact, in his study of Kharkamstaal, Links notes that Beaufort West is one of the areas considered to be part of Namaqualand (1989: iv).

At a glance the dialects in the Hooyvlakte appear to be arranged along a continuum. This continuum is based on the level of education of the speakers, so that the more educated speakers' dialect is closer to Standard Afrikaans, whereas the least educated of the group use dialects that are further removed from Standard Afrikaans. Along with revealing the speaker's

level of education, the dialect used by the Hooyvlakte speaker also reveals his/her social class. So it has been noted in casual conversation that Hooyvlakte residents often perceive others who are socially far removed from them to be the ones who speak a "dialect of Afrikaans"; their own dialect is not tagged in such a way. So for example, they would refer to forms they regarded as "incorrect" or a bit unsophisticated, as typical of "plaasmense" - people of lesser education who live and work on the farms around Beaufort West.

Based on the abovementioned comments of Hooyvlakte residents, it is clear that all dialects of Afrikaans other than Standard Afrikaans are stigmatised. As a former resident of Hooyvlakte, I can assert that speaking a non-standard dialect of Afrikaans is not at all praised. Dialectal differences are only talked about or celebrated among close friends, and even in such cases it is often done in a joking, ridiculing fashion. In other words, drawing attention to one's dialect of Afrikaans would function to emphasise shared limitations rather than shared pride.

In light of this, one would expect the use of Standard Afrikaans to be associated with higher prestige. This is however not the case. The use of Standard Afrikaans (more specifically, the accent associated with speakers of Standard Afrikaans) among the Hooyvlakte community is generally ridiculed and frowned upon. The only situation in which the use of Standard Afrikaans is applauded is in the school environment.

The stigmatised dialect(s) of Afrikaans and Standard Afrikaans (which still bears the stigma of being the language of the oppressor) consequently present the Hooyvlakte residents with equally unsatisfying options. This would explain why members of the Hooyvlakte community are more likely to strive toward speaking "proper" or Standard English than speaking Standard Afrikaans. In other words, in the Hooyvlakte community, it is not possible to gain social prestige through either one's Afrikaans dialect or one's ability to speak the standard variety of Afrikaans. The only means of attaining status is through speaking English.

In the following chapter, the concepts of *bilingualism* and *ethnolinguistic identity* will be examined. This discussion will form the foundation for the analysis of the Hooyvlakte community's language behaviour that will follow in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter 3

Bilingualism, language identity and ethnolinguistic identity

This chapter aims to relate the questions posed in Chapter 1 to existing research in the fields of bilingualism, identity and, more specifically, ethnolinguistic identity.

The first question posed in Chapter 1 – "Has Afrikaans maintained its status as the dominant language of the town since the constitutional changes of 1994?" – requires some contextualizing discussion of language contact and language status/dominance. The question which is aimed at investigating the measure in which English has (or has not) become stronger in the linguistic repertoires of individuals and communities on the Hooyvlakte, can be framed in a cursory discussion of L2 acquisition and language capital.

The last two questions, which focus on the nature of Hooyvlakte bilingualism and its effects on the community's identity, will require more background on certain topical issues in studies of bilingualism and ethnolinguistic identity.

3.1   Language contact

According to Trask (2007: 136), "the speakers of any given language are almost always in some kind of contact with the speakers of one or more other languages, for any of several reasons." Two different languages being spoken in adjacent areas result in speakers on both sides of the boundary being exposed to the other language. This often leads to the speakers obtaining a measure of fluency in that other language. As was mentioned in Chapter 1, "contact between persons who do not share a mutually intelligible L1 is a stimulus for an individual or community to become bilingual" (Myers-Scotton 2006: 6). In this study, it will be established whether the residents in the Hooyvlakte can indeed be characterised as people who are becoming increasingly English-Afrikaans bilingual.

3.2   Bilingualism

A discussion about bilingualism cannot be attempted without considering the various sub-definitions of "bilingualism" that are based on the measure of competence speakers have in each of the two languages they know.

When defining "bilingualism" in terms of level of proficiency, one deals with definitions and descriptions found between two ends of a spectrum. At the one end, one finds Bloomfield's (1933: 56) description specifying "native-like control of two languages" as the criterion for bilingualism. This can also be referred to as the "maximal" definition of bilingualism (Johnson and Johnson 1998: 29). At the other end of the spectrum, one finds "minimal" definitions of bilingualism such as that of Haugen (1953: 7) who views it as the ability to produce complete and meaningful utterances in the other language and that of Diebold (1968) who, with the term "incipient bilingualism″, allows for a person who cannot produce complete, meaningful utterances to be classified as bilingual by virtue of his/her one language being in contact with the other language.

Haugen's and Diebold's definitions render both of the actors in the following scenario bilingual: the English speaking tourist who orders a cup of coffee in a German restaurant by saying "Ein Kaffee", and the Italian waiter working in the German restaurant who, despite being unable to speak German, understands enough of the language to be employed there. This definition by implication classifies most monolingual speakers as bilinguals based on the fact that almost everyone knows a few words in another language (Romaine 1995: 10).

The ideal that is suggested by Bloomfield (1933) is a rarity. Fishman (1971: 560), for example, has cautioned against the notion of 'balanced bilingualism' in more general terms. He claims that bilinguals are rarely equally fluent in both languages about all possible topics. Johnson and Johnson (1998: 29) also warn that the danger of such a definition is that it "sets an impossible ideal, dismissing everybody who does not achieve it as defective."

Mackey (1968: 555) takes a view that would fall in between the opposing maximal and minimal definitions of "bilingualism". He insists that, in order to study bilingualism, we are forced to consider it as something entirely relative seeing that the point at which the speaker of an L2 becomes bilingual is either arbitrary or impossible to determine. He therefore considers bilingualism simply as the alternate use of two or more languages (see also Romaine 1995: 11).

Since the bilingual's skill may not be the same for both languages at all linguistic levels, proficiency should be assessed in various areas (Romaine 1995: 11). Mackey (1968: 557) has put forward a matrix which allows for the languages used by the bilingual to be compared in terms of four key aspects of language skill: listening, reading, writing, and speaking.

At the level of grammar, it might be the case that different degrees of ability manifest themselves in reading and writing in comparison with speaking and listening (Romaine 1995: 13). Mackey's schema allows a bilingual individual to exhibit a wide difference in each skill category. A person who would otherwise be thought of as monolingual, but who, for example, has some familiarity with Arabic script without any accompanying ability to understand what was written in it, could be thought of as being an English-Arabic bilingual (Romaine 1995: 14).

3.2.1 Societal bilingualism

Individuals who are bilingual often find themselves in a society or country that considers itself bilingual. There is, however, a significant difference between individual and societal bilingualism. Individual bilingualism is more concerned with psycholinguistic and linguistic features and societal bilingualism, in contrast, involves the dimensions of history, education and politics (Edwards 2004: 8).

At a political or official level, there is often a discrepancy between a country's official language policy and the actual language practices of its citizens. It is for instance possible for a country to acknowledge two languages and yet the society may be made up of individuals who are monolingual in either of the languages along with a few bilingual individuals to facilitate group interaction (Appel and Muysken 1987: 2; Edwards 2004: 7). South Africa is a case in point: 11 languages are being officially recognised, but very few of the country's citizens (if any) are competent in all 11. Johnson and Johnson (1998: 31) affirm this by saying that "the choice of bilingualism at an official level reflects the aspirations of that society, its trading goals in the world and the attitudes of its ruling group, not necessarily the reality of bilingualism among its citizens."

3.3   Identity

3.3.1   Social identity

Tajfel (1974; 69; 1978: 63; 1982: 4) defines "social identity" as that part of a person's self-concept that comes from the knowledge of his [or her] membership of a social group (or groups), along with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership. McNamara (1997: 562) summarises the social identity theory put forward by Tajfel (1974, 1981) in terms of four main processes involved: (i) social categorisation, (ii) the formation of an awareness of social identity, (iii) social comparison, and (iv) a search for positive distinctiveness.

It is normal practice for people to categorise their world – themselves and others – into recognisable parts (Giles and Johnson 1987: 71). We categorise ourselves and others into groups based on, for example, their relation to us: core family, extended family, and wider community. Other categorizations can be based on a person's religious affiliation, gender, ethnicity, race, language and nationality. Moreover, one can be a member of various groups simultaneously. In this regard, Turner (1982: 17) describes *social identity* as "the sum total of the social identifications used by a person to define him- or herself."

Giles and Johnson (1987: 71) point out that "the salience of any one of these identities is a function of context [and] all or, indeed, any of these identities may be relevant in a particular encounter." One's racial identity or racial group membership would, for example, be salient in an encounter with someone who is a member of another racial group.

A by-product of categorizing oneself and others into groups is the formation of an awareness of social identity. The difference between "us" and "them" produces in-groups and out-groups. These in- and out-groups are subsequently compared (according to criteria that are entirely relative) and the results of the comparison then determine the status of the groups. Positive comparisons (cases where the in-group is evaluated more positively relative to the out-group) lead to a group's high status or positive social identity (also referred to as positive distinctiveness), whereas negative comparisons lead to a lower status and a less positive social identity. In the latter case, attempts would be made to achieve and maintain positive social identity.

According to social identity theory, an individual's identity is derived from in-group memberships and positive comparisons would lead the individual to identify strongly with

that in-group. When, however, the evaluation is less favourable, the person would not identify with that in-group as strongly and would make efforts to re-establish and maintain positive distinctiveness. This can be achieved through changing the criteria of comparison, joining another group, or making a comparison with an out-group that has lower status.

Seeking to leave one's in-group and join the out-group may involve attempts to "pass" as members of the out-group, or removing the obvious signs of group membership by, for example, changing one's name or changing one's accent. This solution, however, is not available to individuals whose marks of membership may be impossible to disguise, for example ethnic group membership that is marked by race (McNamara 1997: 563).

Louw-Potgieter and Giles (1988: 105-106) hold that while self-definition (that is, subjective feelings of group belongingness) is essential for identification with a group, others also have an influence on an individual's experience of his/her group membership. Furthermore, the individual or others can determine the external or internal criteria for group membership. External criteria are objective and include, for example, skin colour or fluency in the group's language. Internal criteria, on the other hand, involve the more subjective concepts of what constitutes legitimate membership as held by group members. Louw-Potgieter and Giles (1998: 106) also note that some groups (or even some members of the same group) possess more power than others and, by virtue of that power, can impose their notion of identity upon the less powerful. The less powerful can then either agree or disagree with the identity imposed on them. Their study on imposed identity and the language strategies employed to deal with it will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

3.3.2 Ethnic identity

There is no single widely accepted definition for the term "ethnic identity". According to Phinney (1990: 500), this lack of agreement points to confusion about the term. Authors such as Giles and Byrne (1982) and Giles and Johnson (1987) describe ethnic identity as a part of social identity. Phinney (1990: 499) talks about ethnic identity as focusing on the psychological relationship of ethnic group members within that group. It is basically an investigation of the attitudes one has about one's own ethnicity. Phinney says that "attitudes toward one's ethnicity are central to the psychological functioning of those who live in societies where their group and its culture are at best poorly represented (politically, economically, and in the media) and are at worst discriminated against or even attacked verbally and physically."

Ellis (1999: 152-153) states that the members of an ethnic group must be convinced that they share interests and a sense of collectiveness, especially in terms of goals. He goes on to identify two more characteristics of an ethnic group:

> [T]he people in an ethnic group must recognize their membership in the group. Usually they will have learned the ways of the group early and deeply so that they know who belongs and who does not. Third, ethnic groups are keenly aware of who is 'in' and who is 'out.' The fourth quality - and an important one - is that they share patterns of communication and language use.

