The discursive construction of the language policy debate at Stellenbosch University: An investigation of the Cape Times and Die Burger.

By

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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 2018

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Abstract

This thesis reports on the ways in which the Stellenbosch University language policy debate is reported on in English and Afrikaans language communities by investigating the discursive construction thereof in hard news reports published in the South African daily publications, *Die Burger* and the *Cape Times*. The data collected for the study spans from 1999 to 2016. The study employs the discourse-historical approach (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009) as the main analytical tool, in conjunction with language ideology theory (Woolard, 1998). Supplementary discursive strategies are employed within the structure of the discourse historical approach, such as Fairclough's (2003) relational approach to texts; and Scollon's (1998) voiced agents and agents of speaking; Irvine and Gal's 'iconisation'; and White's (1997) 'intensification'. The findings suggest that the debate has taken place primarily in Afrikaans, allowing little opportunity for counter-ideologies to be explored in the Afrikaans speaking community. This results in the construction and perpetuation of radicalised discourse, reminiscent of right-wing populist discourse (Wodak, 2015) in *Die Burger*. Furthermore, the findings indicate that both *Die Burger* and the *Cape Times* employ metaphors of war in their reporting. *Die Burger's* overt use of the war metaphor is symptomatic of a loss of hegemony experienced in post-Apartheid South Africa, expressed as a loss of language (Blommaert, 2011). In the *Cape Times,* however, a variation of this war metaphor is subtly employed in recent years as a liberation discourse (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998), by indexing race and transformation with language. The most salient finding suggests that while hard news reports seem to be neutral in tone, the iconisation of social actors, as well as the intensification of lexis are means for perspectivisation for both newspapers. In this thesis, it is argued that language is emblematic for larger socio-political insecurities experienced by a young democratic nation. Therefore, the ultimate aim of this study is to highlight the socio-linguistic complexity of South Africa to the international field of Linguistics. This thesis hopes to attract innovative and sustainable language policy and planning solutions for the linguistic and intellectual development of the multilingual South African population; while sustaining and further developing the Afrikaans language as an inclusive, creative, and academic language.

Opsomming

Hierdie proefskrif berig oor die manier waarop daar verslag gedoen is oor die Universiteit Stellenbosch se taaldebat in Engelse en Afrikaanse taalgemeenskappe deur die diskursiewe konstruksie daarvan in harde nuusberigte wat in die Suid-Afrikaanse daaglikse publikasies, *Die Burger* en die *Cape Times* gepubliseer is, te ondersoek. Die data wat vir die studie ingesamel is, strek van 1999 tot 2016. Herdie studie gebruik hoofsaaklik die diskoers-historiese benadering (Reisigl en Wodak, 2009) as die belangrikste analitiese instrument, in samewerking met die taalideologie teorie (Woolard, 1998). Addisionele diskursiewe strategieë word in die struktuur van die diskoers-historiese benadering gebruik, soos Fairclough (2003) se relasionele benadering tot tekste; en Scollon (1998) se stemhebbende agente en agente van praat; Irvine en Gal se 'ikonisering'; en White se (1997) 'intensivisering'. Die bevindings dui daarop dat die debat hoofsaaklik in Afrikaans plaasgevind het, en dat min geleenthede vir teen-ideologieë in die Afrikaanssprekende gemeenskap verken kan word. Dit lei tot die konstruksie en voortsetting van 'n radikale diskoers, wat ooreenkom met die regs se populistiese diskoers (Wodak, 2015) in *Die Burger*. Verder dui die bevindings daarop dat beide *Die Burger* en die *Cape Times* metafore van oorlog in hul verslagdoening gebruik. *Die Burger* se openlike en herhalende gebruik van die oorlogsmetafoor is simptomaties van 'n verlies van hegemonie uitgedruk as taalverlies (Blommaert, 2011). In die *Cape Times* is egter 'n variasie van hierdie oorlogsmetafoor in die afgelope jare subtiel in diens as 'n bevrydingsdiskoers (Blommaert en Verschueren, 1998), deur ras en transformasie met taal te ekwivaleer. Die mees opvallende bevinding dui daarop dat terwyl harde nuusverslae neutraal wil voorkom, die ikonisering van sosiale akteurs, sowel as die intensivisering van lexis, sterk perspektivisering vir beide koerante veroorsaak. In hierdie proefskrif word dit aanvaar dat taal simbolies is vir groter sosio-politieke onsekerhede wat deur 'n jong demokratiese nasie ervaar word. Dus is die uiteindelike doel van hierdie studie om hierdie sosio-linguistiese kompleksiteit op die internasionale linguistiese veld te beklemtoon. Die hoofsaaklike hoop is om innoverende en volhoubare taalbeleid en beplanningsoplossings vir die taalkundige en intellektuele ontwikkeling van die veeltalige Suid-Afrikaanse bevolking te lok; insluitend die verdere ontwikkeling van die Afrikaanse taal as inklusiewe, kreatiewe en akademiese taal.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND RATIONALE

1.1 Context and rationale for the study

Language in post-Apartheid South Africa never ceases to be a controversial issue. Afrikaans in particular has inspired protests, reactive mobilisation and narratives of oppression. The history of Afrikaans has been widely contested and its place in the public arena of South Africa is frequently constructed as 'under threat'. Recently, the role of Afrikaans at higher education institutions, in particular Stellenbosch University (SU), has gained public attention once more. However, the debate around language, specifically on Afrikaans, has been ongoing for a number of years, especially gaining prominence when issues around diversity and transformation became prominent. This thesis is particularly interested in how the SU language ideological debate is constructed in the South African printed newspapers, *Cape Times* and *Die Burger*, for the period 1999-2016.

Currently, SU can be described as bilingual, with English and Afrikaans as media of instruction. Bilingualism has become an increasingly prevalent medium of instruction (MoI) in higher education institutions all over the world. It is said that this is the result of the linguistic context in which the institution functions, as well as the political and social conditions of the time during which the institution was founded (Purser, 2000:451). This is evident in regions such as Europe and Canada, where bilingual policies are introduced in tertiary education institutions for the advancement and benefit of minority groups, or to include English as a medium of teaching and learning in countries where it is not a majority language (Oostendorp and Anthonissen, 2014:69).

South Africa, however, bearing 11 official languages, only presents two languages as MoI in tertiary education institutions: namely, English and Afrikaans (Oostendorp and Anthonissen, 2014:69). This holds true despite the fact that according to Statistics South Africa (2011:23) the most spoken first languages (L1) in South Africa are isiZulu and isiXhosa, which are spoken by more than 22,7% and 16,0% of the population, respectively. Following this are approximately 13,5% and 9,6% Afrikaans and English L1 speakers, respectively. Even in universities such as

Fort Hare in the Eastern Cape, where the majority of the population (more than five million) are L1 speakers of isiXhosa, English is still the preferred (and only) MoI (Oostendorp and Anthonissen, 2014:69).

Considering Purser's (2000:451) sentiments regarding the dependence of bilingualism on the social and political influence held by the context in which the institution was established, it is no surprise that SU's language policy is under relentless scrutiny and frequent revision. SU, founded in 1910, is considered to be the birthplace of Apartheid and Afrikaner nationalism. Much like other bilingual universities country-wide, SU's language policy makes provision for Afrikaans/English as MoI. According to the 2007 official SU language policy, the A-option offers lectures in Afrikaans. Study material may be in Afrikaans and/or English, while the course framework may be given in Afrikaans and English to accommodate students with English L1 or an English MoI background. The T-option offers lectures in which Afrikaans as well as English is used interchangeably, though with a provision that use of Afrikaans may not be reduced to less than 50%. Textbooks and reading materials are in Afrikaans and/or English, while other teaching materials are in Afrikaans and English. The E-option is exceptional at undergraduate level. This option offers lectures primarily in English. Textbooks and reading material may be in Afrikaans and/or English, notes are in English (where required core notes may be provided in Afrikaans), with other teaching and learning materials in English (Oostendorp and Anthonissen, 2014:71).

Amendments to language policy has primarily played out in public in South Africa. Student factions presenting ideological claims from polar opposite ends of the debate have pressured the university management into amending the language policy based on their ideological interests. Newspapers, especially in the Western Cape, have reported on the issue. For example, newspaper headlines have had captions such as: "… Open Stellenbosch - tackling language and exclusion at Stellenbosch University" (Daily Maverick, 2015); and "Court orders Stellies to teach in Afrikaans" (News24, 2016).

Although SU prides itself in its multilingual approaches to learning and, as per the SU Language Policy as approved by SU Council in 2014, embraces the need to preserve and 'safeguard' Afrikaans (Language Policy of Stellenbosch University, 2014:3), recently SU students from

diverse South African ethnicities have begun to protest against the use of the T-option in classrooms, as well as the predominant use and prominence of Afrikaans and Afrikaner culture on campus. SU students have asserted that "Afrikaans doesn't qualify for special treatment at universities" (Mail & Guardian Online, 2015). While SU is located in the Western Cape where the Afrikaans L1 population is 49% (Statistics South Africa, 2011), students who are not proficient in Afrikaans have argued that the use of the T-option excludes non-Afrikaans L1 speakers and hinders the learning process and further economic and intellectual advancement of the majority of the South African population. The arguments presented in this dialogue include that of equity, practicability and redress (Luister, 2015:11:58-15:00).

On the contrary, Afrikaans student groups such as AfriForum have engaged in reactive mobilisation, stating that it is the Afrikaans students' responsibility to protect Afrikaans L1 instruction and uphold Afrikaans student traditions. For example, AfriForum Youth has launched a scholarship competition for Afrikaans students as a national campaign to retain Afrikaans as a medium of instruction at universities, after obtaining a court order forcing SU to strictly adhere to its current language policy. Their poster for this campaign reads "Afrikaans Sal Bly. Jou Taal. Jou Toekoms. Jou Geld" (AfriForum Jeug, 2016); directly translated into English, this reads: *Afrikaans will stay. Your language. Your future. Your money.* In their press release advertising this scholarship it states "AfriForum Jeug is van mening dat studente nie voldoende oor hul grondwetlike regte ingelig is nie en dat universiteitsbesture studente se regte skend deur eentaligheid in 'n diverse samelewing te probeer afdwing en toepas." (AfriForum Jeug, 2016) Translated, this claims that students are not informed enough about their constitutional rights and that university management violates these rights by enforcing monolingualism in a diverse society. It is notable that both factions reference their constitutional right and make claims regarding the betterment of a diverse society through vastly different ideological lenses, making claims of a polar opposite nature.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The media is known to be the primary site of contesting meaning and constructing knowledge on current issues (Gamson, 2004:243). Bakhtin (1986) states that any text responds, in some way, to

a prior text (or set of texts) and therefore retains traces of that text. Intertextuality is later defined by Bazerman (1994) as the accomplishment goals of an activity within social settings. Therefore, public debates on bilingual education are thus seen as competition for value between differing social groups. This is said to take place through the manipulation of symbolic assets, such as languages. Considering that the SU language policy debate has played out in the public forum of the media, it is surprising that no studies have investigated the discursive construction of the language debate by the South African media. This thesis will fill this research gap, by observing the English and Afrikaans press with the understanding that newspapers simultaneously construct and are constructed by the ideal communities they claim to present. The findings will therefore provide insight into how the media constructs and perpetuates ideologies regarding language, identity, race and inequality.

1.3 Research question

The overarching research question posed for this study is as follows: How is the SU language policy debate discursively constructed by two South African newspapers between 1999 and 2016?

In order to adequately investigate the aforementioned question, the following sub-questions need to be addressed:

1. Who are the social actors that are presented in these debates?
2. What ideologies underlie the different ways in which newspapers report on the language policy debate?

These research questions are methodically informed by Reisigl and Wodak's (2009) heuristically orienting questions.

1.4 Theoretical position

The theoretical framework of this thesis will rely on two related fields of study, that of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and language ideology. CDA is comprised of various theoretical and methodological strands. For example, Fairclough (1992) presents a three-dimensional model of

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text, discursive practice and social practice; Reisigl and Wodak (2001) present a discourse-historical approach; and Van Dijk (2001) presents a socio-cognitive approach. CDA theorists are often interdisciplinary researchers, whereby methods and theories form various scholarly traditions are utilised. For the critical discourse analysis, this thesis will draw specifically from Wodak and Reisigl's discourse-historical approach (2001) while relying on supplementary discursive strategies taken in order to answer the methodological questions posed by DHA, such as Fairclough's (2003) relational approach to texts, and Scollon's (1998) voiced agents and agents of speaking. For language ideology, this thesis will be informed primarily by Woolard's definition and arguments for the utility of language ideology as found in (Schieffelin, Woolard, and Kroskrity, 1998) as well as Wodak's (1996) framework wherein language ideologies should be analysed.

1.5 Research design

The general research design of this thesis is qualitative in nature as it will apply principles of CDA theorists, primarily Reisigl and Wodak (2001) and Fairclough (2003) with the influence and critique of Van Dijk and Blommaert, to a data set from two South African newspapers, namely *Die Burger* and *Cape Times*. The two newspapers were selected as they are both daily publications produced in the province that the University is located. They traditionally have different readership and are respectively published in Afrikaans and English. However, the main aim of the thesis is not to draw comparisons between the two newspapers.

Die Burger was first published in 1915 and is still the largest daily broadsheet newspaper in the Western Cape. It publishes six days per week and has approximately 497 000 readers. *Die Burger* has special significance to this study, as the newspaper was founded in Stellenbosch and acted as the mouthpiece of the National Party during Apartheid (South African Press Association, 1997). The *Cape Times* has been a daily publication since 1876 and has approximately 258 000 readers, largely constituting the middle-class population of Cape Town (Independent Media, 2018). Data for this thesis was collected digitally from the SA Media Component of Sabinet online media archive from the two aforementioned newspapers. Of the archived material, data was selected according to the specific theme: "SU language debate" or "US taaldebat". Owing to the

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discrepancy of the number of opinion pieces published, Die Burger's quantity far surpassing the *Cape Times*'s, it was decided that only hard news articles would be analysed. 'Hard news' articles are exclusively those which report about a specific event, employing a seemingly ''neutral'' reporting style, presenting ''just the facts'' typically the ''most important information'' is presented first and ''less important information'' follows after (Thompson, White, Kitly, 2008:212).