(Ellis 1999:152-153)

The relation between ethnic identity and language use will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

Ethnic identity of Coloureds

Vosloo (1998: 29-30), in a study of the relation between ethnic identity, ethnic consciousness and self image of different ethnic groups, found that Coloureds lack a shared positive ethnic identity. Vosloo (1998: 30) goes on to point out that this group has joined the rest of the nation in focusing on their national identity as South Africans rather than on the ethnic identity of the various constituting groups. In Chapter 6, I will examine how the Hooyvlakte residents interpret their identity as South Africans and their ethnolinguistic identity in particular.

3.3.3   Ethnolinguistic identity

Ethnolinguistic identity theory draws heavily on social identity theory. The former, as put forward by Giles and Johnson (1981, 1987), focuses on language as the salient marker of group membership. Just as in social identity theory, an individual's language identity is derived from his/her language group. Slabbert and Finlayson (2000: 119) draw attention to the importance of language as a means of "establishing not only the identity of an individual but also the identity of a group," stating what language "can acquire symbolic value by being the means through which the values of the individual and particularly the group are expressed."

According to Ellis (1999: 152-153), "all groups have an ethnolinguistic identity." The term "ethnolinguistic identity" is used to refer to the psychological and social representations that language performs with respect to ethnicity. Ethnolinguistic identity theory more precisely, then, focuses on both language and ethnicity as salient markers in intergroup interaction and

the manner in which language and ethnicity interact to account for intercultural communication and communication breakdowns (see Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey 1990).

If an ethnolinguistic intergroup comparison is less favourable for the in-group, the strategies that will be adopted to attain positive social identity will naturally involve language. In the words of Hansen and Liu (1997: 568), "the individual may face linguistic adaptations that may result in subtractive bilingualism[19] or even language erosion if a large number of members of a particular group assimilate into another to achieve a more positive group identity." With a more favourable evaluation, the in-group may switch to the in-group language, or accentuate ethnic dialect and slang (Giles and Johnson 1987: 71). The option chosen by the Coloured population of the Hooyvlakte will be discussed in section (iv) of Chapter 6.

Bilingualism and ethnic identity

At this point, it is necessary to consider what influence bilingualism has on ethnic identity. This question has been researched from various perspectives (clinical, psychological, anthropological and sociological); each purporting to show that bilingualism has an impact upon ethnic identity and ethnic attitudes (Lamy 1979: 23-25). In some cases, the research points to a direct, causal relationship between bilingualism and ethnic identity. In other cases, only a measure of influence is attributed to bilingualism.

Lamy (1979), in an attempt to answer the bilingualism question regarding language and ethnolinguistic identity, reviews previous research on the topic and focuses specifically on the work of Gardner and Lambert (1972) and Merton (1968).

Gardner and Lambert (1972) propose that learning an L2 successfully will require that one adopts the various aspects of behaviour which characterise the members of the other linguistic-cultural group. They distinguish between instrumental and integrative orientations to the L2. The former indicates a utilitarian need for the other language (for example getting ahead in one's career) and the latter is characterized by a desire to learn more about the other community, to the point of becoming a member. Moreover, they argue that "the more proficient one becomes in a second language, the more he may find his place in his original membership group modified since the new linguistic-cultural group ... may, in fact become a new membership group for him" (Gardner and Lambert 1972: 3).

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[19] "Subtractive bilingualism" can be defined as the process whereby an individual's mother tongue is replaced by the second language, which is usually the more prestigious language of the two (Lambert 1975).

Merton (1968) suggests that those who are less integrated into a language group at the outset are more likely to eventually identify with another language group. This process involves becoming positively oriented toward another language group, acquiring that group's language and subsequently becoming bilingual and more eligible for membership of the other language group. However, membership of another language group does not preclude membership of the original language group. Merton (1968: 348) explains the matter as follows:

> It can be provisionally assumed that membership in a group which has involved deep seated attachments and sentiments cannot be easily abandoned without psychological residue. This is to say that former members of a group previously significant to them are likely to remain ambivalent, rather than wholly indifferent, toward it.

Merton (1968: 348) further explains that "ambivalence" would be less likely where spatial and social separation from the group reduce its salience to the former member.

Lamy draws a hypothesis from the work of Gardner and Lambert (1972) and Merton (1968) which states the following: there is a relationship between bilingualism and identity only when both language groups are geographically contiguous (close) and when the bilingual is enmeshed in social relationships with both groups. Conversely, the hypothesis holds that there is no relationship between bilingualism and identity when demographic context and intergroup contact are controlled for.

Lamy supports this hypothesis with a study done in Canada. He finds that the correlation between bilingualism and identity is very modest. He points out that there is much more to the relationship between bilingualism and identity than can be accounted for by simply imputing causality to bilingualism. He concludes that in accordance with the work of Gardner and Lambert (1972) and Merton (1968), there is no relationship between bilingualism and ethnolinguistic identity when intergroup contact and demographic context are held constant.

Though he denies that bilingualism has a direct impact on ethnolinguistic identity, Lamy concedes that bilingualism facilitates the process of change in ethnolinguistic identification that comes about through contact with a majority group where one can "pass" as a member of that group during interactions. He admits that "[c]ontact with a majority group and passing for a member of that group in interactions with its members does effect a change in ethnolinguistic identification [and so] [b]ilingualism merely facilitates this process" (Lamy 1979: 35).

Identity created by language

Slabbert and Finlayson (2000) investigated a situation where language seems to have a direct impact on individual and group identity. This view is in stark contrast to that of Lamy (1979). Slabbert and Finlayson looked at life in the townships of South Africa and based their study on the work of Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) and Tabouret-Keller (1997).

According to Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) language not only influences the formation of identity but is in itself an expression of identity. They view linguistic acts as acts of identity. They argue that "linguistic items are not just attributes of groups or communities, they are themselves the means by which individuals both identify themselves and identify with others; hence the existential locus of homo, be it individuals or groups, is in language itself" (1985: 4-5). The idea that language creates identities has been further developed by Tabouret-Keller (1997: 324). For her, any identification between A and B "is only possible insofar as these two have access to and are part of C," with A and B being individuals or groups, and C defined as "language in its symbolic function".

Slabbert and Finlayson (2000: 122) first of all explain how the restrictive laws of apartheid (the pass laws, for example) worked to bring about townships and corresponding ethnic diversity which

> have been found to have spawned a pressing desire for people to demonstrate their independence and mobility, as well as demonstrating an ability to avoid the restrictive laws and practices of apartheid. One of the ways in which this desire becomes manifest is language use. In this context codeswitching at all levels becomes a means by which both individuals and groups identify themselves as breaking down the ethnic barriers of apartheid.

They therefore propose the existence of an urban/township identity that can be described as "a hybrid one that simultaneously embraces features marked as 'modern' and 'Western' and those marked as 'traditional' and 'African'" (Slabbert and Finlayson 2000: 122). In this regard, Batibo (1997: 201) affirms with reference to Botswana and Tanzania that there is "a clear state of double allegiance between Western modernization and internationality associated with English, on the one hand; and nationalism and identity associated with the indigenous languages, on the other."

Slabbert and Finlayson (2000: 123) continue to state that while the dichotomy they have posed may be viewed as problematic from a theoretical perspective, they have used it as the

residents themselves perceive it; while in accordance with Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) and Tabouret-Keller (1997), their approach "shows not only how language supplies the terms by which this identity is expressed, but how a particular configuration of languages also marks and constitutes this [particular] urban/township identity."

They acknowledge that there are various aspects of language use that make up this urban/township identity and that any number of them can be singled out. The important point, however, is that they are inextricably intertwined. As examples they mention the ability to function in many languages; the ability to codeswitch and the ability to use English and Afrikaans in very specific domains. The present study will investigate which of these aspects are present in the language use in the Hooyvlakte.

Ethnolinguistic identity imposed on the Coloured community

Louw-Potgieter and Giles (1988) studied the linguistic strategies that South Africans employed when dealing with identities imposed on them by high status group members. They found that when there is an incongruity between members of one group's self-defined identity and the identity imposed on them by members of another group, they attempt to escape the imposed identity by changing the criteria for group membership and/or by differentiating themselves from the group with which they are associated. From this study, it was clear that both these processes involved specific language usage strategies that varied depending on the groups and the relations between them.

One of the cases that Louw-Potgieter and Giles considered is that of Coloured Afrikaans speakers, also referred to by Viljoen (1971: 16) as "Brown Afrikaans speakers." The majority of Coloureds are Afrikaans speakers (the 2001 population census indicate that Afrikaans is the home language of 79.5% of Coloureds), yet they are not considered Afrikaners because of their skin colour. As Viljoen (1971: 16) says, "language is essential for Afrikanerhood, but it is not sufficient in itself. Afrikanerhood entails more than that, it demands a common race and culture." The latter is an example of external group boundaries as set by the Afrikaner group members.

At times (especially during the 1983 reform), the Afrikaners have attempted to include the Coloured Afrikaans speakers into the in-group, usually "for reasons of group survival, and in times of threat" (threats such as domination by the Black majority or cultural assimilation by the English-speaking group) (Louw-Potgieter and Giles 1988: 113). In order to encourage

group affiliation, the Afrikaners accentuated the language and culture that the Coloured group shares with them and changed the label given to the group from "Coloured" to "Bruin Afrikaner" (Louw-Potgieter and Giles 1988: 114).

Louw-Potgieter and Giles' study did not provide one instance of congruity in the case of the Coloured group. In other words, no one accepted the imposed identity of "Bruin Afrikaner". They listed the language strategies used by this group in order to escape the undesirable identity Afrikaners attempted to impose on them. These include strategies of (i) categorisation, (ii) comparison, and (iii) identification (Louw-Potgieter and Giles 1988: 122-124). Categorisation strategies included defining "Afrikaner" in such a way that it did not include them, that is, stressing that "'Afrikaner' meant being White, belonging to one of the Afrikaans churches, speaking Afrikaans, sharing a common background with other Afrikaners, voting for the [National Party], and sharing a common history with other Afrikaners" (Louw-Potgieter and Giles 1988: 124-125).

Another strategy involved using other categories for self-categorisation, namely that of English-speaking South Africans. The authors explain that "to acquire membership in this category, this sub-group might attempt to reject the Afrikaans language and become anglicised. There is no doubt that large numbers of Afrikaans-speaking Coloureds are turning their backs on what they perceive as the language of the oppressor. Often combined with this anglicization strategy is the tendency to categorise self as Black and seek membership in Black consciousness groups" (Louw-Potgieter and Giles 1988: 124).

The Coloured group studied by Louw-Potgieter and Giles also exhibited a comparison strategy that focused not on the Afrikaners themselves but on the Afrikaans language. Instead of rejecting Afrikaans, they emphasised the fact that the Afrikaans they used differed from Standard Afrikaans. Illustratively, they mention the fact that the political language at the University of the Western Cape remained Afrikaans in 1976 (amidst the political struggles of that time against an Afrikaans regime) despite the fact that at the time only Coloureds attended this university. The conclusion was that the "issue was not language per se, but an attitude associated with the language" (Louw-Potgieter and Giles 1988: 125). This attitude Zille (1983: 32) articulates in describing the language as "a lively patois of the [Cape] Flats, called Gamtaal, a vibrant mixture of Afrikaans and English, fast-flowing and high-pitched." This strategy resembles what Giles and Johnson (1981) discerned as a social creativity strategy where a supposed inferior, sub-standard or minority language, dialect or slang is no

longer stigmatised, but is proudly displayed as a group symbol of cultural pride. Such a strategy might be used by members of a dominated group to differentiate themselves from the dominant group.