1.6 Chapter outline

Chapter 2

Chapter two provides an outline of the historical context of the language policy debate at SU, by placing it within the larger context of Stellenbosch and Afrikaans, drawing on National language policy changes before and after 1994 as well as changes to the SU language policy. Then, a general discussion of South Africa's current higher education policy will take place. And finally, the juxtaposition of opposing ideological views regarding the place of Afrikaans at SU will be addressed.

Chapter 3

Chapter three first outlines multiple key definitions of language ideology by Silverstein (1979), Bakhtin (1981) Irvine (1989) Foucault (1993) as well as Schieffelin, Woolard, and Kroskrity's (1998). Thereafter the chapter will discuss language ideology at the intersection of language use and structure. Then language and dominance as well as language and policy are discussed in the context of ideology. Finally, the chapter addresses the manner in which ideologies have been produced, reproduced, contested and studied in the media as institutions (Schieffelin et al., 1998, 1998; Fairclough, 2003; Johnson and Ensslin, 2007; Milani 2007; Milani and Johnson, 2010). Additionally, a framework is provided for which language ideology should be considered and analysed (Wodak 1996).

Chapter 4

Chapter four provides a historical account of CDA, which has its roots placed in many fields. Thereafter, prominent theorists (Van Dijk, Fairclough, and Wodak) and their various contributions

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are outlined. Critical concepts adopted by the field are explored; as well as the ways in which critical theorists and sociolinguists (Bourdieu, Foucault, Halliday, Hymes, and so forth) contributed to the development of CDA. A brief account of how other researchers have applied this specific branch of CDA (DHA) is given. Finally, criticisms and evaluations, specifically noted by Chilton (2005) and Widdowson (Poole, 2010) are considered, followed by responses to said criticisms in a discussion of Cognitive Linguistics (Hart, 2011) and Van Dijk's socio-cognitive analysis (Hart and Cap, 2014).

Chapter 5

Chapter five contextualises the present thesis socially and theoretically, and discusses the criteria for data collection, selection and analysis. The historical contexts of the *Cape Times* and *Die Burger* are accounted for. Thereafter the data collection and corpus construction are discussed, including the methods of analysis.

Chapter 6

Chapter six seeks to answer two out of five heuristically orienting questions as set out by Reisigl and Wodak (2009) by the identification of social actors authorised and employed as perspectivisation tools by the *Cape Times* and *Die Burger*. Thematic attributions (Fairclough, 2003), as well as voicing strategies (Scollon, 1998) are therefore considered in the analysis.

Chapter 7

Chapter seven seeks to answer the final three out of five heuristically orienting questions (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009). While the previous chapter sought to discover how social actors were employed, this chapter discusses why *Die Burger* iconises experts; and the *Cape Times* iconises laymen. This chapter specifically focuses on iconisation (Irvine and Gal, 2000) and intensification (White, 1997).

Chapter 8

Chapter eight provides concluding remarks, including the contributions of this thesis to the field, South Africa, and to general sociolinguistic and discourse analytical theory , as well as considerations of limitations of the study.

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CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In this chapter, the language policy debate at SU will be contextualised, by firstly placing it within the larger context of the relation between Stellenbosch and Afrikaans and secondly in relation to language policy changes after 1994. Official documents obtained from the website of the Department of Higher Education and Training will be drawn upon, as well as official documents for SU and work written on language policy at SU and at other universities in South Africa. The chapter is thus organised in the following way: Firstly, the language policy in South Africa both during Apartheid and constitutional provisions for language after 1994 will be discussed. Then the language policy in higher education will be discussed more generally, with a brief overview of the situation at other South African universities. Lastly, focus will be placed on language policy at SU. This chapter will draw extensively from *No Lesser Place: The taaldebat at Stellenbosch* (Brink, 2006) and chapter fifteen *To know who you are*, out of *Historian: Hermann Giliomee, An autobiography* (Giliomee, 2016). Brink's work was chosen as a primary source as he was at the forefront of the debate during his term as SU rector and promoted healthy debate on both sides of the spectrum regarding protecting, and / or promoting Afrikaans. In the book, both voices are pronounced. Thus, he is considered an expert resource. Giliomee's work was chosen as he is a prominent voice in the public debate and holds opinions on the polar opposite spectrum of Brink's.

2.1 A historical overview of South African language policy in education

South Africa is a melting-pot of languages and language varieties, however, as accounted for by the Department of Education, formerly known as the Ministry of Education, this linguistic diversity "was once used as an instrument of control, oppression, and exploitation" (Ministry of Education, 2002:2). At the onset of Apartheid, language policy in education was an integral ideological tool which dejected bilingual education and isolated differing language users in specified areas (Potgieter and Anthonissen, 2017:135). The ideology and policy of 'separate development' resulted in the unequal development of African languages, privileging English and Afrikaans, and in so doing, marginalising African languages (Ministry of Education, 2002:2). 1953 introduced Bantu Education, which extended African mother tongue instruction for eight years,

deliberately providing limited resources in order to suppress black African education (Potgieter and Anthonissen, 2017:135). This 'separate development' ideology was blatantly expressed by HF Verwoerd as follows:

> When I have control over native education, I will reform it so that natives will be taught from childhood that equality with Europeans is not for them. (House of Assembly, 1953:3585)

Contrary to the intent of Bantu Education, black pass rates were rising, and consequently suspicion by these communities that separate development, albeit in one's mother tongue, was a strategy to keep black communities isolated from modern society. In 1975 dual-medium was thus implemented for black African secondary schools, demanding that subjects are taught English and Afrikaans (Potgieter and Anthonissen, 2017:136). The Council of Higher Education (CHE) characterises this attempt as follows:

> Indeed, it was the attempt by the apartheid state to impose Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools that gave rise to the mass struggles of the late 1970s and 1980s (Council of Higher Education, 2001:2)

The Soweto uprising of 1976 gave rise to the Education and Training Act 90 of 1979 legislated the reduction of mother tongue instruction to four years, whereafter black Africans could opt for Afrikaans or English single-medium instruction. Given the oppressive Afrikaner political climate, most opted for English MoI (Potgieter and Anthonissen, 2017:136), which gave rise to the post-Apartheid language policy challenges, specifically with regard to access.

2.2 A brief overview of language policy in higher education

Post-Apartheid, the official languages of South Africa sprung from two to eleven. Thus, equitable policy and planning in education became of paramount importance for the transformative agenda of the nation. In 2001 the CHE put forward a language policy framework for higher education, with the focus on multilingualism in South Africa. Objectives for what was framed as a democratic language policy were: Firstly, to empower individuals by promoting equal use of official languages. Secondly, to develop and promote all official languages of South Africa, with significant mention of Afrikaans and sign language. Thirdly, the support of economic development

while promoting multilingualism. Fourthly, to make provision for access to learning in all national languages. Lastly, to identify multilingualism as one of six basic values that ought to be promoted by higher education systems (CHE, 2001:3). It is clear then that the national agenda to transform higher education was within a multilingual framework. This framework explicitly stated that all formerly Afrikaans institutions had implemented parallel medium in theory or practice "with the exception of Stellenbosch" (CHE, 2001:6).

In response to this framework, the Ministry of Education instated a language policy for higher education, embracing the same multilingual principles, founded on the basis of the South African constitution:

> Everyone has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public educational institutions where that education is reasonably practicable. In order to ensure the effective access to, and implementation of, this right, the state must consider all reasonable educational alternatives, including single medium institutions, taking into account-
>
> (a) equity;
>
> (b) practicability; and
>
> (c) the need to redress the results of past racially discriminatory laws
>
> and practices" (Section 29 (2) of the Constitution).

On the backdrop of multilingualism, the policy asserted that the sustainability of Afrikaans in higher education should not be reliant on previously Afrikaans institutions as the 'custodians' of the language. It was asserted that such siloed responsibility would hinder the transformation agenda (Ministry of Education, 2002:12). The Government Gazette had also required that all historically Afrikaans MoI institutions submit language plans for 2004-2006 including clear strategies to ensure that language of instruction does not act as a barrier to access to higher education (Ministry of Education, 2002:13).

This national landscape is the backdrop for the intense language debate at SU. Many of the references such as the Constitution as well as the notion of being custodians of a language will present itself later on in this chapter. Henceforth the chapter will narrow its lens from a national to an institutional one, now focusing on SU specifically.

2.3 Stellenbosch and Afrikaans

Founded in 1679 by Dutch Governor Simon van der Stel, Stellenbosch is the second oldest European settlement in South Africa. Then, approximately 200 years later, in 1859, a theological seminary was established; as well as the Stellenbossche Gymnasium, which, in its founding meeting minutes in 1864 states "The goal of the gymnasium is a thorough instruction in those subjects considered to be part of a civilised society" (Brink, 2006:1). The gymnasium was then renamed to Victoria College, in 1887, with the aforementioned goal in mind, operating under English, single-medium instruction, until 1910 when Dutch was recognised as an official language (Hill, 2009:8). Finally, in 1918, it was formally founded as an independent university; and in 1925 adopted the aim of serving the cause of the Afrikaners by establishing a local standard of 'its European counterpart' and seizing a public educational space (Hill, 2009:8), while British imperialism dominated southern Africa, politically, culturally, and linguistically. At the university, Afrikaans was formalised into a language of literature and science. According to Brink, SU had become a launch pad for great Afrikaner businesses; and, as is still evident today, SU became synonymous with rugby, arguably South Africa's most successful sport. Most importantly for this thesis, however, is that SU was a major intellectual source of Apartheid.

In the 1930s, Afrikaans mother-tongue instruction was implemented with the goal of incentivising and justifying Afrikaans monolingual schools, as a plight of Afrikaner nationalists to raise their status in relation to English. Giliomee (2016:293) described Stellenbosch from this time on to be reminiscent of "megalomania" and "parochialism". This is perhaps because SU had produced some of Apartheid's most prominent Afrikaner leaders, such as Apartheid prime ministers, DF Malan and Hendrik Verwoerd, who were at the forefront of socially implementing racial policies. In summation, the university had become home to "typically prominent members of the Afrikaner Broederbond" (Brink, 2006:2). However, SU has also produced vocal anti-Apartheid household names such as pastor Beyers Naudé who challenged Apartheid from the pulpit; as well as Frederik van Zyl Slabbert who lead the Opposition in the late 1970s. These and the like were socially exiled for betraying the Afrikanerdom (Brink, 2006:3). This clear divide in Afrikaner ideology will be evident throughout this chapter and the analysis of the data.

2.3.1 Afrikaans in higher education

Hill describes the advancement of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in higher education as an intentional process of establishing the language and culture as a 'unified political economy' post-1910. He describes this process as the appropriation of physical space epistemology from a pre-existing Anglophone institution. Initially dual medium instruction was instated for two reasons, firstly, parallel medium instruction was too costly an implementation, and dual medium would play a pivotal transitional role to Afrikaans monolingual instruction (Hill, 2009:9). It is thus evident that the monolingual Afrikaans policy was not instated with the intention of granting equal access to Afrikaners or Afrikaans speakers, but solely for the political advancement of Afrikaner nationalism.

Owing to the fact that SU has been synonymous with Afrikaans, and standard Afrikaans has been synonymous with historical power and oppression, the role of Afrikaans in higher education post-Apartheid has been a significantly contentious subject. As per Brink's account, when going abroad on business for the university, he was met with a bewildered question regarding whether SU *still teaches* in Afrikaans. On the other hand, in South Africa, the *taalstryders*[1] beg the continuous question "But *do* you still teach in Afrikaans" and "Do you promise to *continue* doing so?" (Brink, 2006:4). While the quest for having SU be the clam in which the pearl of Afrikaans is held for the purpose of maintaining a strong cultural identity, is pioneered by the white Afrikaner community; the reality is that the majority of Afrikaans speakers are black. Historically, black in South Africa, means African Black, Coloured[2], and Indian; and these categories are still used as identifiers today for the purposes of affirmative action. As accounted for by Brink (2006:5), the 2002 Census indicated that Afrikaans was a mother-tongue for 4,2% African Black, 0,3% Indian, 53% Coloured, and 42,4% White citizens. As aforementioned in the introduction, the Western Cape is the province with the highest concentration of Afrikaans speakers (55,3%), 79% of whom are Coloured. Yet, post 1994, SU has remained predominantly white (72%), with only 27,9% Black, Coloured, and Indian students enrolled at SU in 2005 (Brink, 2006:25). Thus, indicative of the fact

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[1] *language warriors*

[2] South Africans of mixed descent

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that Afrikaans and Afrikaner are two separate identity groups, and the *stryd* for Afrikaans monolingualism at SU was not in the interest of all Afrikaans speakers.

2.3.2 The devolution of Afrikaans at Stellenbosch University

In his autobiography, Giliomee attributes what could be considered as the devolution of Afrikaans at SU to a specific group of executive SU Council members from the year 2001 onward, specifically when Brink was elected. In his autobiography he frames Brink as an unqualified or unwelcomed stranger, by introducing him as a "mathematician who was then attached to a University in Australia" and accounting for his appointment as rector as having "won the election to council by a vote or two" (Giliomee, 2016:303). Under Brink's governance, by the end of 2002, Afrikaans was the "default" language of instruction, with provision made for parallel-medium instruction (Afrikaans and English), as well as what Giliomee described as "the fatal T-option" whereby lecturers used both Afrikaans and English in first year classrooms, on the condition that Afrikaans is used at last 50% of the time. The rationale behind the T-option was that it would prepare non-Afrikaans speaking students for monolingual Afrikaans lectures from second year onward (Giliomee, 2016:303). This option was clearly trial and error and criticised by many, including Frederik van Zyl Slabbert as "pedagogically unsound" (Giliomee, 2016:303).

By 2005 the faculty of Arts and Social Sciences was using the T-option at all undergraduate levels, and the executive SU Council committee had requested the revision of the language policy, endorsing more flexibility. Brink (2006) accounts for the need for more flexible thinking regarding language policy and planning at a multilingual institution in a multilingual nation. Giliomee (2016:305-306) argues that there had been no reason for council to "open the gate widely" for English, as the university had already surpassed their required capacity in order to attain government funding, being a predominantly Afrikaans institution. Ultimately, Giliomee believes that the T-option was the university's Trojan horse for the new language policy, which gives English and Afrikaans equal status (2016:307). In an account of the language profile at SU, it is illustrated that Afrikaans had declined from 74% in 1995 to 42% in 2015, and English had increased from 20% to 44%. It must be noted that the Afrikaans student cohort is predominantly L1 Afrikaans speaking, whereas the English cohort includes L1 speakers of other official South

African languages, as well as international students. However, this statistic is still seen by the *taalstryders* as a betrayal and a precursor to English dominance (Giliomee, 2016:316).

Below is an extract from an interview with a respondent at the University of Pretoria on 20 October 2003. Although referring to the context of NMMU, it highlights a problem prevalent at SU during this shift from parallel medium to T-option. The post-Apartheid English student population was likely not L1 English and was not guaranteed to have been educated in both English and Afrikaans.

> [The bilingual policy] worked quite well while the University was still a whites-only institution… because it simply assumed unashamedly that the people who enter the university come from schools where they had to pass at least one of the two languages on the lower grade to get a matric [i.e. the second language]. Your student population was limited to whites; it was limited to people who came out of South African schools – we were not concerned about internationals… it was thus assumed that they come here with a certain language competency, and that it was basic enough to build on and to develop further proficiency in their second language. And that worked quite well. Some of them actually thanked us for that; after a year or two they were quite proficient in the second language (Hill, 2009:14).

2.4. Afrikaans as 'a language of higher functions' and the notion of ownership: An Afrikaans university

Afrikaners, being privy to political, economic, social, and academic privilege in Apartheid, experienced great loss post 1994, where they found themselves having to contend for retained socioeconomic and linguistic relevance and status along with the other nine indigenous African languages. Giliomee (2016:294) expressed concern about the future of Afrikaans at an ANC conference; he was advised not to worry about the future of Afrikaans, but of the futures of other official languages such as Xhosa and Zulu as well. This lived experience of loss was articulated by means of clinging to the single self-identification as an Afrikaner, for example Giliomee expressed "Afrikaans had made me the person I was" as well as quoting Jan Rabie as saying

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"Sonder Afrikaans is ek niks"[3] (Giliomee, 2016:29). In addition to the single self-identification, there was a strong need for Afrikaans to be retained as a language with higher functions. Thus, *stryding*[4] for the retained ownership of Afrikaans universities. This is best articulated in Brink's (2006:62) account of a quote from the book edited by Giliomee and Lawrence Schlemmer in 2002: *Kruispad: Die toekoms van Afrikaans as openbare taal*[5]– a book which Brink (2006:62) states could have been instrumental in the progress of the *taaldebat*[6], if it had been thought to be translated into English for broader access to understanding the Afrikaner.

> The single greatest danger for Afrikaans is, however, that if Afrikaans as university language should diminish or disappear, it would mean the downfall of Afrikaans as a language of science, as disciplinary language, as language of intellectual discourse and eventually also as literary language. Many have survived at grassroots level. isiZulu, seSotho and any other indigenous languages provided proof of this claim. Also, there is little doubt that Afrikaans will survive in sport stadiums, bars, cafes, lounges and bedrooms. But who will take it seriously if it does not excel at the intellectual and professional level? As with other indigenous African languages, Afrikaans would in such a case, be decapitated. (Gliomee, Schlemmer, Alexander, Du Plessis & Loubser, 2001:118)

An Afrikaans university was then described in this same book (Giliomee et al., 2001:15-33) as a place where all undergraduate education takes place in Afrikaans, but furthermore, residence students should have knowledge of Afrikaans and be able to participate in activities in Afrikaans. It is further stipulated by Giliomee (2001:72) that language policies should be "rigorously enforced" by the university, thus no department should be privy to subjective interpretation or application of this policy.

Brink characterises this authoritarian notion as typical of the Afrikaner ideology, reminiscent of Jean Laponce's writings in *Language and Their Territories* (1987), wherein he articulates that

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[3] "Without Afrikaans I am nothing"

[4] *fighting*

[5] *Crossroads: The future of Afrikaans as public language*

[6] *language debate*. The Afrikaans term is used to emphasise that the debate revolves around the position of Afrikaans and takes place primarily in Afrikaans.

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bilingual policies in schools only ever have the appearance of being equal, and that it is the smaller language which finds itself assimilating to a dominant group (Laponce, 1987:170). In the case of Stellenbosch, the Afrikaner sees itself as the smaller language and English as dominant. This is echoed in Giliomee's account of his interaction with Laponce, seeking his opinion on SU's decision to implement the T-option, which Laponce had described as "absurd" and the cause of the devolution of Afrikaans as merely decorative (Giliomee, 2016:307). This ideology is articulated in several ways throughout the *taaldebat*, which is accounted for in the following section.

2.5. The arguments for and against an Afrikaans university and Afrikaner rhetoric

The arguments for an Afrikaans university by the Afrikaner community have been subdivided into nine categories by Brink (2006:81-89). These categories are then explained by deconstructing the Afrikaner rhetoric, which is characterised by dichotomy, certainty, and agency (2006:97-101). Giliomee (2016:306) describes Brink's book as "curious" as he does not deem it as offering sound evidence that a monolingual Afrikaans university is unsustainable. It does, however, lend an analysis of the rationale behind the arguments for and against an Afrikaans university, which is of utmost value for this study and will be outlined below.

2.5.1 The socio-diversity argument

By analogy for biodiversity, this argument asserts that the state holds the responsibility for preserving minority groups, including linguistic minorities, for the same reason as it is responsible for preserving the rainforest. The ecosystemic logic is that the loss of a species in an ecosystem is a loss to all. In the same way, the extinction of a language, culture, or religion, is a loss to our socio-diversity, and it is the responsibility of all to guard against. Therefore, since Afrikaans is a developed language which contributed to the linguistic diversity of the nation, it reserves the right to be 'safeguarded' (Brink, 2006:83). This notion is echoed when Giliomee (2016:298) claims, in the context of the status of Afrikaans during and post-Apartheid, that "without the recognition of two official languages (Afrikaans and English) in schools and universities, South Africa would probably not have achieved political stability".

"The *taalstryders* desire to retain Afrikaans for South Africa and our children, and claim that in order to do so we should fence it off in an enclave" (Brink, 2006:160). Giliomee (2016:298) provides sound evidence for this when stating that the problem with Afrikaners is that they have lost their sense of solidarity, and their "obligation to support Afrikaans educational institutions and businesses". This thesis notes a logical fallacy in the reasoning that something should be retained for the good of a social ecosystem, while proposing to maintain it by means of exclusion and compulsion.

2.5.2 Afrikaans as a role model for other African languages

South Africa's 11 official languages are typically categorised as either *two plus nine* or *one plus ten.* The two plus nine viewpoint sees English and Afrikaans on equal footing in terms of their accomplishments with regard to use in the so-called higher functions of language. They are then seen as the two fully 'developed languages' of South Africa. On the other hand, the one plus nine viewpoint regards English as an international language and the other ten as indigenous languages. The former viewpoint is taken as justification for having exclusively Afrikaans universities, as it is seen as 'developed' and indigenous. The notion is commonly asserted that if Afrikaans cannot retain its 'higher functions' then other African languages will never attain them (Brink, 2006:84). This study asserts that the opinion that Afrikaans can only preserve its higher functions as a single medium institution, and that this empowers other African languages to attain them, is flawed. Claiming ownership to a tertiary education institution as single medium, is a barrier to access for other languages to be utilised and developed in that space. In other words, if the three Western Cape universities are single medium, none would accept the responsibility for developing the higher functions of isiXhosa to be used as a language of instruction. Thus, Brink (2006:159) asserts that, in the same way that tertiary education should be available in Afrikaans, it should be available in isiXhosa and isiZulu. Multilingual universities serve this purpose more practically than monolingual institutions. Giliomee, however, rightly criticises SU for not innovatively cultivating [linguistic and] cultural pluralism. This could have been done by a more active and meaningful investment in isiXhosa and isiZulu post-1994.

2.5.3 The numbers argument

The simple argument expressed here is that a population of six million mother-tongue speakers of a developed language, should be privy to a single-medium institution of their own. For Stellenbosch, being in the Western Cape, this argument is even stronger as this is where the Afrikaans population is most concentrated. Brink (2006:158) argues that six million speakers of a language does not logically imply rights to a single medium university. It is, however, indicative of a demand for tertiary education to be made available in Afrikaans. The most equitable recommendation would then be for multiple universities, such as the University of Cape Town (UCT) and the University of the Western Cape (UWC) to make double-medium courses available. This is an idea which does not seem to have been considered during the debate.

2.5.4 "It is our right"

This argument lays its foundations on the South African constitution, which stipulates that all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem, and in order for that to be possible the state must consider as one reasonable alternative the possibility of single medium institutions, subject to the provisions of equity, practicability, and redress. SU does not regard practicability as an issue as teaching has been done in Afrikaans at SU for nearly a century. Equity is oversimplified as 'no special deals for anyone', thus no affirmative action in placement. And redress is justified in the following argument of empowerment. Deconstructing this argument concedes that having a university specifically for cultural-historical minorities is a social right granted by the constitution. This notion is however countered by considering the fact that it takes the fundamental standpoint that it is the Afrikaner right no matter which other human rights are disregarded, such as all South Africans' right to tertiary education in the language of their choice where reasonably practicable. Thus, all those who are not Afrikaners or Afrikaans speakers in the Cape Winelands or Western Cape would be denied access to tertiary education where Stellenbosch might be the only reasonably practicable option.

2.5.5 Afrikaans as an instrument of empowerment

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For the purpose of explaining this argument, Brink (2006:85) quotes participation rates of young people (aged 20-24) in higher education, deconstructed into racial groups, from statistics provided by SU's Department of Institutional Planning. Lowest was the participation rate of Coloureds, at 9,48%; following that was African Blacks at 10,83%. Next was Indians at 42,69%. Finally, Whites was highest with 59,18%. Further deconstructed into English/Afrikaans language groups, the disparities were far greater. Only 4,5% of Afrikaans-speaking Coloureds were privy to tertiary education, which was the lowest in the country. English-speaking Coloureds, on the other hand had 28,94% participation rate. A similar difference was present with Whites, whereby 50.72% of Afrikaans-speaking Whites participated in tertiary education, while the number lies at 71.75% for English-speaking Whites. Thus, the argument is that single-medium Afrikaans universities would seek to empower the Afrikaans-speaking community irrespective of colour but could be a significant tool to empower previously disadvantaged Coloured communities.

This argument, from the offset, limits its empowerment to the Afrikaans community. At a 2005 convocation meeting, it was discussed that while the Afrikaner claims that SU is a space of empowerment for all Afrikaans speakers, the cost of student fees and logistics regarding residence policies are a barrier to access for the Coloured community, therefore, there are more Coloured Afrikaans speakers at UWC, one of the so-called English universities, than there are at SU. With this consideration, Brink asserts once more that SU needs more than Afrikaans to be empowering. SU needs to become a more inclusive space for different cultures and peoples if it wishes to empower anyone outside of the White Afrikaans community.

2.5.6 There are two English universities close by

This argument holds that nobody in the Western Cape would be disadvantaged by an Afrikaans university as UWC and UCT are both English universities, with an approximate 50-kilometre radius encompassing all three universities. It is also argued that the courses are fairly similar, so Afrikaans would not act as a barrier to access. Thus, students seeking English assistance at SU have been met with the response that they ought to be at an English university (Brink, 2006:87). The rebuttal here is that there is a fundamental difference between what is meant by "Afrikaans university" and "English universities". The argument for an Afrikaans university is motivated by

the claim that there is a cultural significance and human right that legitimises the demand for an Afrikaans single-medium university. While, at the English single-medium universities UWC and UCT, English is the farthest from a cultural commonality, it is simply an academic language of instruction. Brink (2006:154) asserts that English universities in South Africa do not mean "British universities". Conversely, teaching in the language of formative education allows for a multitude of cultures to participate in tertiary education at the "English universities".

2.5.7 The argument for recognition of "cultural-historical" minorities

Parallels are drawn between SU and the Katholieke Universiteit van Leuven in this argument and is often referred to as the Leuven option. This was declared a Dutch single-medium university in Flanders approximately fifty years ago, based on the prevalent concentration of a small minority in one geographical area. Brink (2006:87) identifies the "hard version" of this argument as referring solely to the Afrikanerdom community; while the "softer version" includes the general Afrikaans population of the Western Cape. This argument assumes the existence of a unanimous Afrikaans community, as opposed to a significant linguistic aggregate in a specific region. Brink (2006:154) points out that this community would involve the social cohesion of Coloured Afrikaans-speakers and White Afrikaans-speakers. In other words, SU as an Afrikaans university would not only have Afrikaans building names commemorating White Afrikaners, but also of prominent Cape Coloured names. The Afrikaans used at SU would not be a prescriptive standard Afrikaans but embrace *Kaapse Afrikaans*[7]. This would require a welcoming and adaptable methodology, as opposed to methods of exclusion and compulsion.