In summary, respondents in the Louw-Potgieter and Giles (1988) study exhibited two identification strategies, namely seeking out other groups (English-speaking South Africans or Black South Africans) with which to identify, and stressing with some degree of pride that their language and patterns of use differed from that of the dominant group. Whether or not these strategies are employed by the Coloured residents of the Hooyvlakte will be discussed in Chapter 6. The next two chapters will consider the data collected on the Hooyvlakte by means of a questionnaire. Chapter 6 will give an analysis of the findings and in doing so will incorporate the background given in this chapter.

Chapter 4

Methodology and representativeness of the obtained data

In this chapter, the specific setting in which the data were collected as well as the instrument used for data collection, are discussed. Issues regarding how representative the obtained data are, as well as the way in which the data were analysed are also addressed.

4.1   The sociolinguistic setting in which the data were gathered

The town of Beaufort West, the historically identified area of the Hooyvlakte, forms the sociolinguistic setting for this study. As stated in Chapter 2, the town of Beaufort West is characteristically rural and geographically isolated. The segregation implemented in apartheid years is still very evident in the social organisation of the town: the various ethnic groups operate largely as independent and separate communities. In this sense, Beaufort West can be said to be three towns in one: the White suburbs (Noordeinde, Die Lande, Middedorp)[20] that can be referred to collectively as Hospitaalheuwel ("Hospital Hill"); the Black township of Kwa-Mandlenkosi; and the Coloured suburbs (New Town, Newlands, Rustdene, Hillside, Essopville, Prince Valley, Toekomsrus, Spoorwegbarakke, Blerriever)[21] which can be collectively referred to as the Hooyvlakte. The suburb Hooyvlakte is in fact a particular settlement towards the south of the town centre.

The collective area identified by the name Hooyvlakte has approximately 27 000 residents, almost all of whom would be classified as Coloured. As stated in Chapter 2 the Coloured area has a total of four primary schools and two high schools, in different suburbs. All pupils in these schools are Coloured, but not all Hooyvlakte residents' children attend these schools: more affluent members of this community enrol their children in the ex-Model C, formerly exclusively White high school in the White suburb of Beaufort West, Central High. The Hooyvlakte also has a number of churches: two Dutch Reformed churches, two Anglican churches, one Roman Catholic Church, a Baptist church and numerous charismatic (Pentecostal) churches. Listing all the churches in Beaufort West and specifically in the

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[20] The English translations for these suburb names are North End, The Lands, Town Centre, respectively.

[21] The English translations for the last three suburb names are Future Rest, Railway Barracks, and Bloody Far, respectively.

Hooyvlakte is a near impossible task; the number of churches in the town was estimated at more than seventy in the year 2000 (Bekker 2002: 19). At present, the number of different churches is rumoured to exceed ninety. The Hooyvlakte has its own library, police station, municipal offices, two large food stores, a number of liquor stores and a variety of small businesses, such as hair salons, butcheries and funeral parlours.

The Hooyvlakte covers a large geographical area, and to a great extent the community is self-sufficient: members of this community have most services at their doorstep and need not travel to town regularly. The regularity of visits to the centre of town depends largely on the socio-economic status of individual families. Less affluent members of the community will travel to town once per week (mostly on either a Saturday or a Wednesday) in order to buy their groceries for the week. More affluent residents of the Hooyvlakte might visit the town centre more than once each day, to drop and collect their children from school, for employment purposes, and/or to buy groceries and speciality items not found in the Hooyvlakte shops.

This study focuses on the language use of the residents of the Hooyvlakte. The language use of this community was deemed particularly interesting, calling for further investigation, due to the noticeable difference between the residents of the Hooyvlakte and the other communities in Beaufort West in terms of their use of English, which is mostly a second language in the Hooyvlakte. There are very few English L1 families in this community, even in 2009.

4.2   General data collection procedure

One hundred and eighty four residents of the Hooyvlakte were randomly selected and asked to complete a questionnaire[22]. I am a former resident of the Hooyvlakte: I lived there for 18 years, and my immediate family still reside there. I could therefore make use of neighbourhood networks to obtain participants. Some of the respondents were self-referrals: upon learning of other community members' participation in the study, these respondents requested an opportunity to complete a questionnaire. I spent four days distributing and collecting these questionnaires, and an assistant spent another four days distributing and

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[22] See section 4.3 and Addendum A.

collecting questionnaires on my behalf. The questionnaires of all 184 respondents were completed and used in this study.

My assistant and I handed out the questionnaire to each person and allowed them to complete it on their own, after which we would then collect it. I was available for consultation in a few cases, but generally, the respondents waited for my return in order to ask questions concerning the questionnaire. My assistant, however, was available for consultation with each of the questionnaires she handed out. All the respondents filled out the questionnaire individually, that is, without consulting with anyone (other than with me or my assistant). There was thus no group work and no chance of being influenced by another respondent. The majority of the respondents read the questionnaire themselves, but there were some with lower levels of literacy, and in these cases a mediator would read out the questions to them and write down the answers on their behalf. These were mostly the older and poorer respondents, of which there were about fifty. Participation in the study was voluntary, and respondents were informed that they need not answer any question which they find offensive or of a too personal nature.

Of course, as an insider the researcher brings a dimension of knowledge and interpretation to the project that an outsider, who could be termed more "objective", would not have. On the matter of researcher bias, I would like to state that in qualitative research the contribution of the insider is generally not only accepted as authentic, but also as valuable seeing that without such a persperspective, relevant but implicit and obscured details could be lost. Thus, while taking as much care as possible to work responsibly with the data in a scientifically justifiable manner, the element of bias that comes from being and engaged observer, is fully recognised.

4.3   The research instrument

The questionnaire[23] was designed to identify the patterns of language use of the residents of the Hooyvlakte, with specific reference to Afrikaans and English. The questionnaire consisted of five sections, which each comprised about eight questions. Where appropriate, possible answers were provided in text boxes which the respondents could tick. Questions concerning language choice were provided with Afrikaans and English as the only language options from which the respondents could choose. In contrast to the rest of the questionnaire, the last two

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[23] See Addendum A.

questions required more than ticking a box or providing a one-word answer; here, respondents were required to provide an answer in a sentence or two. The questionnaire took about 20 minutes to complete.

The first six questions of section one aimed at obtaining biographical information, pertaining specifically to the respondent's age and length of residence in Beaufort West/the Hooyvlakte. Respondents were asked to provide their address for the purpose of verifying the authenticity of each questionnaire. None of the respondents' biographical details were used in this study or disclosed in any way. A further four questions in that section were intended to determine the respondents' level of education. The second section had eight questions designed to ascertain the respondent's language repertoire, the place and acquisition of each, and the language primarily used in various domains. The third section contained a grid in which respondents had to rate their proficiency in each of the languages they know.

The fourth section, comprising eight questions, asked about language use in various domains and with various interlocutors, as well as about choice of language when engaging with various media. Within the scope of this study only two communication media were selected: print media and electronic-audio/visual media (television). Print media, specifically newspapers were chosen because of the long standing history of the town's local newspaper. *The Beaufort Courier* (now known as *The/Die Courier*) has been in print since 1869. The television as second communication medium was selected because of its pervasiveness in this community. In some households a television set is a luxury item. Nevertheless it is the one item that is found in most Hooyvlakte homes. The fifth and final section's questions aimed at obtaining information on the respondents' attitudes toward multilingualism and their language preference with various interlocutors and in various domains.

4.4   The value of the research instrument

Conducting a survey is an effective means of gathering a large amount of data in a restricted amount of time; this is particularly true if the questionnaire is self-explanatory and does not require the presence or intervention of the researcher when being completed. As opposed to an interview, a questionnaire is much less invasive for the respondent, as no intrusion is made on his/her time and space. In an interview, the respondent is also more aware of the researcher and of what the researcher may be expecting of him/her. In other words, the respondent may

then be concerned with attempting to find out (based on the researcher's unintended verbal or nonverbal cues) what the researcher wants to hear, what the "correct" response would be (even if there is no right or wrong response) and how to impress the researcher. Using a questionnaire is one way to overcome, at least in part, what Labov terms "the observer's paradox" or what is also referred to as "the experimenter effect", that is, the phenomenon that the collected data are somehow affected by the process of investigation (see Mesthrie, Swann, Deumert and Leap 2000: 93).

In short a questionnaire elicits a more objective response from respondents. With limited time to complete the questionnaire, the respondent is also encouraged to give quick answers, and these are usually instinctive responses, that is, responses that draw on unconscious, internalised knowledge and that are given without prior reflection.

A limiting aspect of self-reports is the fact that speakers are known for not being consciously aware of all aspects of their own language use. As a result, they may provide less than objective accounts of their language behaviour. Their concept of themselves as well as their attitudes toward the languages in question, also influence their responses to questions pertaining to their language behaviour. It is possible then that they would answer questions in a way that makes them appear more "educated" than they really are, or that, through their answers, they would attempt to associate themselves with the language or language behaviour that bears more prestige.

Self-reports[24] are almost unavoidable in research involving large groups and limited time and resources. Both interviews and questionnaires require self-reports of the respondents to one extent or another. According to Myers-Scotton (2006: 79), self-reports in the form of interviews and questionnaires are the only means researchers have of obtaining comparable answers across large groups of speakers. Because the above-mentioned problems are greater in the case of interviews than in that of questionnaires, the latter were opted for in this study. Furthermore, it was hoped that with me being a Coloured person who grew up in the Hooyvlakte, and thus a member of the group under investigation, the respondents would feel relaxed and so be encouraged to provide truthful information while completing the questionnaire, thus increasing the reliability of the obtained data.

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[24] "Self-reports" as used here has the same meaning as self-assessment, that is, the respondents report on what they believe to be true without the researcher having an objective instrument to check whether the respondent's perspective is a reliable representation of the real state of affairs.

This insider perspective that is common within the qualitative research tradition, also grants me the "openness to observe forms of behaviour as and when they occur" (Mouton and Marais 1990: 163). In other words, as qualitative researcher I am open to the possibility of recording unexpected events, unlike quantitative researchers whose observations need to fit within previously drawn up and anticipated categories. Lastly, my insider perspective grants me the ability to contextualise at all times, that is, to always take the context into account in stead of controlling it, as would be required of an outsider (Mouton and Marais 1990: 162-163).

4.5   Representativeness of data

As has been mentioned, the questionnaire was completed by 184 respondents from the Hooyvlakte. The majority of them were born in the town. Twelve respondents indicated that they had been born elsewhere; they were included on basis of the fact that six of them had a period of residency in Beaufort West of more than 15 years, and the others' residency had also been extensive. The ages of the respondents vary from 16 to 87 years. The respondents include both males and females. According to the census statistics of 2001, Beaufort West as a whole has more females (52%) than males. My data correspond with this female-male ratio, in that 54% of the respondents in this study are female. The Coloured community of Beaufort West constitutes 73% of the total town population (Statistics South Africa 2001). Although my respondents form only 0.67% of this group, a respondent base of 40 to 150 persons is deemed adequate when conducting sociolinguistic surveys (Mesthrie *et al.* 2000: 92).

4.6   Analytical methods

For the purpose of analysis, the respondents were divided into groups on the basis of their age. There are five groups, with each group spanning a ten year band. The first group's ages range from 16 to 25 years; the next from 26 to 35; followed by those aged 36 to 45; 46 to 55 and, lastly, those aged 56 to 87. The second group (aged 26-35) is the largest overall (containing 47 or 26% of the respondents) and also in terms of its female component (29 or 29% of all female participants). Overall, there are more females (54% of all the respondents) than males, with the gender of 8% of the respondents not specified. More details about the respondents are presented in Table 5.1 in the next chapter.

In order to make comparison possible, the different sections of the questionnaire were grouped into three main themes. The questions focusing on language use, patterns of language use, and language preference were grouped into current use, patterns of use, and preferred use, respectively.

The questions grouped under current use provided answers pertaining to identity. These questions were all identifying questions, for example, *My first language is...* and *The age at which I learnt (English/Afrikaans) is ...* These questions were probably answered instinctively. As the following sections' questions required a differentiation between groups of interlocutors, these sections were probably answered after more thought had been given to that which was asked.

With this in mind then, the patterns of language use section offered a reflection of the status quo – what the respondents actually do. The questions in the section on preferred language use carried an element of the future and the answers to these questions can therefore be viewed as a prediction of future use.

A further aid in comparing the findings across respondents was the distinction between the different domains referred to in each of the sections. Only two domains identified in the questionnaire bore the same name throughout (namely the domains of work and church); the rest of the domains were deliberately referred to in terms of interlocutors, so as to obtain detailed responses and to avoided "automated" responses. The sections that dealt with respondents' current and preferred language use distinguished between interlocutor groups that are all indicative of the home domain: parents, children, spouses, family, and grandchildren. In the section on current use, the home domain was signalled by the interlocutor groups: parents, spouse, children and family. The section on preferred use only distinguished between parents, children and grandchildren, and these three groups together constitute the home domain. The language use of the aforementioned interlocutor groups was calculated as an average, to represent the home domain in each of these two sections.

The questionnaire distinguished between two further domains (apart from the already mentioned work, church and home): that of school (indicated as a domain at the beginning of the questionnaire, but not mentioned again) and the domain of friends (mentioned only once, toward the end of the questionnaire, in the section pertaining to language preference). Since these two domains are not consistently referred to, they will be reported on but will not be included in the comparisons. In the next chapter, the data are presented according to both aspects targeted by the questionnaire and domain.

Chapter 5

Presentation and interpretation of the data

This chapter offers a description of the data collected from the questionnaires, focusing on six main aspects, namely (i) language use in various domains (such as at home, school or work); (ii) proficiency in each of the languages in the respondents' linguistic repertoire; (iii) patterns of language use with different interlocutors (for example, children or co-workers) and with printed and electronic-audio/visual media; (iv) language preference; (v) the value respondents attached to being multilingual; and (vi) difficulty experienced by respondents in practicing multilingualism. The data are presented in the same order in which the questions appeared in the questionnaire.

5.1   Language use

Of the 184 respondents, the majority (181) indicated Afrikaans as their mother tongue (or L1), two indicated their L1 as being English and one indicated Xhosa as L1. Table 5.1 contains other biographical details of all 184 respondents, regardless of L1.

5.1.1   Average initial age of exposure to the L2, and L2 environment

The respondents were asked to indicate the age at which they learnt their L2 and the context in which their L2 was acquired (referred to as "the L2 environment"). The average age at which the L2 was learnt is 7 years (see Table 5.1), and the L2 environment is predominantly indicated as the school environment (75%). A smaller number of respondents (14) expressly indicated that they were exposed to their L2 from birth; the L2 environment that is associated with language learning from birth is the home. A further 24% of the respondents also indicated the home as the context in which they acquired their L2, although not from birth.

A few respondents indicated their age of first exposure to their L2 as being older than 7 years, the highest being 18 years. The respondent who started learning his/her L2 at 18 also indicated the L2 context as the school environment, but this is not likely, as (i) one's school career is generally completed by the age of 18 and (ii) formal exposure to the L2 takes place from approximately age 8 onwards at school. It is most likely that the respondent misunderstood the question or unknowingly misrepresented the facts.

Table 5.1 Gender and age of respondents, and length of residence in Beaufort West.

Age Group	Number			Average Age	Average L2 Age	Residence in B/West (in years)
	Female	Male	Unknown			
16 – 25	20	9	2	22	7	19
26 – 35	29	18	4	30	7	29
36 – 45	22	10	3	40	7	39
46 – 55	21	20	3	50	8	47
56 – 87	9	12	2	63	7	60
Total	*101*	*69*	*14*	*39*	*7*	*37*

The two respondents who indicated the work environment as the context for their L2 acquisition did not provide additional information such as age of first exposure to the L2 or age at which they started to work. Such details, as well as information about the type of work they did and about why school was not attended or why school was not an adequate L2 learning environment, would prove valuable in understanding the influence of socio-economic variables on language learning and language use.

5.1.2 Current language use

Home

All the respondents answered the question regarding their language use at home. Ninety three percent indicated Afrikaans as their home language, 2% indicated English and 5% indicated the use of both Afrikaans and English[25]. These results differ from the 181 respondents who indicated Afrikaans as their mother tongue (or L1); two indicated their L1 as English and one indicated Xhosa as L1. A possible reason for this difference is that the respondents interpreted the two terms "first language" and "home language" differently.

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[25] It is worth noting here that none of the questions in the questionnaire offered the bilingual combination of English and Afrikaans as an option with which to answer the questions. This gives one an indication of how aware the respondents are of being bilingual. In other words, bilingualism is salient for these respondents when considering their language behaviour.

School

The question regarding language use at school was left unanswered by most (72%) of the respondents. Presumably this is because they are no longer in school and as a result find the question irrelevant. There are two respondents who should, based on their age (16 and 18 years, respectively), still be in school (the general school leaving age is 18). However, the 16-year-old was the only one of the two who answered this question.

Of those who did answer this question, 76% indicated Afrikaans as their language of schooling. This is to be expected, as the medium of instruction at schools in the Hooyvlakte is Afrikaans[26]. It is surprising then to find that some (6%) of the respondents indicated that their language of schooling was English, and 18% indicated that both English and Afrikaans were used at school. Personal communication with the regional advisor of education, Mr L. Duimpies, affirmed the abovementioned fact, namely: that there are currently no English medium schools in the Hooyvlakte, not even dual medium schools, and that there never have been (Duimpies, 2008). These findings can be explained in either of the following ways: (i) These respondents are of those who moved to Beaufort West from other towns or who spent part of their upbringing in other towns. As a result, they received their education in towns where English-medium instruction was on offer. (ii) It is also possible that these respondents were in classes which were partly taught in English, in order to accommodate English L1 students. I recall that this was the case in my former school, Central High. The amount of English used in such instances cannot, however, be misconstrued as English medium instruction.

Work

Only a small percentage (18%) of the respondents did not answer this question. This might be because they are unemployed, informally employed or still studying. As has been mentioned already, it is possible that two of the respondents are still in school. Others may be obtaining tertiary education or training elsewhere. It is also important to note that many of the townsfolk

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[26] An important distinction is made here between the whole of Beaufort West and the Hooyvlakte, because (i) Beaufort West does have schools with English and Xhosa as medium of instruction, but these are attended mostly by the black inhabitants of the town, and (ii) the people of the Hooyvlakte also attend (Afrikaans-medium) schools that are not in the Hooyvlakte area; these schools are in the white area and were formerly attended by only white inhabitants of the town.

do not have permanent or formal employment; instead, they find seasonal work or are self-employed, usually as informal tradesmen, for example, running a shop from home.[27]

Of the 82% that answered the question regarding work-related language use, 48% indicated that they use Afrikaans at work, while 45% indicated the use of both English and Afrikaans. Only 7% indicated English as the language they use in their work environment.

Church

The last question regarding current language use focused on the church environment. The church was specifically included as social network, seeing that (i) religious affiliations are important social networks in the coloured community of Beaufort West, and (ii) the literature on language shift (see Edwards 1994) has indicated that religion is a particularly sensitive and intimate domain of language use and therefore particularly relevant in checking for language shift. The fact that this question was answered by 97% of the respondents confirms the importance of the church as social institution in this community. As stated in Chapter 4, in 2000 the number of churches in Beaufort West was estimated at more than 70 – a great number relative to its population size and in comparison with other small towns (Bekker 2002: 19). Afrikaans is the language that 80% of respondents use in church. Fourteen percent indicated the use of both English and Afrikaans at church, and only 3% indicated the sole use of English.

5.2   Language proficiency

In this section, the respondents were asked to rate their proficiency in Afrikaans and English, respectively. The majority of respondents indicated that their proficiency in their L1 and their L2 was the same. In other words, they consider themselves to be fully bilingual. However, as participant observer, I have noted (informally) that they are less proficient in practice than what they perceive themselves to be. Adequate language proficiency tests will bear out these observations. These overestimations of their bilingual ability are nonetheless valuable indicators of the respondents' attitude toward being bilingual.

Each respondent was asked to judge his/her own proficiency in Afrikaans and English in terms of the following skills: speaking, understanding, reading and writing. They were asked

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[27] For more on the socio-economic state of the town, see section 2.5.2 of Chapter 2.

to rate their ability in each of these areas on a scale from one to three. A score of one indicated complete proficiency, and a score of three indicated poor proficiency. The proficiency score for the language as a whole was calculated as the sum of the scores attained for the four skills. A total score of four would then mean that the respondent is completely proficient in that language. A total score of five to eight would indicate fair proficiency, and a total score of nine through 12 would mean that the respondent is not proficient at all.

The information in Table 5.2 below illustrates one respondent's language proficiency scores. From this illustration, it is clear that the sum total of proficiency in English is made up of the different scores that were attained for the various facets of language proficiency: understanding (U), speaking (S), reading (R), and writing (W). In Afrikaans, his score (**A sum**) is 4, that is, the respondent has complete proficiency in Afrikaans. The same respondent's score in English (**E sum**) is 8, that is, his proficiency in English is fair. In the very last column of Table 5.2, the proficiency scores attained for Afrikaans and English are compared (**A:E comp**). This is done in order to see whether proficiency in the languages is equal (**eq**, having attained equal proficiency scores) and, if not, which language (**A** or **E**) is dominant (which would be the language with the lowest score). In the case of the respondent in Table 5.2, Afrikaans (**A**) is the dominant language.

Table 5.2 Language Proficiency Calculating Grid.

A proficiency				**A sum**	E proficiency				**E sum**	**A:E comp**
U	S	R	W		U	S	R	W		
1	1	1	1	**4**	1	2	2	3	**8**	**A**

It was assumed that, as L1 speakers of Afrikaans, this group would have perfect scores in the proficiency assessment of their L1. However, 7% of the respondents judged themselves as only "fairly proficient" in their L1 (see Figure 5.1). The L1 proficiency of this 7% might be directly related to this group's level of schooling. It may also be that due to the opinion they hold of their own dialect – a non-standard dialect with little social prestige – they might think that they are not proficient in Afrikaans, because they cannot speak and write Standard Afrikaans. This matter could be investigated further.