2.5.8 The no-compromise (Laponcian) argument

The presupposition that power is necessary for survival is at the forefront of this argument. As articulated in *Kruispad: Die toekoms van Afrikaans as openbare taal* (Giliomee et al., 2001:134), numerous measures ought to be taken to ensure that Afrikaans is safeguarded in an Afrikaans university. As aforementioned, undergraduates ought to be competent in Afrikaans and receive all

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[7] A variety of Afrikaans exclusive to the Western Cape coloured population

courses in Afrikaans, and an Afrikaans language policy should be strictly enforced. More thorough articulations of this argument, specifically pertaining to methods of exclusion and compulsion can be found in Brink (2006:87-88).

Brink (2006:149-160) bases his rebuttal of all the arguments presented by refuting the Laponcian foundation. Laponce's work *Languages and Their Territories* (1987) does not deal with language in education at all; instead it revolves around language and political power. Therefore, with this in mind, Brink questions the Afrikaner *taalstryder*'s motives, and asserts that the narrative of needing a dominant language in a region in order to maintain political power cannot distance itself from Apartheid motifs.

2.5.9 The "slippery slope" argument

This is an extension of the previous argument, and apparently the most used. The rationale presented here is that any concession of Afrikaans made by SU is one step closer to the slippery slope of assimilation to English. Brink (2006:89) states that the fear of losing control is articulated in this argument. The counter argument here is that, in as much as multilingualism is a slippery slope to assimilation, monolingualism is a slippery slope to narrow-mindedness. Brink (2006:153) suggests that avoiding either slope entails making use of "an adaptable strategy, suitable to the dynamics of a complex system", as opposed to the rigid suggestions of exclusion and compulsion by the *taalstryders.*

It is clear by all the counter arguments offered that there are two sets of thinking at play here. Those who advocate for monolingualism for the purposes of preservation, do so from an either/or perspective, which is typical of a more archaic community, desiring certainty, and attaining that certainty by means of enforcing power and authority (Brink, 2006:97-99). The advocates for multilingualism do so from a both/and perspective. This perspective does not wish to categorise communities into identity groups, but embraces a heteroglossia of people and language, in order to holistically develop a South African people.

2.6 Language policies and student surveys

The following section outlines previous language policies and student reactions thereto. This is aimed at demonstrating a transformation of lived experiences and ideological articulations regarding the policies during a period of 14 years, taking into account the changing narratives and demographics.

2.6.1 The 2002 Stellenbosch University language policy

Introduced as "the core of the policy" is the commitment to the "use and development of Afrikaans as an academic language in a multilingual context" (Stellenbosch University, 2002). This policy was instated in 2002 and revised with minimal changes in 2007. This thesis finds it noteworthy that although a multilingual context was recognised at this point, no other official languages are mentioned in the core of the policy. At that stage, Afrikaans was the primary language of teaching and learning at undergraduate level, while English was used more so at postgraduate level. The SU language policy also affirmed that steps were being taken to promote isiXhosa as a developing academic language where possible. Though Afrikaans was the primary language of instruction at undergraduate level, numerous possibilities for medium of instruction were offered through the policy in order to account for various circumstances. Factors such as lecturers' language proficiencies, the student demographics presented in modules, and the nature of the programmes, were all taken into account. Various options were categorised as follows: the offering of Afrikaans only in particular was referred to as the A-option; English only was the E-option; the use of both languages was the T-option; and in both English and Afrikaans in separate, parallel sessions was the A/E-option. According to Oostendorp and Anthonissen (2014), the A/E-option was a model used more thoroughly at other historically Afrikaans universities, such as the University of Pretoria and the University of the Free State, and SU had been making moves in the same direction. Although, since 2012, a growing number of modules were offered in single-medium instruction, with simultaneous translation services, owing to class sizes or timetable constraints (Oostendorp and Anthonissen, 2014:71).

According to the 2002 official language policy, the A-option offered lectures in Afrikaans, and study material was permitted to be in Afrikaans and/or English, while the course framework could

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be provided in Afrikaans and English to accommodate English-speaking students or those who had had formative English schooling. The T-option offered lectures where Afrikaans and English were used interchangeably, with a noteworthy provision that use of Afrikaans was not allowed to be reduced to less than 50%. Textbooks and reading materials were in Afrikaans and/or English, while other teaching materials were in Afrikaans and English. The E-option was a rarity at undergraduate level. This option offered lectures primarily in English, textbooks and reading material were permitted to be in Afrikaans and/or English, notes were in English (where required, core notes might have been provided in Afrikaans), with other teaching and learning materials in English. In the university calendar the language option of each module had to be specified, giving students prior notice as to which mode of teaching would be used. Upon registration of the language options, those departments who elected the T- or E-options, had to present acceptable motivation for these particular choices. These motivations typically included references to the first languages of students and lecturers, as well as to programmes uniquely presented at SU, meaning that students who wished to enrol in this course might have had a barrier to access were the course or module presented in Afrikaans (Oostendorp and Anthonissen, 2014:72).

2.6.2 Student reactions to the 2002/2007 Stellenbosch University language policy

The aforementioned information regarding the language policy was extracted from the Oostendorp and Anthonissen (2014) article in which they studied the lived experiences and effects of bilingualism at SU. In their analysis, the student responses indicate the co-constructed nature of their discourses. They express that external pressures limit their use of Afrikaans. The study asserts that this is not only enforced by the university's language policy, but also local media and the accusation of perpetuating an Apartheid legacy. Participants articulated feeling somewhat threatened by the increased use of English. They also attribute what they assert as a deterioration of their L1 to the overwhelmed exposure to English. On the other hand, these students ceded to the utility of English for social and academic purposes. The article noted that the 'multi-voicedness' of student articulations had significant implications for research on language policy, planning and implementation (Oostendorp and Anthonissen, 2014:72).

Similar results were articulated in the Schlemmer report (2008) which sought to summarise the general undergraduate impression of the Language Policy in order to inform the SU Council's revision of said policy. The study comprised of a sample group of 235 students, and Schlemmer notes, importantly, that the sample of South African minority language speakers (thus speakers of South African languages excluding English and Afrikaans) was too small to draw statistical conclusions from. Thus, the study focused on Afrikaans, English, and bilingual household speakers. This thesis interprets Schlemmer's mention of a bilingual household as important, as it refers to students who might only be conversationally competent in one of the two languages. Another methodologically significant tool which Schlemmer implemented was that the language policy was never stated or clarified for the study participants, the survey simply comprised of multiple questions posed to gauge the student opinion and lived experience. This thesis deems said approach as valuable and unbiased.

Regarding Afrikaans as a primary medium of instruction, approximately a third of the surveyed students experienced significant difficulty adapting to the language of instruction. Non-Afrikaans speaking students (of which 40% found their bilingualism to be poor) experienced the greatest difficulty to adapt. Nevertheless, 80% regarded the policy to be satisfactory, while 15% of English students found the policy to be unacceptable. Regarding the T-option, the report revealed that 77% of its participants were satisfied with this option, while noting that Afrikaans speaking students had a high level of satisfaction with bilingualism in the classroom. It is also stated that most students did not perceive multilingualism in the classroom to adversely affect their academic achievements – this comment must be regarded with the recognition that the study does not fairly represent South Africans (or international students, for that matter) without significant competency in Afrikaans.

Considering the findings of the most popular opinions, the report recommends that either the language policy should regard English and Afrikaans more equally and should be carefully monitored; or Afrikaans should remain a primary language with thorough additions in English. Schlemmer accounts for disadvantages of the bilingual policy option as follows: firstly, the aim of the policy at no point since 1925 had been to treat English equal to Afrikaans, and bilingualism allows this expectation to grow; secondly, what Schlemmer describes as "defective bilingualism",

is the lack of Afrikaans competency of the large majority of previously disadvantaged South Africans; thirdly, it is noted that classroom bilingualism causes distractions and is time consuming. The disadvantages of parallel medium also include the expectation of accessibility of English to be equal to Afrikaans, while this option was deemed as too expensive. Additionally, parallel medium does not take into consideration the alleged career benefits of Afrikaans speaking students learning in English; nor does it consider that isolating Afrikaans speakers is limiting for the development of Afrikaans as a national language.

2.6.3 The 2014 Stellenbosch University language policy

The following language policy was approved on 22 November 2014 for implementation at the beginning of 2015. What was previously referred to as the core of the policy in 2002, was rephrased to the essence of the policy in 2014. This "essence" is captured as committing to the "safeguarding and sustained development of Afrikaans", while "increasing the teaching offering in English", in addition to "accept[ing] responsibility for the judicious advancement of isiXhosa, where feasible". This thesis notes the significant decrease in emotive conviction in the verbs used to express the commitment to each language (Stellenbosch University, 2014:2).

This policy rationalises its commitment to "safeguarding" Afrikaans for cultural and demographic reasons, as alluded to in the debate in the previous section. It rationalises the expansion of the use of English because of the "international value and local function" which English offers as a language of access. This thesis notes, once again, the emotive disparity between "value" which is ascribed to international relevance and "function" which is ascribed to the expansion of access to South Africans – the latter sounding more obligatory than the former, which appears advantageous. The multilingual commitment to isiXhosa is framed as using "specific [yet unnamed] initiatives" which would contribute to the advancement of one of the largest language communities in the Western Cape. This thesis notes that, firstly, these specific initiatives go unnamed; and secondly, these initiatives are not classroom bound, yet instead refer to external communications and the prerogative of the language centre (Stellenbosch University, 2014:4). A significant addition to language practice included in this policy is the use of real-time translation services which becomes a topical contentious point in the debate (Stellenbosch University, 2014:5).

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2.6.4 Student reactions to the 2014 Stellenbosch University language policy

This section is specifically informed by the *Luister*[8] documentary compiled by Open Stellenbosch (OS) in 2015, therefore specific aim and demographic notations must be made. *Luister* is a compilation of interviews of students of colour and their allies, recounting their experiences of racial prejudice by means of the continued use of Afrikaans as a language and culture on the SU campus and in the classroom as a means of exclusion. This documentary is regarded in this chapter for three reasons. firstly, the initiative was born from a direct response of dissatisfaction with the 2014 language policy. Secondly, the OS activism resulted in an increase in the reporting of the debate in the English media (in this case, the *Cape Times*). Thirdly, it illuminates the opinions of the 12% of surveyed students who, in the Schlemmer report, indicated that Afrikaans as a compulsory academic language is unacceptable. Schlemmer correctly recorded these responses as the first indication of protest and activism among English and African language speakers (Schlemmer, 2008:25).

Students expressed a significant dissatisfaction regarding the use of real-time translation in the classroom (Luister, 2015:11:58-15:00). They indicated feeling excluded because of the mere impracticality of the process which was described as follows. At the beginning of the lecture, lecturers would announce whether the predominant language of instruction for the class would be English or Afrikaans (of which most were Afrikaans). Students who preferred learning in the other language would then exchange their student card for a headset to listen to the translators. Translators, who were language experts, not experts in the relevant academic fields, interpreted the lecture to those with headphones in hushed tones, so as not to interrupt the lecture for those without headsets. It was reported that in some cases the lecturer was still more audible through the headset than the translator. Translators were also reported to provide incorrect terminology or inaccurate translations. From these examples it may seem that the cause of student frustration was an inadequate implementation of a language plan. The student's testimonies however, are framed in the context of more complex, ethnographic tensions.

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[8] *Listen.* The Afrikaans title chosen to address the campus community, majority of whom are Afrikaans. The title represents that the students of colour have, until then, been unheard or disregarded.

The composition of interviews represented in the *Luister* documentary presents the experience of language discrimination in the classroom as symptomatic of discriminatory ideology perpetuated in the Stellenbosch town and university campus. A white lecturer was quoted as saying

> There is a question around what a university is and what it should do, and whether it is up to the university to address deeply held kind of racist views in its students. My understanding is that that's at the heart of what a university is about. It has the power to instil very dangerous ideologies in people. You know, that's how it's operated in the past (Luister, 2015:10:54)

The same lecturer reported handing out stickers on campus labelled "Racists don't belong here" and being cautioned against them being deemed offensive.

Issues of race relations and historical power were highlighted in the documentary and student's experiences of the university management's responses to their resistance towards the language policy were summarised as "immoral" (1:20); "absurd" (2:16); and as "hating" the idea that black students ought to be "accommodated" by white Afrikaners (17:10; 17:25; 24:44). A student reports that university management "are willing to safeguard their language policy but they are not willing to safeguard their black students" (22:30). This is echoed when another black student tells of his walk from the library to his residence late one night when he was stopped by campus security to provide proof that he is a student. He emphasized "you constantly have to prove yourself as a black person in this town" (19:42). It must be noted that Stellenbosch is an open town, with restricted access only to university buildings, not within street areas. This thesis acknowledges parallels between the latter scenario and Apartheid pass laws which required historically black South Africans to provide proof of identification in the form of a pass book when found outside their homelands or areas restricted by race. Similar parallels are drawn by a student who expresses frustration with the discourse of being accommodated on campus. He is quoted as follows:

> They [Afrikaners] are like "Ja[9] we've actually been working very hard you know. Like we have translation devices to accommodate non-Afrikaans speaking students". Who gave you the power to accommodate me? To accommodate me you must have the power. You must

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[9] "Yes"

own the thing that I come into […]. So, they say "We accommodate them into an Afrikaans university" – that's nonsense! There is no such thing as an Afrikaans university. They claim "We must be accommodated by the constitution so that we can have our language and culture" but at the same time they are so powerful that they are even accommodating the majority [referring to black people who are not Afrikaans speaking as the majority of South African citizens]. You can't have it both ways. (17:25)

2.6.5 The 2016 Stellenbosch University language policy

By the middle of June 2016, the language policy was revised once more. A newspaper article in the *Cape Times* (Petersen, 2016:3), with the headline "Anger over language change at Stellies" and the subtitle "will promote access", announced the latest version of the SU language policy with the implementation date beginning 2017. This announcement is made with the backdrop of anger from prominent Afrikaner community members regarding the use of English with equal status of Afrikaans. A university spokesperson states "the policy explicitly makes provision for students who prefer to study in Afrikaans, while also improving access to education for students who are proficient in English only" (Petersen, 2016:3). The article clarifies that faculties would have the freedom to customise their language implementation plans, and their mechanisms for accountability and reporting to the relevant structures, contrary to the rigidity of the previous policy. The chairperson of the council stated that "the revised language policy acknowledges SU as a national asset and reaffirms our commitment to the users of Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa, being the three official languages of the Western Cape" (Petersen, 2016:3). Additionally, he asserted that the approval of the new language policy was an expression of the SU council's "unequivocal support for multilingualism, without excluding students who are not proficient in either Afrikaans or English" (Petersen, 2016:3). Contrarily an Afriforum spokesperson was quoted stating that the approval of the more flexible and multilingual policy "bodes ill for both national stability and social cohesion in South Africa". While no rationale was given for this opinion, it is clear that the reporter's aim was to demonstrate Brink's (2006) account of the fears and concerns which Afrikaner *taalstryders* experience when language concessions are experienced as concessions of power and identity.