Figure 5.1 Self-reported A proficiency   **Figure 5.2 Self-reported E proficiency**
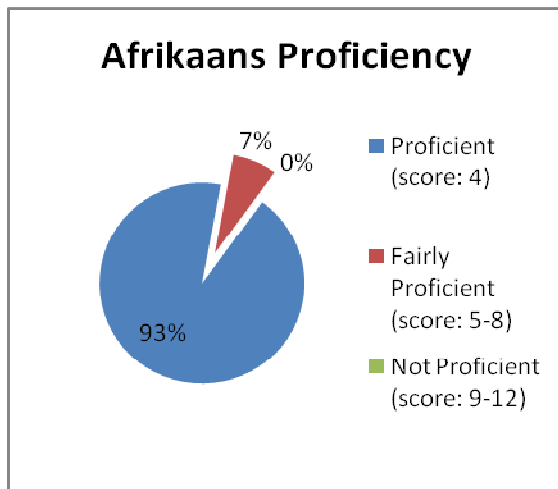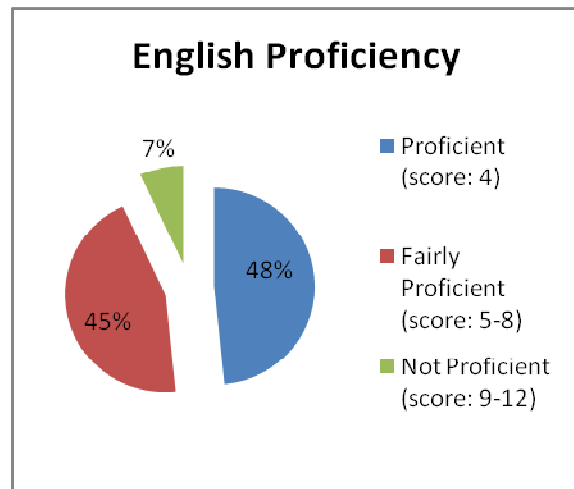
Fourty eight percent of this group judged themselves to be proficient in English, while 45% judged themselves as being "fairly proficient" and 7% reported not being proficient at all (see Figure 5.2). A tentative interpretation of these figures would be that this group is not monolingual, adhering to Afrikaans only, but rather bilingual, using both Afrikaans and English.

Comparing the Afrikaans and English proficiency scores of the respondents reveals that 49% of them attained a score of four for both their English and Afrikaans assessments. In other words, 49% of the respondents judged themselves as being equally proficient in these two languages. The remaining 51% had unequal scores, which means that one of the two languages is dominant. In all cases, the dominant language was Afrikaans.

5.3   Patterns of language use

This section of the questionnaire attempted to elicit the respondents' patterns of language use (hereafter referred to as LUP). Information on the language patterns that respondents exhibit toward various interlocutors, as well as toward various media such as newspapers and television, would aid in determining the extent to which each language is used in everyday life.

5.3.1   LUP with interlocutors

The respondents were asked to identify their LUPs with the following groups of interlocutors: their children, their life partners, their parents, their family, their co-workers and their fellow church members.

Children

The majority of the respondents (70%) did not answer the question pertaining to their children. This is not problematic because the majority of the respondents are not yet parents. Of those who did answer the question, 57% (the majority in this case) indicated that they used Afrikaans when speaking with their children; 14% reported that they use English and 29% that they use both.

Life partners

The question pertaining to partners or spouses was left unanswered by 14% of the respondents. Of the remainder, the majority (92%) indicated the use of Afrikaans when speaking to their partners. Seven percent indicated the use of both English and Afrikaans, and only one person reported using English.

Parents

Not all respondents recognized the 'parents' group as a relevant interlocutor group. Only 55% of the respondents answered this question. Quite a number of them indicated that their parents are no longer living. The majority (94%) once again indicated that they used Afrikaans when speaking with their parents. Those who reported using English or both English and Afrikaans amount to 4% and 2%, respectively.

Family

The one interlocutor group that all the respondents have in common is the 'family' group, and the question pertaining to this group was answered by all the respondents. Eighty-seven per cent indicated that they used Afrikaans; 2% indicated the use of English and 11% indicated the use of both English and Afrikaans when interacting with family.

Co-workers

Only 16% of the respondents left the question about co-workers unanswered. As has already been mentioned, the lack of response to this question can be interpreted in a number of ways: as an indication of unemployment, retirement, or further study/training. Sixty five percent indicated the use of Afrikaans when speaking to co-workers. When compared with the LUP of other interlocutor groups, this is the interlocutor group with which the largest percentage of respondents (19%) uses English only. A further 16% indicated that they use both Afrikaans and English with their co-workers.

Church

After family, church members appear to be the most relevant interlocutor group, as all the respondents potentially have access to this interlocutor group. Only 3% of them left this question unanswered. Eighty four percent indicated that they use Afrikaans when speaking with fellow church members; 6% indicated the use of English and 10% indicated the use of both languages.

Figure 5.3 below summarises the LUPs of the respondents with regard to all the interlocutor groups. As can be seen from this figure, Afrikaans is clearly the dominant language in all the LUPs.

Figure 5.3 Patterns of language use with various interlocutor groups
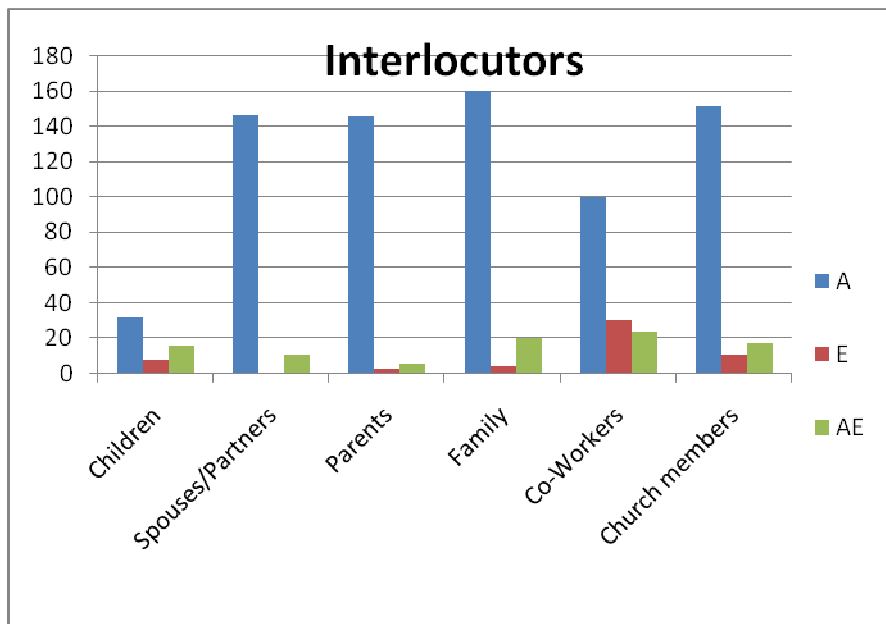
5.3.2   LUP with print and electronic-audio/visual media

The last part of the 'patterns of language use' section of the questionnaire addressed the language-related aspects of the reading and television viewing habits of the respondents. Respondents were asked to name their favourite newspaper and their three most favourite television programmes.

From the outset, it was assumed that the greatest percentage of viewing time would be devoted to English programmes, because there are generally more television programmes available in English than in Afrikaans. Movies and sitcoms, for instance, are very seldom, if ever, broadcasted in Afrikaans. As will be seen below, and contrary to what was expected, a substantial percentage of viewing time is devoted to Afrikaans, despite the limited number of Afrikaans programmes available.

Television

Some of the respondents left this question unanswered and others answered it only partially, by listing one or two programmes instead of three. There were some instances in which the respondents listed 'the news', 'sport' or a whole television channel (for example, SABC 2) as a favourite television programme. In such cases, it was impossible to determine the language of the programme. As a result, the analysis includes a group of programmes labelled "language unknown".

The respondents listed a total of 498 programmes. Twenty nine percent of the listed programmes are Afrikaans, whereas 42% of them are English. For 29% of the listed programmes, the language of presentation is unknown. The fact that (despite the limited Afrikaans language programmes on offer) nearly a third of the television viewing of the respondents involves Afrikaans, is deemed to be at least as important as the fact that English is the dominant viewing language.

Newspapers

The dominance of English is not as evident in the respondents' choice of print media as it is in their choice of television programmes. The majority (89%) read Afrikaans newspapers; only a few (7%) read English newspapers. It would be interesting to interpret the preference for English or Afrikaans newspapers in light of the respondents' level of schooling and their

reading proficiency in the relevant language. This issue, however, falls outside of the scope of the present study.

Television viewers, especially those without access to network television (such as DSTV) are very limited in the choices they can exercise regarding the language of programmes: most programmes are in English or in an African language with English subtitles; there is not necessarily an Afrikaans programme being screened at any given point in time. Readers, on the other hand, are spoilt for choice, as there is an abundance of both English and Afrikaans newspapers available to them. One could therefore conclude that the respondents' print media choices reveal more about their actual language preference than do their television choices. In light of this, Afrikaans could be seen as the language of choice (or dominant language) across media.

5.4   Language preference

Where the previous sections on current language use and patterns of language use gave respondents the opportunity to identify their actual language behaviour, the section on language preference afforded respondents the opportunity to specify their language preferences. Respondents were once again asked to express their preferences in terms of various interlocutor groups. In cases where the respondents' actual language practices line up with their language preferences, their preference is already their reality.

Parents

Contrary to the previous section on parents as interlocutor group which was answered by a mere 55%, this section's question on parents was answered by 83% of the respondents. This discrepancy revokes the explanation given earlier for the low response rate, namely that of respondents' parents no longer being alive. However, expressing a preference is like making a wish, and wishes are not necessarily grounded in reality. They can transcend both the present and the past into the future, in the sense that stating a preference is like saying, "If I had the choice then/today/tomorrow, I would prefer X/Y/Z." It could therefore still be that many of the respondents no longer have parents who are alive, but that this fact did not prevent them from answering this question, as they were indicating the language which they would have spoken to their parents, had their parents still been alive. Eighty six percent of the group

indicated a preference for Afrikaans when speaking to their parents, while 14% indicated a preference for English.

Children

Even considering that 10% of the respondents did not answer this question, the majority (64%) of respondents prefer to speak Afrikaans with their children. Thirty five percent prefer the use of English. At this point, the difference between the current/actual language behaviour of respondents and their preference should be noted: 65% reported that they would prefer to speak Afrikaans (their L1) to their children, but previously, only 57% indicated that they are using Afrikaans when speaking with their children. It is also interesting to note that more respondents answered the question about language use with children that related to preference (90%) than the question relating to current/actual use (30%); this could be because even those who do not yet have children do know which language they would one day prefer to use with their children.

Grandchildren

The question regarding the language they would prefer to use with their grandchildren was left unanswered by 15% of the respondents. A majority of 55% prefer to use Afrikaans with their grandchildren; the preference for English is nonetheless substantial, at 45%. Of all the interlocutor groups discussed this far, grandchildren are the group with which the largest percentage of respondents prefer to use English.

Friends

As mentioned above, the interlocutor group 'friends' is one which all respondents have in common – only 3% of the respondents did not answer this question. Seventy nine percent of respondents prefer to speak to their friends in Afrikaans, while 20% wish to speak to their friends in English. These figures are taken to be significant, not only because 79% is a high incidence, but also because among friends people generally do not have the pressures of hierarchical relations (as at work and in the family circle) where they need to do things according to rules and expectations.

Co-workers

Eighteen percent of the respondents left the question regarding co-workers unanswered. Seventy six percent of the remainder indicated a preference for speaking to their co-workers in Afrikaans while 23% indicated English as their language of preference in this domain.

Church

Only a small percentage (5%) did not answer the question regarding church members as interlocutor group. Eighty four percent of respondents prefer to use Afrikaans at church while 14% prefer to use English.

As is clear from the summary presented in Table 5.3 below, Afrikaans is the dominant language for all interlocutors, even here where respondents had an opportunity to indicate their preference (that is, to express a desire rather than reality). The percentages in favour of English are definitely higher here, in the section of the questionnaire on preferred use, than in any other section or for any other theme of language use.

Table 5.3 Language Preference.