CHAPTER 3

LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY AND MEDIA STUDIES

Researchers typically treat language ideologies as socially, politically and linguistically significant, where typical sites of analysis are multilingual social groups who have engage in 'self-conscious struggles over language' (Woolard, 1998:16). Language ideology is produced and perpetuated in the interplay between language as action, representation and identification (Fairclough, 2003:26). In his works regarding a Swedish language debate, Tomasso Milani (2008:10) describes Language ideology as a heterogeneous field which aims to identify why, although all languages seem to be equal in terms of their meaning making potential, in reality, some languages are more equal than others (Mills, 2003:65). This chapter aims to outline the manner in which language ideologies have been produced, reproduced, contested (Schieffelin, Woolard, Kroskrity, 1998) and studied in the media. It calls for a heuristic account of language ideology as well as a brief overview of the key concepts since offered by the field. Thereafter, the chapter will consider Wodak's (1996:21) framework in which language ideologies should be considered and analysed, demonstrating the interdisciplinary nature of the field.

3.1 What is Ideology?

In order to deconstruct this reality whereby some languages are more equal than others, one must critically evaluate the term "ideology" in relation to language. An ideology is defined as a system of ideas which function to create views of reality that appear as the most rational (Gouldner, 1976:31) or based on supposed common sense of how society should operate (Galdino, 1997). Ideologies are thus construed and reaffirmed in discourses which signify the struggle to acquire or maintain power (Schieffelin *et al.*, 1998:6). In other words, ideologies operate on the basis of values, beliefs and attitudes regarded as objective fact. In so saying, this thesis seeks to affirm Foucault's assertion that truth is only sedimented in discourses that sustain or are sustained by power (Schieffelin *et al.,* 1998:7). Therefore, ideology is described as thematic, not operative, as we think, speak, and write from it rather than about it (Gardiner, 1992:75). In other words, while discourse strategies might not be deliberately employed to advocate for a specific ideology, they

are certainly influenced by the social structures and their embedded ideologies (Hart and Cap, 2014:138).

3.2 Various definitions of Language Ideology

For approximately three decades, the field of Language Ideology has been a preferred means of deconstructing the workings of language in the contexts of social processes (Milani and Johnson, 2010:3). The origins of the field are said to lie in North American linguistic anthropology as a framework for the exploration of the "mediating links between social forms and forms of talk." (Schieffelin *et al.,* 1998:3) In the Schieffelin et al. (1998) compilation of essays *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory,* language ideology theorists' postulations regarding the utility of language ideology and the necessity of research herein in order to understand society, are expounded upon and compared. Herein, various definitions of language ideology are assessed, the utility of studying such a phenomenon is discussed, as well as the linguistic framework in which it ought to be regarded.

Silverstein, who is invested in the study of meta-pragmatics and language-in-use, described what was referred to as 'linguistic ideologies' as a set of beliefs about language, articulated by users as a rationalisation of perceived language structure and use (Silverstein, 1979:193). Irvine (1989:255) extends this definition into a social realm and defines language ideology as a system of ideas concerning social and linguistic relationships packaged with their moral and political interests. In other words, as opposed to linguistic ideology which only studies beliefs about language in the context of the language, language ideology studies the beliefs about language in the context and construct of societal practice. Woolard, in Schieffelin *et al.* (1998:3) therefore perfectly summarises these definitions of language ideology as representations that interpret or construe the intersecting of language and the social world. Consistent with this summation, Giddens states that language (for human beings) is the most primitive conduit for 'time-space distanciation' (1991:23). Thus, there is no such thing as a 'pre-linguistic being' (Foucault, 1993:11). In other words, even before using language as a tool to produce and reproduce ideology, meaning is communicated and received symbolically. This can be related to Bakhtin's (1981; 1986) concept of social languages. Whereby, every instance of speech has a different language

form laden with value, register, style and genre. He states that language is more than a system of abstract grammatical categories, but rather, a world view, being congested with ideological truths (Bakhtin, 1981:271). Wodak (1996:24) explains this by stating that each utterance, since the beginning of time, has the character of a sign, and each sign sequentially refers to another, in infinite sequence.

3.3 Language ideology at the intersection of language use and structure

It was once believed that language is a system whose primary structure is barely influenced by secondary reasoning (Wodak, 1998:11); and it was assumed that language ideology and prescriptive norms have little significance on speech forms (Bloomfield, 1933). However, it has since been proved, time and again, that the ideological components of the use and structure of language are dialectic in nature, as speakers conceptualise language use as socially purposive action. For this purpose, it is important to regard the meaning, function and value ascribed to language, in order to comprehend the degree of socially understood systematicity in empirically occurring linguistic forms (Silverstein, 1985:220). This particular section of this thesis will thus extract examples of semiotic processes in ideological use in American studies of linguistic form and race relations, in order to clearly demonstrate the utility of 'indexicality' and 'iconisation' in the dialectic ideological process of 'us' and 'them' identification. 'Indexicality' is explained as a semiotic process of establishing a connection between a linguistic form and its social significance, in other words it is a sign indexing one or another object in a specific context (Wodak, 1998:129). 'Iconisation' is defined as the semiotic process of a repeatedly indexed relationship of a linguistic form and social category, no longer merely being juxtaposed, but coming to resemble one another (Irvine and Gal, 2000:35). Two articles are taken in view for this purpose, first *The Whiteness of Nerds: Superstandard English and Racial Markedness* (Bucholtz, 2001) and *Appropriation of African American Slang by Asian American youth* (Reyes, 2005). While this thesis does not embark on an analysis of linguistic varieties, a bird's eye view of the contention between them exemplifies the personal, social and political workings of language ideology in language use.

3.3.1 The semiotic processes of language ideology

Since language ideology has been defined as discursive expressions of construals of the social world, depending on social positioning, history, politics and educational background, multiple alternate construals of the same situation might present itself. Often, even opposing ideologies are produced and reproduced in the same instance, which is as a result of the subjective process of indexicality. For example, in her article to examine *The Whiteness of Nerds* (2001), Mary Bucholtz demonstrates that a high school nerd's aversion to the use of current slang (influenced by African American Vernacular English) is directly influenced by their desire to be separated from the social categories indexed by such linguistic forms (Bucholtz, 2001:89).

Moreover, Bucholtz demonstrates that these indices linking social category to linguistic form, are reinforced and re-established repeatedly in such a way that they come to typify the essence of a character. In her example, she refers to the linguistic forms of African American Vernacular English typifying a 'cool' youth subculture; while the linguistic forms of Superstandard English has come to typify 'nerdy' youth subculture. These indexicalities which come to typify groups of people are referred to as 'iconisation'. Zooming in on the iconisations of what high school youth typify as nerdy and cool, as well as what linguistic signs are used to indicate such, it becomes apparent that deciding which category to which one belongs is an ideological process. Navigating these opposing indices is a dialectic process, and the manner in which ideology mediates the dialectic process of indexicality is of utmost importance to linguistic anthropology and this thesis.

In an outline of *Appropriation of African American Slang by Asian Youth* (2005) Reyes examines how teenagers have made sense of relationships between language, age, race, region and class, while actualising relations with multiple social identities, such as participating in urban youth subculture. An important discussion regarding linguistic and cultural appropriation takes place at the offset of this article. The curiousness of a language variety born out of oppression and discrimination now being considered as 'cool' among youth was rationalised as the language being categorised as "inventive and alluringly dangerous" (Chapman, 1986; Reyes, 2005:509). Elbe (2004:303) explains that the adoption of linguistic features of an alternative culture or social group is a means of vicariously enjoying the positive experiences of that culture without having to endure the drawbacks thereof. This experience of vicarious enjoyment and alluring danger has allowed non-African American teenagers to gain social prestige from borrowing African American

Vernacular English as slang, without having to suffer the daily discrimination endured by African Americans (Reyes, 2005:510).

The dialectic process emphasised here is that in Bucholtz's cohort, she has identified students who wish to disassociate from the indices associated with African American Vernacular English, while Reyes has identified a large American cohort, consisting of Asian Americans, who wish to mediate 'honorary whiteness' (Chun, 2001:53) while nourishing ties to 'blackness'. Each of these cohorts have demonstrated making politically loaded ideological decisions regarding their language use and structure. This thesis marks the political nature of language use as important as it plays a major role in the nuances of the debate, regarding people and power.

3.4 The semiotics of dominance

Since the make-up of society is constituted through signifying practices, different ideologies construct opposing realities, whereby alternate views arise, constituting various social positions within a single social formation. The signifying features of dominant social positions are access to knowledge, and socioeconomic and political power. Three accounts of language in relation to power are summarised as follows (Schieffelin *et al.,*1998:302). Firstly, specific language skills afford access to material resources and leadership positions through educational institutions. Furthermore, knowledge of linguistic practices provide means for participation in decision-making events that might require a culturally recognised skill such as debate. Lastly, power over signifying practises provide the ability to valorise one position, as is accounted for in this section. Since language has been demonstrated as emblematic indexing for all the above in the previous section, language ideologies cannot be politically neutral. The following section outlines the role languages have played in political struggle for dominance.

3.4.1 Herderian language ideologies as sites of hegemony

Herderianism is a 19th century ideology which asserts that nations have to be built on single language-culture identities. "Exported through colonialism, Herderian or nationalist ideology of language is globally hegemonic today" (Schieffelin *et al*., 1998:17). Herderian ideology is

characterised by culturally unified social groups, who construe their linguistic differences as defining ethnic distinctions, that enter into struggles for legitimacy and belonging in the nationalist ideological climate (Jackson, 1995:7). It is the resolve of a moral significance of indigenous mother tongue in relation to selfhood. In other words, it is the notion of 'one language, one people' (Schieffelin *et al.*, 1998:18). Herderian ideology also hinges on the idea that linguistic purism is essential to the survival of minority groups, which ultimately requires a policing of geographical boundaries drawn to create distinct people groups. This thesis finds distinct features of Herderian ideologies as integral to the SU language policy debate, despite South Africa's complex multilingual composition.

3.4.2 Language as a battlefield

A common ideological perception is that language serves to unite and divide and is therefore the site for interethnic strife. It is argued that Herderian language ideology is not only used by the dominant language, but also by the socioeconomic-minority languages. Because the dominant language group is oppressive against a 'natural group', resistance is legitimated, and the discourse resembles liberation and freedom (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998:202). This discourse of liberation exemplifies that a naturally desired society is one without any form of unequal privilege or oppression, and the only conceivable way of achieving this is through a nation-state, where people share one language culture, religion and history, and live peacefully within a sovereign state system (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998:204).

Blommaert's (2011) study describes the pinnacle role that language played in Belgian history, whereby the symbolic language argument became shorthand for a more complex set of matters. In the complex linguistic composition of Belgium, consisting of three distinct language-based communities: Flanders, Wallonia, and Brussels, language was never the singular factor in conflict, but always part of a larger democratisation process. Each region has their own government, and most Belgian citizens can only vote within their language group. Thus, people in Flanders only vote for Flemish political parties and Francophones for Francophones, while wider Brussels region citizens can vote for the party of their choice (Blommaert, 2011:2). A significant finding in the Belgium case study, for this thesis, is that election periods heighten polarisation of people groups,

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by the radicalisation of discourses giving rise to nationalism and xenophobia. These are typically successful tools in election campaigns, however, in the unique case of Belgium, where political and social ideologies are synonymous with language, ideas are not shared or contested within the confines of a common language. Therefore, ideologies are produced and perpetuated, but rarely contested by other social positions and counter ideologies. Thus, discourses are not unifying, or evolving ideologically, they are typically isolating and othering – as similarly exemplifies in the case of SU's hegemonic ideologies in Chapter 2.

3.4.3 The denial of diversity through ineffective multilingual practice

Two salient arguments against multilingualism in the struggle for hegemony are the integration and efficiency assumptions. The integration assumption, as previously emphasised, is that the purpose of a nation is to unify a body of people and postulates that the most unifying symbol is language. The efficiency assumption asserts that governance and economic development are hampered by multilingualism as it is typically nationally divisive. This is not the case for every nation, for example, in Singaporean politics, multi-ethnicity and multilingualism are essential markers for prosperity. In European states, however, individual multilingualism is encouraged and regarded as key to European citizenship and social prosperity; while institutional multilingualism is still actively discouraged (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998:206).

Blommaert's (2011) Belgium case study exemplifies the integrationist assumption, whereby monolingual territories show very little tolerance to minorities who deviate from the monolingual norm, which consequently, perpetuates that social, cultural and linguistic diversity regarded as deviant. Belgium, being a typically immigration country, is therefore said to be a challenging environment for migrants (Blommaert, 2011:10). After World War 2, Belgium saw an influx of low skilled immigrants from Mediterranean Europe. This phenomenon brought two dimensions of new multilingualism in Brussels: (1) super-diverse labour migrants who brought dozens of home languages into urban spaces, and (2) migrants using English as a Lingua Franca in a space where multilingualism is seen as a threat to social cohesion and an obstacle to social mobility (Blommaert, 2011:11).