Interlocutor Group	Of those who answered the question			Percentage of respondents not answering the question
	Prefer Afr	**Prefer Eng**	**Prefer Eng&Afr**	
Parents	86%	14%	0%	17%
Children	64%	35%	1%	10%
Grand Children	55%	45%	0%	15%
Friends	79%	20%	1%	3%
Co-workers	76%	23%	1%	18%
Church members	84%	14%	2%	5%

Overall preference

The respondents also had the opportunity to indicate their language preference in general by agreeing or disagreeing with the following statement: *I don't have any special preference – sometimes I speak English and sometimes Afrikaans*.

Agreement with this statement can be interpreted as a preference for bilingualism and disagreement as a preference for monolingualism, or at least for strongly favouring one language over the other. Twenty percent of the respondents did not answer this question at all. Only 14% of the group disagreed with this statement, thereby reporting that they somehow reject bilingualism. The vast majority though, 86%, agreed with the statement, thereby indicating a preference for bilingualism.

5.5 Value attached to multilingualism

The following question required a short written response: *Do you find it valuable to know more than one language? Give reasons for your answer.* Responses to this question can be divided into a first 'yes/no' part and a second 'written' part. Of the 184 respondents, 170 answered this question. Of these 170, 167 provided an answer to both parts of the question. It can be assumed that the 14 who did not answer the question at all either (i) missed the question completely because it appears at the end of the questionnaire, or (ii) were not comfortable with putting their written language skills "to the test". Similarly, the three respondents who did not answer the second part of the question may have been uncomfortable with giving a written response.

All the respondents who answered the question did find multilingualism valuable; not one answered "no" to the first part of the question. The reasons respondents gave for valuing multilingualism mostly had to do with the fact that they are aware of living in a broader multilingual society – South Africa. Thirteen of the respondents specifically made reference to South Africa and its 11 official languages as the basis for their valuing multilingualism. Some examples of these kinds of responses are "SA has 11 languages. You must at least know two" (30-year-old female; 70-year-old female; 38-year-old female), and "A person must speak more than one language in SA with its many cultural factors" (33-year-old female). One respondent (a 62-year-old male) only said: "Dis 'n nuwe SA" ("It's a new SA"). This succinct answer implies that the new dispensation is in itself a symbol for multilingualism.

Other responses to the question of value concentrated on the fact that using more than one language indicates respect for others. Some of these responses include "To accommodate other cultures" (37-year-old female); "To be more open for other cultures" (30-year-old,

gender unknown); "Jy kan jou respek teenoor 'n ander kultuur so toon" ("You can show your respect toward another culture in this way") (36-year-old female).

5.6   Difficulties in practicing multilingualism

The last question of the survey was *Do you find it difficult to use different languages at different times? Give reasons for your answer.* As was the case for the second last question, this question also required a written response. Of the 184 respondents, 176 answered the first, 'yes/no' part of this question. The rest of the question (the written part) was answered by only 146 of the respondents.

This question actually determines whether or not a respondent finds it difficult to codeswitch. One hundred and nineteen respondents (68%) indicated that codeswitching was not a problem at all. Fifty two (30%) indicated that codeswitching was difficult, and three respondents indicated the extent to which they had difficulty: "sometimes" (21-year-old, gender unknown); "not always" (56-year-old male); "only with Xhosa" (34-year-old male). Among the reasons they provided for being able to codeswitch well were "I am bilingual" (33-year-old male); "I am confident" (61-year-old female); "I am experienced" (80-year-old female); and "Bilingual since childhood" (36-year-old male). Reasons that were given to motivate the contrary are as follows: "I am not fluent" (61-year-old male); "I get mixed up" (56-year-old male); "Ek sukkel met die regte woorde" ("I struggle to find the right words") (59-year-old female); and "I am too used to Afrikaans" (31-year-old male).

5.7   Summary of findings

5.7.1   Overall domain comparison

This section will consider the findings of the questionnaires in terms of the three main themes that were mentioned earlier: Current use, Patterns of use and Preferred use. The language behaviour that the people of the Hooyvlakte exhibit in the domains of work, church and home will be compared in this way.

Work

At work, 40% of respondents currently use Afrikaans. Their language use patterns indicate that 55% of them use this language in this domain. This is a 15% increase from an instinctive answer to a more reflective answer. A further 63% indicate that they wish to use Afrikaans at work in future. There is no reason to believe that the use of Afrikaans will diminish in this domain. In fact, there is a visible difference (see Figure 5.4) between the amount of speakers that currently use Afrikaans and those that would prefer to use Afrikaans in future, with the latter being more than the former. Based on the preferences of speakers in the Hooyvlakte, one can predict that more Afrikaans will be used in this domain in future.

The patterns of language use of respondents indicate that 16% of them use English in the work place and 19% of them wish to do so in future. This is not a great difference, and further demonstrates that Afrikaans is likely to remain the dominant language in this domain.

There is a marked difference in the figures indicating the use of both Afrikaans and English – the bilingual option. In the section signifying current use, there are quite a number of speakers (36%) who indicate that they use English and Afrikaans at work. This figure decreases steadily to the point where only 1% of speakers indicate a preference for the use of both languages in their work place.

Figure 5.4 Language use in the work domain

76
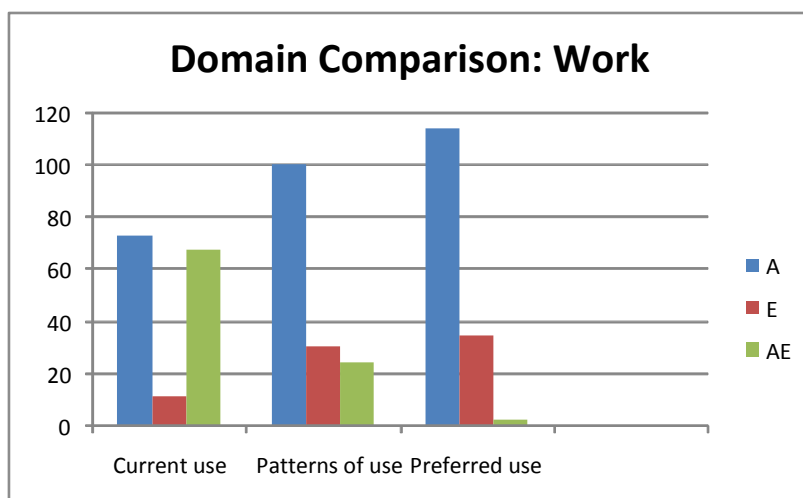
Church

The use of Afrikaans in the church domain seems quite stable with very little variance in the numbers of speakers between the sections (see Figure 5.5). The respondents indicated that 82% of them use Afrikaans at church, while their language use patterns indicated that 85% of them use it. This figure drops by a few percent in the following section, where 79% of the respondents indicated that they wish to use Afrikaans at church in future.

In spite of the prevalence of Afrikaans, as in the former domain, the church domain sees a steady increase in the use of English from 3% to 13%. It is also similar to the work domain in that there is a decrease in the use of the bilingual combination of Afrikaans-English. The figures drop from 14% current use to 2% preferred use.

Figure 5.5 Language use in the church domain
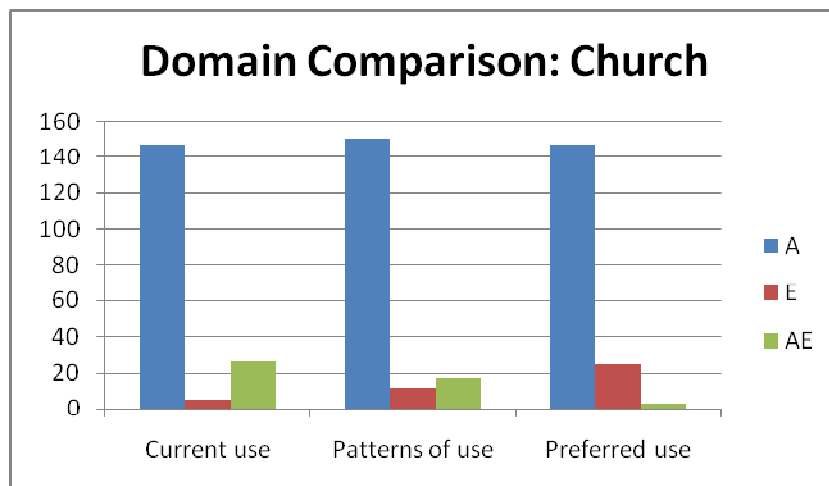
Home

The home domain is dominated by Afrikaans, with 93% of respondents instinctually indicating it as their home language (see Figure 5.6). However, in answer to the next series of questions, the respondents indicate, through their patterns of language use, that only 66% of them actually use Afrikaans at home. With regards to their language preference, the figure drops further to 59%. For 32% of the respondents, there is thus a difference between what the respondents instinctively indicate as their home language and what they would like their home language to be.

There is an increase in the use of English from what is considered instinctive to what is indicated as preference: only 2% of the respondents indicate the use of English in the home domain, compared to the 49% who would prefer to use English at home.

The use of Afrikaans and English as bilingual combination is not very popular in this domain. It is interesting that the home domain has the lowest number of speakers who instinctively indicate the use of Afrikaans-English (compare nine speakers in this domain to 26 in the church domain and 67 in the work domain). Of the three domains, the number of speakers who indicate a bilingual preference is also least in this domain.

Figure 5.6 Language use in the home domain
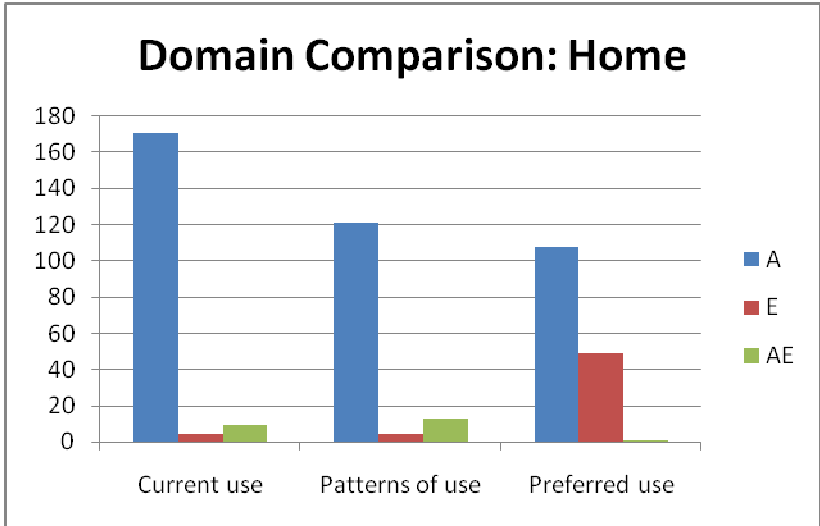
5.7.2   Summary

Overall, the dominance of Afrikaans in all three domains (work, church and home) is clear. It is remarkable that in the work domain, despite the widespread current use of the language, there are even more people who would prefer to use Afrikaans in this domain in future than there are who are using it at present. The use of Afrikaans in the church domain is more or less stable when one compares actual use to preferred use. Most notably, there is a reported decrease in the use of Afrikaans in the home domain. The decrease takes place in the direction of preferred use, with fewer respondents preferring to use Afrikaans in the home than those who use Afrikaans in the home at present.

In spite of the dominance of Afrikaans, there is an increase in the use of English in all of the domains; the biggest increase is indicated in the home domain. It is also interesting to note that parallel to the increase in the use of English, there is a decrease in the simultaneous or combined use of Afrikaans and English. The preliminary conclusion would be that Afrikaans still remains the most important L1 in this town, but that the status of English as an L2 is definitely increasing.