The efficiency assumption is drawn upon, as it is noted that while super-diverse communities are linguistically diverse, schools are still monolingual. This asserts the notion that migrants should speak the national language publicly and privately as multilingualism is threatening to the national identity. However, the elite English bilingualism of the highly skilled migrants is seen as positive and something to be encouraged. The hegemony of monolingual territory does not apply to the presence of English, which has become a second language in urban areas. Denial of diversity is then categorised by a distinction between good and bad multilingualism (Blommaert, 2011:7). Good multilingualism is regarded as the elite English; while bad multilingualism refers to the native languages of non-Western immigrants. The Flemish elites, who historically consistently rejected French as the elite language in Flanders, now accept and encourage English, in exactly the same sociolinguistic position of an elite medium. In the case of the SU language debate, English has an interesting dual identity. On the one hand, it is seen as a language with the power to gain access to resources and social equality. On the other hand, it is viewed as a historical competitor for power. These views are hypothesised to still be articulated in the debate more than 20 years after the Apartheid regime, as even though South African schools are not monolingual, they still certainly only legitimise two of the eleven official languages, which are emblematic for assertions of national power and identity.

3.4.4 Language as a symbol for national fear

In her book, *The Politics of Fear: What Right-Wing Populist Discourses Mean*, Wodak describes the politics of identity as ways of constructing fear in everyday politics, and then discusses why such strategies are successful (Wodak, 2015:26). The three symbols salient to right-wing populism are: firstly, the notion of the people; secondly, the heartland or homeland of the people; and thirdly, a distinction between 'us' and 'them'. As demonstrated in Blommaert's (2011) study, language is the perfect symbolic distinction for nationalist ideology. In the demand-side model, monolinguist-advocates could be described as modernisation losers (Wodak, 2015:26-28), whereby a strong anti-immigrant sentiment is shared, and a feeling of loss is grieved in a transformed political or demographic space and time.

This sense of grieving, expressed ideologically, implies that the notion of an ideal civilisation exists. Clinging to a utopian ideology is articulated in discourses strongly opposed to the status quo, and frames a negative identity, in other words, 'the other' or 'them'. This is linguistically observable in prescriptivist notions of language. For example, in the case of the Belgium study whereby monolingualism is preferred, and English is seen as the right kind of bilingualism, however any other form of code switching is seen as wrong. A grieving ideology also articulates a proposal for a return to the traditional way of life (Wodak, 2015:28), whereby founding myths become revitalised and legitimise the myth of a 'pure people' who belong to a clearly defined nation state (Wodak, 2015:37).

3.5 Language politics at the intersection of policy and ideology

As previously demonstrated, language alone is widely seen as the engine behind the political history of a country or institution. In the Belgium case study, the Flemish nationalist movement is widely presented as organised solely around the rightful demands of a linguistically oppressed minority (Blommaert, 2011:2). Thus, language regulations are seen as the central legislative body around which the political dynamics ought to be thought and organised. Milani (2007) labels language debates as conflicts between different language ideologies that struggle for hegemony, thereby advocating for one specific way of imagining the management of a transforming nation-state in a time of globalisation. Cooper (1989:45) defines language planning as a range of deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with regard to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes. On the other hand, language policy is defined as the planning perused by governments (Tollefson, 1991:16). Hornberger (2006:25) states that language policy and planning should be considered as a holistic, conceptual rubric by which to pursue a more comprehensive understanding of the complexity of planning and its involvement in social change. Milani (2007:7) concludes that when analysing language debates, the term "language politics" can be used as an all-encompassing notion which aids in capturing the dynamics, heterogeneity and dissonance of the various overt and covert processes of organisations of language in society. He draws upon Blommaert's (1999b:9) description of language ideology debates as the historically definable moments of struggle for language, generating an array of interconnected texts and meta-texts that quote, echo, or contest each other. In other words,

language ideological debates and language politics are involved in a dialectal relationship, in which language ideological debates take form in and are shaped by language politics (Milani, 2007:7).

The use of language in the construction and portrayal of symbolic power in schools will be explored in a case study, whereby Galdino (1997) undertook a study called *Language Wars*, by researching debates regarding monolingual versus bilingual medium of instruction in schools in Colorado and California. This study aimed to identify the varying ideological positions regarding the value of bilingualism and bilingual education in the United States of America. Specific focus is placed on the Spanish language and the linguistic capital of the working-class Latin immigrant families (Galdino, 1997:163). The data, in the form of written and publicly distributed texts such as proposals and flyers, was analysed based on a close study of the notions of ideology, language, and symbolic power, perspectives on language policy and a heuristic for language policy and planning issues.

A significant observation in Galdino's study is that in Western societies, there is a lack of counter ideology "through which divergent interests may be pursued" (Thompson, 1981:148). Therefore, any differing value, belief and attitude is regarded as deviant or alien. Counter ideologies bring about tension and competition for privilege or dominance. The symbolic power of language in educational systems is immense and requires close and frequent examination as "they are involved in the evaluation and inculcation of linguistic competencies, such as bilingualism, that determine whether the linguistic resources of minority communities will function as linguistic capital and due to their role in the reproduction of legitimate views of the social world" (Galindo, 1997:168).

One way in which to critique education systems and their skewed use of linguistic power is to evaluate their language policy and plans. Tollefson (1995) describes language policies as both results of and sites for power struggles. Hornberger (1996) was interested in the way in which language policies are used as tools for social control by dominant elites. She stressed that all language policies are ideological in nature albeit unapparent or overtly acknowledged. Ben-Raphael (1994) postulates that policies are generally either assimilatory or pluralistic by nature. For Galdino (1997:171), the implementation of or the advocating for monolingual language

policies are assimilatory. Thereby, refusing to view other linguistic symbols as resources. From this 1997 study, it is clear that the symbols interwoven in the expression of language ideology are that of hegemony and normalisation. These are the foundations of further symbols of power in institutions and nations. The constitutions on which these institutions secure their power are their language policies and plans.

3.6 The media as ideological institutions

Understanding the workings of constructing and perpetuating institutional ideology is of insurmountable importance to this thesis, which considers SU, The *Cape Times* and *Die Burger* as institutions of particular interest which will be further deconstructed in the discussions and analysis chapter. Based on the findings of Wodak's *Disorders of Discourse* (1996), this section identifies the construction and aims of discourses within an institution. Defining institutions as sites for cultures allows for observations of the ways in which members of institutions engage with the organisational reality of their institution (Mumby, 1998:3; Wodak, 1996:9).

The organisation and orienting role performed by the media with respect to mutual perception is referred to as mediatisation. Schmitz further characterises this by the allocation and adoption of varied social roles and general human communication (in Johnson and Ensslin, 2007:13). The media is characterised as social systems which interact with other social systems. Media institutions aim to endorse and reflect a dynamic set of ideological frameworks. In their function as public agencies of observation, performance, interpretation and dissemination, the media exhibits a variety of purpose-driven signifying practices. Institutional symbolism is the most clearly visible articulation of an institutional reality. This symbolism signifies and cultivates a shared meaning and sense making in the organisation. However, meanings are not always shared inside an institution, especially in transforming global spaces. Meaning is thus imposed onto any and all members of organisations, overtly or covertly. Thus, organisational power is constructed and reproduced through the structure of organisational symbolism. Power is manifested in hierarchies, access to specific discourses and information, as well as the establishment of symbols (Wodak, 1996:9). In other words, institutions have their own lives, rules, stories, and narratives to

reinforce the status quo, which is in turn crystallised in the form of particular ideologies (Wodak, 1996:10).

Johnson and Ensslin (2007:7-8) have categorised the difference between explicit and implicit expressions of language ideologies by comparing definitions of language ideology by Michael Silverstein and Kathryn Woolard. As per Silverstein (1997:193), explicit language ideologies are characterised by a number of subjective truths regarding language which are asserted by the speech community as a rationalisation or justification of a perceived (ideal) language structure and use. On the other hand, implicit language ideologies or language representations are characterised by the cognitive, grammatical, structural, personal and social links formed in semiotic and social processes and what the linguistic and social consequences of these links are (Woolard, 1998:27). These social consequences refer to the fact that the manner in which language is presented, provides a discursive frame for that language. Therefore, our understanding of what language is, is reliant on the constructivist mechanisms of meta-linguistic practices (Johnson and Ensslin, 2007:8). For example, if one identifies with a certain newspaper, and thus reads reports that portray language as a nationalist tool, one believes and perceives language to be just that. Whereas if one has been taught that language is a tool for achieving a self-transcending education, one might be inclined to prefer a newspaper that portrays one's or any language in the same way. Pennycook (2004:17) states that a simple occasion of language use is itself regarded as a performance of identity that summons language into existence. In this way, metalanguage perpetuates hegemonic ideologies; however, this language as a performance is also a tool for counter ideologies to emerge and challenge the status quo, as language performance influences linguistic and social realities.

This section outlines the structure of an institution in order to further deconstruct how discourses communicate with each other in this framework. An institution is made up of four layers (Wodak, 1996:21). The outermost layer is an institution where an event takes place. For example, in the case of SU, it is a tertiary education institution where the language(s) of tuition is endlessly debated. The next layer would be the objective setting, such as the time, space, and location of the event. In the case of SU, it would be 1999 to 2016 at SU, the *Cape Times* and *Die Burger*. The following layer includes the speakers and audience. Thus, the personalities, social roles and biographies of the named voices or voice groups represented in the debate. Finally, the innermost

layer is concerned with the discourse unit, which involves a micro analysis of the text. The CDA chapter will outline the methods of analysis. If this is the biological construction of an institution, then the next question should pertain to the manner in which the various layers communicate with each other in order to function as an organism, organisation or cultural body.

Foucault (1993:10-11), on the transformative power of discourse, states that the production of discourse is specifically controlled, selected, organised and conveyed in every institution. Presumably, this conveyance is by means of unspoken and spoken symbols. These discourses aim to shape and withhold power in institutions. When meaning is not shared in an institution, it presents insider and outsider voices. Outsider, obviously referring to those who do not agree with the ideologies attached to said symbols. In other words, an 'us' and 'them' relationship is presented in the organism, organisation or institution. Foucault (1993) presents three significant procedures of exclusion in order to silence the outsider voices. The first and most visible is prohibition, which essentially refers to censure. He states that "even if a different song is sung, there is undoubtedly a profound logophobia" Foucault (1993:33). Therefore, any utterance which is likely to present a counter ideology is typically withheld in fear of being shunned within the community. The second method of control deals with the construction of reality versus madness. Essentially, anything counter-ideological is treated as utter madness, while what is rational, is any thought or utterance which is aligned with the symbols constructed within the institution. Finally, the third mechanism of exclusion is creating order in which to control the speakers presented in society. The most efficient way of doing so is by limiting access and time for the speaker (Foucault 1993:25). Foucault states that only someone with the required educational capital is allowed to participate in certain discourses. This is reminiscent of Wodak's (1996:100) sentiments on understanding the news, which is essentially that the information broadcasted in the news is for the already informed.

In a study of the politics of Zambian radio, Spitulnik in Schieffelin *et al*. (1998) investigates the institutional role of production and reproduction of language ideologies through valuation and evaluation. These terms borrowed from De Saussure's (1959:111) concept of relational value, in order to understand ideology not merely as ideology, but as process. It is argued that the process through which different social values become associated with language, is facilitated by semiotic processes of naturalising and neutralising language value (Spitulnik, 1998:164). This is similarly

demonstrated in Agha's (2005:38-59) study on 'enregisterment' whereby speech forms become socially recognised as indexical of speaker attributes in specific social groups. In order to deconstruct the processes of understanding news, the concept of understanding was itself largely deconstructed. The final premise is that understanding is an amalgamation of new facts into a prior knowledge, with pre-established frames and schemata (Wodak, 1996:111). Schemata are the interconnecting indices between cultural, historical and other experiences. For example, an accident schema would automatically trigger a set of questions, pertaining to whether the driver was drunk, whether the incident was at night, whether there were any fatalities and assumptions about who was to blame. The claim is made that the interconnections between schemata are the pinnacle of prejudice reinforcement. This is an explanation for the observation that miscommunication and conflict in dialogue is seen as the rule, not the exception.

A distinction is made between three types of schemata which inform an understanding of a text. The first is cognitive schema, which refers to the ability of one to make inferences, recognise intentions and generally elaborate on new content based on subjective prior knowledge (Wodak, 1996:111). For Spitulnik (1998:170), the cognitive schema is embodied by the Zambian social understanding of hierarchical linguistic pluralism, whereby it is tacitly understood and perpetuated that certain native languages are better than others, and these are reflected in their radio channel names. For example, the National Service was English radio, indicative that English was at the top tier on the hierarchy (Spitulnik, 1998:171). The second is formal schema, which pertains to the familiarity of text types. The premise is that unfamiliarity with text form hinders the perceived coherence of a text. For example, in a reading, one expects a heading, an introduction, body, and conclusion – each fulfilling pre-determined role. Should a text not meet this requirement, or should this be unfamiliar to the recipient, the text will be more challenging to comprehend. For Spitulnik (1998:170), this is reflected in radio content and air time in 1990. This is reflected in that English Radio received more than twice as much air time as Zambian languages combined. Lastly, the emotional schema refers to the recipient's personal frame. One's goals, interests, gender, age, opinions and the like all have an influence on comprehension (Van Dijk, 1980:129). The premise is that the emotional distance of a news recipient influences the comprehension of a text. Therefore, the more (positively or negatively) emotionally invested, the better a news item is comprehended.

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As for the Zambian case study, themes and slogans of home and belonging were repeatedly employed in order to promote vernacular radio stations (Spitulnik, 1998:172).

Wodak (1996:114) has illustrated an integrated model of comprehension which is referred to as a constructional model. Firstly, after reception of the news item, the listener or reader constructs a representation which is not an exact replica of what was originally seen or heard, but a subjective understanding based on prior frames and schemata and commits this to memory. It is thus assumed that there is no neutral or unbiased text as no text can be read or heard in the same way. Furthermore, conflict arises when the recipient of the news extends their understanding of a text to a social context, and the social and cognitive meet. Blommaert (1999b:10) describes such language ideology debates as perfect linguistic-ethnographic targets, as they are textual; they produce discourses and meta-discourses; they birth a collection of texts that can be quoted, echoed, vulgarised, and so forth. They could be described as moments of textual formation and transformation, in which minority views can be transformed into majority views.

In conclusion, a text must always be seen in a context, which can never claim to be objective. Therefore, comprehension is cyclical; and this is how ideologies are reinforced. A research focus on language ideology creates a constructive bridge between linguistic and social theory, which allows Critical Discourse practitioners to relate the micro-cultures of communicative action to political and economic considerations of power and confront social inequality, whereby macrosocial constraints are placed on language behaviour (Schieffelin *et al.*, 1998:27) to exemplify discourse as a lived experience.

CHAPTER 4

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

This chapter aims to provide a historical account of CDA, which has its roots placed in many fields. Thereafter, prominent theorists (Van Dijk, Fairclough, and Wodak) and their various contributions are outlined. Critical concepts adopted by the field are explored; as well as the ways in which critical theorists and sociolinguists (Bourdieu, Foucault, Halliday, Hymes, and so forth) contributed to the development of CDA. This study has adopted the theoretical framework of Ruth Wodak (2001), more specifically, the DHA, which is expounded upon in greater detail in this current chapter, as well as in Chapter 5. A brief account of how other researchers have applied this specific branch of CDA is given. Finally, criticisms and evaluations, specifically noted by Chilton (2005) and Widdowson (Poole, 2010) are considered, followed by responses to said criticisms in a discussion of Cognitive Linguistics (Hart, 2011) and Van Dijk's socio-cognitive analysis (Hart and Cap, 2014).

4.1 A historical account, and the nature of Critical Discourse Analysis

The study of the relation between language and power in mainstream linguistics began in earnest in the 1970s. In its infancy, discourse analysis was interested in the formal aspects of language, involving the linguistic competence of speakers. The first 'text linguists' were interested in studying the formal qualities that make language, beyond the meaning of the text, coherent and cohesive (De Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981). Later, a shift was made towards language in context, in other words, the study of pragmatics or sociolinguistic competence (Levinson, 1983). Herein, the basic units of language were still seen as sentences and components thereof. Research was intent on describing and explaining language variation, language change, and more specifically, the structures of communicative interaction, specifically with regard to hierarchy and power (Hymes, 1972). Prominent theorists such as Fowler, Hodge, Kress and Trew (1979), Van Dijk (1985), Fairclough (1989) and Wodak (1989) became interested in observing and explaining the main assumptions of what was then known as Critical Linguistics (CL) (Wodak and Meyer, 2001:5). By 1990, CDA was emergent and described as radically different from any other form of

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linguistics (Kress, 1990). Wodak (1996) takes the criteria which were then seen as salient to the field, and instituted ten basic principles of CDA, which will be expanded upon later in this chapter.

Preceding the introduction of CL to mainstream linguistics, a number of other theorists working in other fields within Humanities brought attention to the potential of discourse to shape the world. The literary theorist, Mikhail Bakhtin's (1986) focus on space and time has largely influenced the thinking around context; furthermore, he has significantly influenced current theorists' thinking about genre and intertextuality (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999). Roy Bhaskar (1989), specifically influenced Fairclough's (2003) explanatory critique (Fairclough, 2003:209). Michel Foucault (1972) has had a major theoretical and historical impact on CDA. Varieties of his categories of inter-discursivity and orders of discourse can be traced to current prominent CDA theorists (Wodak 1996; Fairclough 2003). Anthony Giddens (1991) has laid the theoretical foundation for research on globalisation and social change (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999). Jurgen Habermas's (1989) work on legitimation has been used frequently, as well as his differentiation between communicative and strategic action (Fairclough, 2003:214). Finally, Michael Halliday's (1978) development of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), which was presented as an alternative to the formalism of mainstream linguistics (Chomsky, 1955), as well as his approach to linguistic analysis, is essential for a comprehensive understanding of CDA. Before language was considered as a conduit for societal construction, Halliday had stressed the relationship between the grammatical system and the social and personal needs that language is required to serve (Halliday, 1970:142; Wodak and Meyer, 2001:8).

CDA's multifaceted influences are testament to the fact that the field is interdisciplinary and multi-methodological by nature. In *A new agenda in CDA* (Wodak and Chilton, 2005:5-7), Theo van Leeuwen outlines three models of intertextuality. Firstly, the centralist model is described as a model of research whereby each discipline sees itself as the centre of the universe of knowledge, albeit positioning itself among other disciplines. From this centre, it maps its relations to other disciplines. The core of each discipline is formed by its theories, methods and central subject matters. Relationships with other disciplines primarily involve overlapping subject matter or methods used additionally, in order to strengthen their initial claims. Secondly, the pluralist model places issues and problems at the centre of its research, rather than theories and methodology. It

recognises that issues and challenges may belong to many different disciplines and views them as equal partners. Yet, disciplines remain autonomous and self-sufficient in the way they research and analyse the problem. Finally, while also holding the problem at its core, the integrationist model holds that a single discipline cannot satisfactorily address any issue on its own. Disciplines are thus seen as interdependent. Research projects involve teams with specific divisions of labour and specific integrative principles. In this way, disciplines can no longer function as such, claiming autonomy to define what will count as a research problem and how it will be addressed. The idea of a discipline is then tapered and refined to a skill, thus, the analytical and explanatory vantage point.

Van Leeuwen also highlights a variety of fields which CDA are likely to integrate with and provides reasons therefore (Van Leeuwen, 2005:10-12). Firstly, Discourse Analysis and Social Theory complement each other in the process of analysis for two reasons. The first reason being that theories which play an integrative role in the analysis of texts, sometimes hold mutually exclusive vantage points. Thus, rather than committing to one position as a basis of research, they are used in collaboration in order to develop a set of research questions to guide a study. Additionally, contemporary social theorists tend to discover new social, political and cultural phenomena before researchers who work in confined disciplines as they tend to have less methodological baggage than researchers who work with empirical methodologies. Secondly, the integration between Discourse Analysis and History is important for the observation of historical trends, in which discourse analytical methods can describe how speech and writing are used. Discourse Analysis would thus rely on historical science to explain why or how these trends come about. Thirdly, the amalgamation of Discourse Analysis and Ethnography is invaluable, as CDA is able to describe the discourse units within social practices. However, it can neither inform us about the agents and patients of social practices, nor about their place and time. In order to discuss these, ethnographic research regarding the production and reception of texts is necessitated. Discourse Analysis is able to analyse social practices in part; however, it cannot explain them. Conversely, ethnographic research requires the assistance of CDA.

Current prominent theorists hold that CDA ought to be as integrationist as possible, thereby redefining the nature of social research. Van Leeuwen (2005:15-16) describes the elements of

integrated research projects as: firstly, the ongoing development of theories and methods; secondly, the analysis of discursive practices in specific social settings; and finally, the creation of new resources and new uses of existing resources.

4.2 Principles and aims of Critical Discourse Analysis

CDA views discourse as a form of social practice (Wodak, 1996:16). It takes the vantage point that speech acts are socially constructed and conditioned. The notion that the exertion of power and ideology are connected with discourse is the primary motivation for CDA practitioners. Thus, the purpose of CDA is to expose the veiled power enforced and perpetuated in discourses, by means of destructing them (Wodak, 1996:16). CDA is thus a framework of sociolinguistics, which involves the process of developing methods and tools in order to explore discourses which are distortive in favour of hegemonic ideologies. In her book *Disorders of discourse* (1996), Wodak identifies eight principles of CDA. These principles function as a summary or golden thread of the evolution of the study of discourses.

The primary principle of CDA is that it addresses social problems. According to Van Dijk (1993:149), in the study of CDA, the discourse analyst and the study of relations between discourse, power, dominance, and social inequality, uniquely enter into a social relationship. In other words, the chief interest of CDA is to research and analyse persistent social issues, with the motivation to improve the general understanding thereof. Unlike other scientific fields, the theoretical framework is not the focal point of the research. Instead, theories, methodologies, and empirical applications are merely applied or elaborated upon as a vehicle of utility with regard to realising a socio-political goal. The complexity of social problems demands a multidisciplinary approach, in which distinctions between theory, description and application become much less relevant (Van Dijk, 1993:252).

The second principle is that power relations are discursive. Thus, CDA aims to highlight the intentionally discursive nature of social relationships and power relations. There is power in discourse and power over discourse.

The third principle is that discourse both constitutes society and culture, while being constituted by them. In other words, their relationship is dialectal. Every instance of language use contributes to reproducing and transforming culture, society and power relations.

This notion introduces the fourth principle, which underlines that discourse does ideological work. Wodak (1996:18) defines 'ideology' as the particular ways in which society is structured and represented, in so reproducing and normalising unequal power relations as common sense. Most often these ideologies are false, unfounded constructions.

The fifth principle which CDA holds true is that discourse is historical. In order to analyse discourse in a certain social setting, a decisive account of the socio-historical setting is required.

The sixth principal expounds on this by emphasising that the link between text and society is mediated on a micro and macro scale. It is thus also important to consider how speakers realise their intentions in discourse, and how listeners interpret them given their own beliefs and attitudes. CDA makes use of the socio-psychological model of text comprehension, as well as the socio-cognitive approach to finding links between the two, which will be expounded upon in the final section of this chapter.

The final two principles are the primary values of CDA. The seventh being that discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory. And the eighth being that discourse is a form of social action (Wodak, 1996:18).

4.3 Systemic Functional Grammar: at the root of Critical Discourse Analysis

Whether analysts with a critical approach prefer to focus on micro-linguistic features, macro-linguistic features, textual, discursive or contextual features; whether their approach is primarily philosophical, sociological or historical in most studies, there is reference to Hallidayan systemic functional grammar. This indicates that an understanding of the basic claims of Halliday's grammar and his approach to linguistic analysis is essential for a proper understanding of CDA. For an exposition of Halliday's contribution to the development of CL, one should consider the work of

Halliday himself (1978, 1985), as well as the work of scholars who have worked very closely with Hallidayan grammar, and have not only applied the theory, but also elaborated it – the following sources are referred to specifically: Kress (1976), Martin and Hasan (1989), Martin (1992) and Iedema (1997, 1999). As early as 1970 Halliday had stressed the relationship between the grammatical system and the social and personal needs that language is required to serve (Halliday, 1970:142). Halliday distinguished three meta-functions of language which are continuously interconnected: firstly, the ideational function, through which language lends structure to experience (the ideational structure has a dialectical relationship with social structure, both rejecting and influencing it); secondly, the interpersonal function, which constitutes relationships between the participants; and thirdly, the textual function, which constitutes coherence and cohesion in texts. Moreover, argumentation theory and rhetoric have been successfully combined with SFL (Wodak and Meyer, 2001:8).

4.4 Prominent theorists and their contributions

Van Dijk is renowned for his socio-cognitive approach (Milani, 2007:9). His earlier work (Van Dijk, 1977, 1981) has been shown to take texts and discourses as basic units of social practices. As with other discourse analysts, he traces the origins of linguistic motivations in units of language, beyond the sentence, to the social and political contexts at large. Van Dijk and Kintsch (1983) considered the relationship between discourse and the study of language processing, thus developing a cognitive model of discourse understanding in individuals, which gradually advanced into cognitive models for explaining the construction of intention and sense making on a societal level (Wodak and Meyer, 2001:7). He asserts that before ideologies are able to assert themselves in social practice, the expression is filtered by many other social, socio-cognitive and personal factors (Van Dijk, 1995:246). Thus, Van Dijk has turned his attention to media discourse as, he states, media studies have depicted biases, stereotypes, sexism and racism in texts, illustrations and photos (Van Dijk, 2011:359). Linguistic devices are used and expanded upon for critical analysis of transitivity in syntax, lexical structure, modality, and speech acts in, for example, Van Dijk's (1988) theory of news discourse in critical studies of international news, racism in the press and the reporting of squatters in Amsterdam.

Fairclough's (1992) three-dimensional model of a text, discursive practice and social practise is regarded as an influential contribution to CDA (Milani, 2007:9). Wodak and Meyer (2001) summarise Fairclough's (1989) work as having outlined the social theories on which CDA is based. Fairclough (2003:24) refers to his (1992) work as manoeuvring between focusing on specific texts and a what he refers to as the 'order of discourse'. By focusing on the smallest units of a text, then the natural order which language has to offer, intertextuality, and its place in social practise, he not only provides an analytical framework for studying language in relation to existing power and ideology, he also makes clear how CDA is practically useful in unveiling the discursive nature of contemporary social and cultural change. Fairclough specifically dissects language in the media as a site where language is meant to be neutral and transparent, thereby unveiling the social practice of mediating (Wodak and Meyer, 2001:124). It is thus demonstrated that text analysis is not merely linguistic analysis; it involves what Fairclough (2003:24) has called 'interdiscursive analysis', that is, viewing texts in connection with the different discourses, genres and styles they articulate and rely on.

Wodak (1989) outlines, explains and demonstrates the most salient features of CL research. She interprets Van Dijk's 'orders of discourse' and compiles a work *Disorders of Discourse* (1996) which is extensively referred to in this study. In this work Wodak focuses on investigating languages in institutional settings and emphasises the importance of taking a historical approach to research. Wodak (1996) has illustrated the shared perspective in which concepts of power, ideology, and history, are at the centre of linguistic, semiotic, and discourse analysis. The reliance on Hallidayan linguistics is reiterated in Wodak's work, as well as that of literary critics and social philosophers such as Habermas and Bakhtin. This study adopts Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) as it is multi-layered, thereby taking into account the complexity of the social issue being analysed. Firstly, the social issue is identified; then, discursive strategies are investigated; thereafter, linguistic means (as types) and linguistic realisations (as tokens) are analysed. This is expounded upon in the following section.