Regarding the findings of preference for bilingual use of Afrikaans and English, it is important to note again that *Afrikaans and English* was not provided as an option on the questionnaire. The highest percentages for Afrikaans-English use are consistently found in the section on current language use. As has been mentioned already, this section can be interpreted as an expression of identity, because it is grouped with self-reflective, identifying questions such as *My first language is ...* and *The age at which I learnt Afrikaans/English ....*

The percentages for Afrikaans-English use in the patterns of language use section are consistently lower than the previous section's percentages. The representation of the Afrikaans-English component in the preferred language use section is either as low as 1% or non-existent. Possible explanations for the decrease in these figures from reported home language to statement of preferred home language might be the fact that the first section is an open-ended question (in other words, there are no text boxes to tick) and that the following sections each had text boxes that had a limiting effect on the choice of answer. Current language use and patterns of language use also differ from preferred language use, in that the former two reflect how things already are. The latter is an expression of what could become a reality in future, and from the responses, it appears that bilingualism does not even feature as a future option. It is possible that the distinction was not apparent to respondents between, on the one hand, knowing and being able to use two languages across a number of domains, as opposed to, on the other hand, using English and Afrikaans interchangably in codeswitching (thus mixing languages in a way that is strongly discouraged in language teaching at school).

The following chapter will discuss the results given above in sections 5.1 to 5.7 and relate them to the five research questions posed at the beginning of this thesis.

Chapter 6

Discussion

The data as presented and analysed in Chapter 5 will serve as the basis for responding to the questions that were set out in the beginning of this thesis. For ease of reference, each question is repeated here, followed by the response to the particular question.

(i)   Has Afrikaans maintained its status as the dominant language of the town?

Considering Figures 5.4 to 5.6, it is clear that Afrikaans consistently has the highest number of speakers in each of the domains: in the workplace and at church meetings and in the home. Afrikaans is therefore undoubtedly still the dominant language on the Hooyvlakte. Further evidence of Afrikaans dominance comes from an unlikely source: the respondents' patterns of language use regarding television and print media suggest that, despite an overwhelming abundance of English alternatives on television and in published form, they will still seek out those programmes and newspapers or magazines that are presented and printed in Afrikaans.

In light of the social history of Afrikaans and the trends towards English among Coloured communities in urban areas, it is remarkable that in Beaufort West, on the Hooyvlakte this community retains Afrikaans as their dominant language. As elsewhere, this is a group who was formerly disadvantaged by a regime that operated through the medium of Afrikaans and that had a vested interest in keeping the Coloured community Afrikaans and monolingual. The reasons for maintaining Afrikaans as dominant language – as opposed to, for example, Coloured communities in the Cape Town metropolitan area and Port Elizabeth (see Anthonissen and George 2003; Farmer 2009; Fortuin – forthcoming) – could be found in the geographical isolation of Beaufort West and the rural character of the town, as such socio-geographical features can act as a preserving factor for the community language. In a rural town, there is less need for a language of prestige and business than in a cosmopolitan centre; what is needed is to be able to express oneself clearly and to understand various interlocutors, and in Beaufort West Afrikaans allows one to meet these needs well. The town is quite some distance from any urban centre (it is nearly five hours' drive from the nearest city, Cape Town) where English (the major language in the country in terms of prestige and business

transactions) is used widely and on a regular basis. Simply stated, the cities that require a command of English are too far away to be an influence or a threat to the dominance of Afrikaans on the Hooyvlakte.

Another reason for the continued dominance of Afrikaans is the fact that there is very little exposure to English on the Hooyvlakte. Considering that most reported exposure of this commumity to English has been in the work place or at tertiary institutions, that 39% of this community is unemployed and that a very small percentage have had access to tertiary study, it is understandable that exposure to English on the Hooyvlakte is limited.

(ii)   Is there currently an increase in the learning and use of English on the Hooyvlakte?

Despite the dominance of Afrikaans, there is a marked increase in the use of and preference for English. Evidence in support of this assertion is the fact that there are some instances of Afrikaans-speaking parents raising their children in English, whereas until quite recently there were no such cases. The data accordingly indicate that an increase in preference for English is highest in the home domain (where children are raised).

Increase in the learning of English is linked to an increase in preference for English (or vice versa). More people are raising their children in English now than previously. The reason for this could be that people have come to terms with English being a major language in this country in terms of status, prestige, economic strength, and that parents wish to afford their children access to a wider range of educational and career possibilities than these parents themselves had had. If this is the case, the reasons for the (limited) language shift on the Hooyvlakte would be similar to those for the (widespread) shift from Afrikaans or an African language to English observed elsewhere in the country (and even in the globalising world). Neville Alexander, in a recent paper discussing the hegemony of English and its influence on the development of indigenous languages, notes that the processes described by Philipson below are replicated in Africa:

> Those who fail in their quest for the alchemy of English see their life chances reduced. Those who become proficient in the alien language may sacrifice the language of their parents and their own culture in the process. The dominant language partially displaces other languages, through exclusive use of that language in certain domains (for instance in the media, or in the modern sector of the economy), and may replace the other languages totally. For well established

languages the addition of English should represent no substantial threat, but in many parts of the world linguistic structures and processes have resulted not in English enriching other languages and cultures but in English supplanting them.

(Philipson cited in Alexander 1999: 9)

The threat of the English language as supplanter is waylaid by Alexander's concluding remark (1999: 18-19) that points to a symbiotic relationship between English and the other languages with which it comes into contact: "[English can] only maintain and expand [its] power if [it] simultaneously ensures that other indigenous or local languages flourish and develop."

(iii)   What is the nature of Afrikaans-English bilingualism on the Hooyvlakte?

As a former member of this community, I have insider experience of how being bilingual on the Hooyvlakte is something that is valued and a source of pride. The ability to speak English well is envied, and as a result people strive to speak it well, even though there are not many opportunities for speaking English (apart from at formal or public gatherings or when one is addressed by an outsider to the community). Bilingual speech is not generally heard on the streets of the Hooyvlakte (or on the streets of the greater Beaufort West, for that matter), but residents of the Hooyvlakte deem it important to know English so that, should the opportunity present itself, they will be able to speak English.

A common perception that the people of the Hooyvlakte have of themselves is that they are completely bilingual – that their English is as good as their Afrikaans. This might be the case for a limited number of these residents, but members of this community generally know just enough English to get by; in fact, living on the Hooyvlakte requires little else. This perception of members of this community (that is, that they are completely bilingual) is confirmed by the data of this study: all respondents rated themselves as being either fully or fairly proficient in Afrikaans, and 97% of the respondents rated themselves as being either fully or fairly proficient in English (48% said they are fully proficient in English and another 45% said they are fairly proficient). Given the limited exposure to instruction in English and the limited opportunities to use English, it is unlikely that almost half (48%) of the residents of the Hooyvlakte can be rated as balanced bilinguals who are as able to communicate in English as they are in Afrikaans. More likely is that the vast majority are less proficient in English than in Afrikaans.

As has been mentioned in Chapter 3, defining bilingualism has proven to be quite difficult. A maximal definition that requires complete fluency in each language has been posited against a minimal definition that requires that the bilingual have basic abilities in the L2. In fact, merely understanding the L2 would also suffice according to the minimal definition of bilingualism. The definition that the Hooyvlakte community adopt in view of themselves is a maximal one: complete proficiency of both languages and yet, in reality, what they often exhibit is bilingualism according to the minimal definition.

Romaine (1995) discusses the difficulties of measuring bilingualism, and points out the many variables that affect the reliability of self-assessment. People's attitudes toward the languages in question, their perceptions of what it means to be a competent speaker of a language, and literacy all play a role in their assessment. In terms of language attitudes, "it is possible that if one of the languages has higher prestige, informants may claim greater knowledge of it (and conversely, lesser knowledge of the non-prestige language) than they actually have" (Romaine 1995: 15-16). English is a language with high social prestige in South Africa, which could therefore be a reason why residents of the Hooyvlakte claim to be more proficient in English than they really are. Furthermore, if speakers view competence in a language to mean competence in the standard variety, it becomes problematic, especially if these speakers know a stigmatised dialect of the language. Being schooled in the standard variety of a language influences the perceptions of those speaking a non-standard dialect, but it also influences those who are illiterate. In such cases, individuals may know a language even as their L1, but not be able to read and write it; they may then say that they don't know that language well (Romaine 1995: 16).

This could be the reason why even some L1 speakers of Afrikaans rated themselves as being no more than fairly proficient in their L1, instead of fully proficient. Seeing that the Afrikaans spoken on the Hooyvlakte is a non-standard dialect (a fact of which the residents of the Hooyvlakte are clearly aware), these L1 speakers of Afrikaans might consider themselves to be less than 100% proficient in Standard Afrikaans and therefore only *fairly* proficient in Afrikaans. This emphasises the way in which perceptions of more and less sophisticed varieties of the same language are projected onto the identity of the speakers, to such an extent that those who speak the non-standard form perceive themselves to be less skilled in their first language than speakers of the standard variety.

(iv) **Is there a shift from predominantly Afrikaans linguistic identity to an Afrikaans-English bilingual identity on the Hooyvlakte?**

It is important to note the phrasing of this question: at issue here is a shift in identity and not necessarily a language shift. However, before attempting to answer this question about identity, I would like to consider the possibility of language shift on the Hooyvlakte: the data obtained in this study affirm the undisputed dominance of Afrikaans in this area. This is in contrast to the situation in many urban Coloured communities where English in stead of Afrikaans is becoming dominant. The general expectation may be that a rural community will by default be different to an urban community. In this instance however, the rural town in question, Beaufort West (the Hooyvlakte), is situated on the national road (the N1) and is made up of a relatively large community of "middle class" residents who desire to move out from under the restrictive experience of the past that was associated with Afrikaans. In light of these facts, it is indeed significant that this community has to date not followed an urban trend which opts to wholly replace Afrikaans.

The undisputed dominance of Afrikaans then precludes the possibility of a large scale language shift in the near future. There are cases of Afrikaans-speaking parents or grandparents raising their children or grandchildren in English, and anecdotal evidence points to an increase of these cases, but at present these cases are still isolated to the extent that one cannot refer to them as indications that community-wide language shift will take place in the near future.

Returning to a shift in identity: the concept of a bilingual identity is articulated in the work of Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) and Tabouret-Keller (1997) as used in Slabbert and Finlayson's (2000) study. Slabbert and Finlayson report the formation of a new hybrid ethnic identity in the urban environment of South African townships and investigate the role that language plays in the creation of this identity. Their study shows how a particular configuration of languages marks and constitutes a particular type of (urban) identity. This particular configuration of languages refers to, among other things, the ability to function in more than one language. Multilingualism, and not just bilingualism in Afrikaans and English, is the main characteristic of the hybrid, urban identity described by these authors. Even though Slabbert and Finlayson found that multilingualism (and not bilingualism) is the main characteristic of the ethnolinguistic identity in South African townships, I would like to

propose here that it is also possible that an identity be formed around the ability to speak (only) two languages – in the case of this study, specifically Afrikaans and English.

The need for a newly formed social identity is based on the fact that we inevitably compare our in-groups with relevant out-groups and, based on the outcome of these comparisons, we can have either a negative or a positive social identity (Giles and Johnson 1987: 71). In order to remedy a negative social identity in an intergroup situation, various strategies of differentiation can be adopted. Forming a new social identity is one such strategy that can be adopted.

Concerning language, a group regards its own language or speech variety as a dimension of comparison with out-groups. Giles and Johnson (1987: 71) argue that "people who define an encounter with a member of another ethnic group as an intergroup one and value their language as a core aspect of its identity will wish to assume a positive identity [through strategies] such as switching to in-group language, accentuating ethnic dialect and slang, etc."

I will argue that in the case of the Hooyvlakte residents, this group continuously compares itself with out-groups. This is deduced from the fact that the greater area in which this group lives (namely the town of Beaufort West) is still racially segregated, so interactions of the Hooyvlakte residents with the rest of the town can be perceived as intergroup ones with the salient feature being ethnicity. The fact that language is valued as a core aspect of intergroup members' identity is confirmed by the fact that the townsfolk have a keen awareness of the language(s) and dialects that are spoken in their immediate environment[28].

According to Vosloo (1998), the Coloured group in South Africa does not have a very positive ethnic identity. The work of Louw-Potgieter and Giles (1988) emphasises the fact that the Afrikaans language is a natural part of the White Afrikaans-speaking person's identity, but does not in a similar way feature as part of the Coloured Afrikaans-speaking person's identity. These aspects of identity then combine to produce a negative social – or rather a negative ethnolinguistic identity. Interactions and consequent intergroup comparisons with the White group of the town produce especially negative evaluations. In spite of the fact that they no longer hold political power, the White group of the town is still viewed as more dominant, possibly due (to a large extent) to their economic power relative to that of the people of the Hooyvlakte.

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[28] See section 2.4.1.

In order to achieve a more positive social identity, the Hooyvlakte residents can try to "pass" as members of the out-group, by changing their accent or dialect to Standard Afrikaans. However, in light of Louw-Potgieter and Giles' (1988) study, the refusal of Coloured respondents to agree with the imposed identity of "Bruin Afrikaners" ("Brown Afrikaners") suggests that such attempts to join the more accomplished, White Afrikaans social group would not be a likely option for the people of the Hooyvlakte.

Louw-Potgieter and Giles (1988: 124-125) recorded another strategy used by the Coloured group in their study in dealing with the imposed identity of "Bruin Afrikaners". This strategy involved rejecting Afrikaans and becoming anglicised. Although there is no indication that the Hooyvlakte group is rejecting Afrikaans, I will argue that another language, English, does in fact play a role in this group's attempt to achieve a more positive ethnolinguistic identity.

I will argue that, in the case of the residents of the Hooyvlakte, a more positive self-concept is produced by associating with another out-group (in relation to the larger Beaufort West community) and, by implication, adopting that group's language. In other words, group A (representing the Hooyvlakte group), when interacting with group B (representing the White Afrikaner group) will prefer to associate with group C (representing for example, a group of White English speakers who are powerful, but also in conflict with group B). Such a strategy allows group A to differentiate itself from and gain a positive self-concept in comparison to group B.

Without wanting to oversimplify matters of group membership, one can point out that an out-group such as group C (as referred to above), is not as homogenous a group as groups A and B. Rather, it is a collective that could include members of both groups A and B as well as other groups. Within such a more heterogenous collective there is a sense of equality; Hooyvlakte residents can associate more readily and feel valued within such a group. The collective with which group A would then identify in this case, is the larger South African population. The country as a "group" is different from other groups, in that it does not have a single language as marker of identity. This role is fulfilled by 11 languages altogether. It has already been pointed out that English is a major language in the country – not in terms of its L1 speaker base, but in terms of its status as the lingua franca and of people's perception of it as one to which prestige can be attached. As a result then, English is perceived as the language that best represents this group C - South Africa.

English is thus not associated with one ethnic group, but with freedom and with being part of a "new South Africa" where social hierarchies are differently organised and where a better possibility of equality exists. Under the apartheid regime, one of the limiting factors for the people of the Hooyvlakte (and for most Coloureds in general) was the construction of ethnicity as a social determiner. This group was classified according to race, with no attention to language: similarity in language between the Coloured community and the group in power was either ignored, or dialectal differences between the varieties of Afrikaans spoken by the Coloured and the White communities were highlighted, with the Coloured varieties being treated in a deprecating manner. This led to a scenario where, as a people, Coloureds could never take any pride in being Afrikaans. I interpret the data obtained in this study as indicative of a process of new identity formation: the residents of the Hooyvlakte are "adopting" English as a means of providing them access to an identity which includes more than just being Coloured and by association being stigmatised. The developing identity is one in which proficiency in English, a prestigious language, is important.

The Hooyvlakte group, in an attempt to associate with the South African collective more closely, incorporates the language of the collective, the lingua franca, into its language repertoire. As has been mentioned earlier in this section, the data indicate that a wide-spread shift from Afrikaans monolingualism to English monolingualism on the Hooyvlakte is unlikely in the near future. However, the results of this study do affirm that English is incorporated quite extensively in the language repertoire of this group.

The "new linguistic identity" as it were of the Hooyvlakte group is a "particular configuration of languages" as set out by Slabbert and Finlayson (2000: 123). The "particular configuration of languages", in this case, refers not to multilingualism and also not to bilingualism in general, but specifically to the use of English and Afrikaans.

The proof that there is a shift away from a (stigmatized) Afrikaans identity toward an Afrikaans-English bilingual identity is based on the data gathered through the survey. In their responses to questions regarding their current language use, respondents indicated that bilingualism in Afrikaans and English was characteristic of their everyday language use.

The very fact that they created the option of Afrikaans-and-English in addition to the two options already provided by the researcher (namely either Afrikaans or English) with which to answer these questions, indicates their association with bilingualism as part of their identity. In general, their ratings of proficiency in each of these languages also indicate that they

consider themselves to be completely bilingual. Finally, their desire for English (made clear through the high ratings given to English in the language preference section) along with their desire to maintain their mother tongue, Afrikaans, indicates a shift – not away from the L1 (as is usually the case where language shift occurs in Coloured communities; see and George 2003; Farmer 2009; Fortuin – forthcoming), but rather a shift toward bilingualism, a nearly equal use of both English and Afrikaans.

Being an Afrikaans monolingual individual is not desirable for the residents of the Hooyvlakte: many of the comments on the value and importance of speaking more than one language had to do with the fact that respondents view themselves as South Africans and therefore as multilinguals, for example, in saying "You cannot live in a country with 11 official languages and not be able to speak at least two." It is clear that Afrikaans is valued by the residents of the Hooyvlakte (regardless of whether or not they take pride in their particular variety of Afrikaans). However, based on insider knowledge of the Hooyvlakte community, Afrikaans is not celebrated or treasured. Instead, it remains stigmatized as the White man's language, the language of the oppressor. The Hooyvlakte dialect of Afrikaans is also still stigmatized by the residents of the Hooyvlakte themselves as being a marker of lower social class, of uneducated, underprivileged people. English in contrast is viewed much more positively as a language that symbolises respect and that does not attach strictly to any specific ethnic or social group.

In summary then, the "invented" ethnic identity imposed upon the Coloured group of the Hooyvlakte, and their exclusion from the Afrikaner group despite their proficiency in Afrikaans, have formed in them a desire to associate with a language other than Afrikaans as well. I argue that the language behaviour of the Hooyvlakte residents is an expression of their identity based, amongst other things, on a "particular configuration of languages" (Slabbert and Finlayson 2000: 123). In contrast to many Coloured communities in and on the outskirts of Cape Town, the Hooyvlakte community takes pride in speaking English and Afrikaans, that is, in being bilingual. Previously, under the apartheid regime, the residents of the Hooyvlakte did not have a recognized or valued ethnolinguistic identity, as their skin colour precluded their membership to the Afrikaner group, on the one hand, and the variety of Afrikaans spoken on the Hooyvlakte was (and possibly still is) stigmatized, on the other. The data gathered in this study suggest a developing new ethnolinguistic identity for these residents, that of bilingual South Africans. Whereas language shift to English monolingualism

is not currently evident on the Hooyvlakte, a shift towards establishing a strong Afrikaans-English bilingual identity is.

In conclusion, even though there appears to be an increase in the learning and use of English among the Coloured community of the Hooyvlakte, Afrikaans has maintained its status as the dominant language of this community. Furthermore, despite possible limited actual proficiency in English, the residents in the Hooyvlakte mostly view themselves as balanced Afrikaans-English bilinguals. This view is related to the shift in linguistic identity, from an almost exclusively (stigmatized) Afrikaans identity to an Afrikaans-English bilingual one. This is in contrast with the shift from predominantly Afrikaans to monolingualism in English found in other Coloured communities studied thus far. Throughout Chapter 5, recommendations for further research were made. The concluding recommendation would be that, in order to increase the generalizability of the results, the study be duplicated with Coloured communities of less isolated rural towns as well as in towns where the majority of the White (read socially and economically still powerful) group speaks English instead of Afrikaans. Comparative studies of this nature will enable one to establish whether the shift in linguistic identity identified in the residents of the Hooyvlakte is unique to this community, or whether this "nation-building" type of linguistic identity is widely being assumed by rural Coloured communities.

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Addendum A

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. INFORMATION ON THE RESPONDENT:

NAME (Optional)   ....

SURNAME (Optional)   ....

DATE OF BIRTH   ....

ADDRESS   …………………………...............

                …………………………….............

                BEAUFORT WEST

How long have you been living in this area? ....………………..

Former residential area   …………………………………

SCHOOL STANDARD   ....

PRESENT SCHOOL (Name and Place)   ....

FORMER SCHOOL (Name and Place)   ....

Date of leaving school   …………………………….....

After-school education/training   ……………………...

2. LANGUAGE USE

My first language is …………………………….

My second language is ………………………..

Age at which I learnt the second language …………..

Environment in which I learnt my second language

At home	At school	In the workplace	In the church community

Language currently used

at home …………………………………….

at school ………………………….…..…..

in the workplace ………………………….

in the church community ……………………

3. LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

List all the languages you know and specify your ability in each language using numbers as follows:

1 = good, 2 = fair, 3 = poor:

	understand	speak	read	write	WHEN / WHERE you use this language
Afrikaans					
English					

4.   PATTERNS OF LANGUAGE USE

(Tick the appropriate box)

4.1   What language do you use when speaking to your children?

English	Afrikaans

4.2   What language do you use when speaking to your partner?

English	Afrikaans

4.3   What language do you use when speaking to your parents?

English	Afrikaans

4.4   What language is most used in your family circle?

English	Afrikaans

4.5   What language is most used in your workplace?

English	Afrikaans

4.6   What language is most used in your church community?

English	Afrikaans

4.7   Which newspaper do you read most? ……………………………………

4.8   Which 3 television programmes do you watch most?
………………………………........
………………………………..
....

5.   LANGUAGE PREFERENCE

(encircle the appropriate language)

5.1   I would prefer speaking to my parents in (English / Afrikaans)
rather than (English / Afrikaans).

5.2   I would prefer speaking to my children in (English / Afrikaans)
rather than (English / Afrikaans).

5.3   I would prefer speaking to my grandchildren in (English / Afrikaans)
rather than (English / Afrikaans).

5.4   I would prefer speaking to my friends in (English / Afrikaans)
rather than (English / Afrikaans).

5.5 I would prefer speaking to my co-workers in (English / Afrikaans)

rather than (English / Afrikaans).

5.6 I would prefer speaking to my church community in (English / Afrikaans)

rather than (English / Afrikaans).

OR

I don't have any special preference – sometimes I speak English and sometime

Afrikaans.

YES	NO

5.7 Do you find it valuable to know more than one language? Give reasons for your

answer.

....

....

....

...........……………………

5.8 Do you find it difficult to use different languages at different times? Give reasons for

your answer.

....

....

....