4.5 Discourse-Historical Approach

This approach was selected as it acknowledges the characteristic requirements of investigating this present research question. That is, DHA states that the research question should be problem-oriented, context-specific, interdisciplinary, and draw from middle-range or grand theories (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009:95). This research is problem-oriented as the discursive construction of the language policy debate in South African newspapers is predicted to perpetuate divisive ideologies. As previously discussed, the SU language policy debate is like no other for ample reasons, such as the university's oppressive history, as well as South Africa's 11 official languages – specifically pertaining to the debate regarding whether their makeup ought to be seen as *one plus ten,* which is English and ten indigenous languages, or *two plus nine,* which is English and Afrikaans as two developed South African languages and the other nine indigenous languages (Brink, 2006). This research is interdisciplinary by nature as it draws on theories of CDA, language ideologies, media studies, and policy and planning issues. Middle ranged or grand theories such as right-wing populism, globalisation and racial identity, among others, are drawn upon in order to make sense of the ideologies presented in the texts.

Aligned with the DHA's three-dimensional approach, this study adapts five heuristically orienting questions as recommended by Reisigl and Wodak (2009:93), which are expounded upon in the following chapter. These questions necessitate a multi-layered investigation (Wodak, 1996). At the core of the analysis is the micro-analysis of the discourse unit or text. DHA distinguishes between 'discourse' and 'text'. 'Texts' are parts of discourse, which make speech acts durable over time, thus bridging the two speech situations: speech production and speech reception (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009:87). At the next level is consideration for the identity of the speakers and audience, in this case, readers and writers. Furthermore, DHA must take into account the objective setting of the discourse, which is the time and location. Lastly, a historical account of the institution must be investigated. In this case, the newspapers, the university, and the country are considered as institutions.

4.5.1 Discursive strategies

Consistent with the five heuristically orienting questions, five types of discursive strategies are identified as possible tools with which to linguistically deconstruct the data. The identification of

these strategies allows for analysis of texts and explanation of discourse. The strategies employed by Reisigl and Wodak are identified as predication and perspectivisation (2009:94). Predication devices involves the indexing of stereotypical attributions in the form of adjectives, nouns, collocations, explicit comparisons such as similes and metaphors, among others. White's (1997:7) intensification strategy will be regarded while considering predicating indices. Perspectivisation is the process of positioning the writer's point of view by means of direct or indirect speech (Scollon, 1998:217-245). Iconisation will be viewed as a tool for perspectivisation (Irvine and Gal, 2000:35). Fairclough's (2003) discursive strategies, which are aligned with the DHA approach and considered for further analysis, are: semantic relations, which involve the analysis of the semantic relations between clauses and sentences; grammatical relations, which recognise the semantic relations in grammatical features of a text; and finally, legitimation, which is the expression of rationalisation, is at the foreground of articulation – this will particularly aid in answering question five as laid out in the next chapter.

The characteristic design of DHA fit this research question like a glove, in that it is interdisciplinary; makes use of discourse, text and context triangulation; respects historical analysis; and prompts practical application. However, researcher bias must be acknowledged and countered. The vantage points from which the researcher analyses the data could lead to various conclusions. Thus, the theoretical framework must provide for as thorough an analysis as possible, which Wodak accounts for in *Disorders of Discourse* (1996). The challenges of DHA, much like any interdisciplinary work, necessitates theoretically compatible scientific resources (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009:120). This means that the grand theories applied to this research must be able to account for the purposes of the five discursive strategies which are used for identifying perpetuation of ideologies. A large data set, comprising of English and Afrikaans newspapers, is another means of ensuring an all-encompassing, just critique of the problem.

4.5.2 The Discourse-Historical Approach: Case Study

The following outline of a case study extracted from Wodak and Meyer (2001) demonstrates the process of research and analysis, with a step by step methodology applied to a specific data set.

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The research is entitled *The analysis of discriminatory discourse: the case-study of the FPÖ petition 'Austria first' 1992-3* (2001:72).

Firstly, an ethnographic account is provided regarding the social, political, historical, and psychological context of the research problem.   Which, in this case accounted for the history of the FPÖ, which was the successor party to the VDU (the electoral hub for former Austrian Nazis), founded in 1956. The FPÖ's politics were xenophobic by nature and were characteristic of populism. The study thus deconstructs the discourses employed to understand the party's political success (Wodak and Meyer, 2001:77-78).

Thereafter, once the genre and discourse to which the text belongs have been established, more ethnographic information needs sampling, from which interdiscursivity and intertextuality can be established. The texts used for analysis in this study were produced by the FPÖ, as well as a public debate regarding the slogans and programme of the FPÖ, and the coalition programme of the current government (Wodak and Meyer, 2001:78).

Thirdly, from the problem under investigation, precise research questions are formulated, and related fields are consulted for explanatory theories and theoretical aspects. The research questions for this study are as follows: firstly, how are persons named and referred to linguistically; secondly, what traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them; thirdly, by means of what arguments and argumentation schemes do specific persons or social groups try to justify and legitimise the exclusion, discrimination, suppression and exploitation of others; fourthly, from what perspective or point of view are these labels, attributions and arguments expressed; and fifth, are the respective utterances articulated overtly? Are they intensified or are they mitigated? (Wodak and Meyer, 2001:72) Theories regarding: populism; reconciling Austrian Nazi past; transformations from social welfare states to neo-liberal economies; and the rise of racism in globalisation, were consulted for analysis of the data set (Wodak and Meyer, 2001:78).

Thereafter, the research questions must be operationalised into linguistic categories. The discursive strategies chosen for application to the text are nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivisation and intensification or mitigation. These categories are then sequentially applied

to the text while making use of theoretical approaches to interpret the meanings resulting from the research questions (Wodak and Meyer, 2001:78). Finally, a context diagram is drawn up for the specific text and fields of action, and extensive interpretation is undergone while referencing research questions to the investigated problem. The entire nature of the analysis is sequential and intertextual, meaning that ethnographic context, text and theories are constantly in an interplay in order to assert findings and justify them explicitly. Interpretation is required and must be thoroughly justified.

4.6 Critiques of Critical Discourse Analysis

Although Fairclough's CDA provides a framework for analysis of texts as a platform for the creation, perpetuation and contestation of ideology, the construction of social realities, theoretical foundations, and "so-called" interdisciplinary methodology have come into question (Poole, 2010:138). Widdowson, who is at the forefront of criticisms of CDA, describes Fairclough's principles of text analysis as inconsistent (Widdowson, 2004:164). The combination of the Hallidayan grammatical framework in conjunction with 'Orders of Discourse' (Foucault), and Bakhtin's intertextuality, have been described as theoretically insufficient (Poole, 2010:148) as no exact framework is provided (Widdowson, 2004:166). Additionally, his work his criticised for having a predictably neo-liberal stance, depending on linguistics merely for its terminology (Poole, 2010:152). Chilton (Wodak and Chilton, 2005:21-23) describes the former criticisms as missing links in mainstream CDA. The criticism which this thesis wishes to emphasise is what Poole (2010:137) postulates as CDA offering linguistic descriptions to serve political judgements, that which Chilton describes as claims which may be bedevilling to CDA as a science.

Widdowson's assertion that the predictable left-wing nature of CDA findings (Poole, 2010:152) lends itself to, at most, a critical discourse interpretation, as opposed to an analysis (Widdowson, 2004:165). To this argument, this thesis responds with the assistance of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle who, in *The Sign of Four* (1890) summarises a study of society as follows:

> … while the individual man is an insoluble puzzle, in the aggregate he becomes a mathematical certainty. You can, for example, never foretell what any one man will do,

but you can say with precision what an average number will be up to. Individuals vary, but the percentages remain constant.

In summation, this thesis takes the stance that, in an interdisciplinary account, with enough history, policy, and context analysis, an aggregated assumption can be made about a society and the role-players therein, as long as the scholar is critically forthcoming regarding the lens from which their study is motivated.

Chilton (Wodak and Chilton, 2005:21) identifies CDA's claims to have emancipatory effects as bedevilling. It is argued that scientific research ought not to be making subjective social or political assertions. Thus, he presumes, research cannot be motivated by such. It is postulated that in principle, research cannot claim to be an instrument of social justice (Wodak and Chilton, 2005:21). This thesis strongly asserts that science has people, knowledge of people, and knowledge for people at its core; thus, if CDA wishes to deconstruct hegemony and normative ideology, then indeed it is emancipatory. Using studies on climate change (let alone CDA) as an example, Heather Douglas asserts that science can neither be apolitical or free of values (Douglas, 2015:296). In other words, science seeks to find evidence which constructs, evaluates or informs society, and is therefore an instrument of emancipation, whether explicitly stated or not. What Douglas cautions is that all science ought to be pursued with integrity (Douglas, 2015:296).

> Science's greatest strength is its commitment to evidence and to criticism based on evidence. Scientists are both expected to be continually seeking new evidence, even in relation to widely accepted views, and when the evidence does not match expectations, to challenge themselves to alter their views. Because there is always new evidence to be had (as phenomena recur or shift in new contexts) and because we are always developing new methods for gathering evidence (in hopes of strengthening the precision or scope or depth of the evidence), no scientific claim is safe from evidential challenge. This means that no scientific claim or theory is ever proven 100 percent (Douglas, 2015:301).

This thesis seeks to conclude the two former criticisms with the postulation that although a dead man's intentions can never be known with certainty, a strong case can be made thereof with enough contextual and multidisciplinary evidence. It is then the responsibility of the CDA practitioner to ensure a holistic research approach, with which biases can be mitigated.

4.6.1 Responses to critiques of Critical Discourse Analysis

It is argued that while CDA is descriptive and exploratory, it has made no contribution to furthering the scientific understanding of the language capacity of the human species. This is noteworthy, especially as CDA claims to play an important role in observing as well as explaining society. In response to these criticisms, this thesis regards Hart's (2011) Cognitive Linguistic approach to CDA, typically with regard to the parallels between construal and the relativism typically embraced by CDA; as well as the explanation of image schemas as a site for ideology; and the relevance of force-dynamics to this present study. Furthermore, Van Dijk's 2013 account of the Discourse Cognition Society (Hart and Cap, 2014:121-146) will be regarded, with specific focus on his account of social cognition and the deconstructing of ideology and society.

Cognitive Linguistics approaches text analysis from the position of the hearer / reader, not the writer / speaker (Hart, 2011:271). In so doing, the focus of analysis is not on an intended meaning, rather on the process of interpretation or construal. The typology of construal operations as adopted by Croft and Cruse (2004) consists of identification, framing and positioning. All taken into account by this present thesis, as accounted for by the five heuristically orienting questions outlined in the following chapter. Identification involves the mention of social actors, whether explicitly or implicitly – also regarded is the level of granularity with which social actors are identified. Framing regards the evaluative qualities ascribed to an entity, event, action, process or relation. Positioning involves three processes. Firstly, it is concerned with the positioning of social actors in relation to one another. Secondly, the process of positioning involves the processing of propositions in relation to one's own reality. And finally, it entails the process of positioning propositions in relation to one's own system of morality.

Hart explains the role of image schema in the process of conceptualisation, and then introduces force-dynamic schema (Hart, 2011:273) as a system of concept structuring, which he claims operates ideologically in immigration discourse in the UK media. While this thesis does not utilise force-dynamic schema as a system by which to deconstruct the SU Language Policy debate, it is important to discuss and draw parallels to indicate that such a methodology could be transferred to the current topic. Image schemata are called upon to play a connecting, or demarcating role in

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the process of conceptualisation. They are therefore not definitive images, but ideological semantic structures, or the bare essence of an instance. It is therefore the images we choose to see depending on the lenses by which we make sense of the world, as previously mentioned in Chapter 3. Force-dynamic schemata, which involve articulations of pressure and motion or feeling and movement, then play a structuring role in the conceptualisation of physical interaction, all-encompassing of social, psychological, legal, political, and linguistic interactions. According to Talmy, these are then a system of generalisation that operates over concepts of 'causing', 'letting', 'helping' and 'hindering' (Hart, 2011:273). These are articulated in the UK media regarding immigration in the tone indicated by the use of adverbs, such as *still* and *continuing,* and prepositions, such as *despite.* The textual grammatical cues identified in Hart's (2011) research are ideal examples of how various schemata are drawn upon by the reader / hearer to make ideological connections and demarcations in their construction of society.

Consistent with the Cognitive Linguistic approach, Van Dijk postulates that, in order to describe and explain how societal structures of power are discursively constructed and perpetuated, relations between discourse and society must be cognitively mediated (Hart and Cap, 2014:121). Van Dijk expands on the critique that CDA merely describes, not explains social discourses by asserting that the nature of the causal relationships between social variables and structures of text and talk are usually not made explicit but reduced to unexplained correlations. As a solution hereto, socio-cognitive theory undertakes that mental representations influence the cognitive process involved in the production and interpretation of discourse; and discourses influence social structure through mental representations of language users as social actors (Hart and Cap, 2014:122)

The cognitive intersection between discourse and society is captured in the context models which represent social parameters of language use as they are found to be relevant for and by the participants (Hart and Cap, 2014:126). This study captures the context model in Chapter 2, where a historical context of the debate is outlined and voiced by prominent and opposing social actors (Brink, 2006; Giliomee, 2016). Consistent with the account of indexing; iconisation; predication and perspectivisation, in Chapter 3 as well as the use thereof in Chapter 6 as guided by Reisigl and Wodak (2009) in the DHA framework (Flowerdew and Richardson, 2018:54), Van Dijk describes the parameters of context models as providing a basis for indexicals and deictic expressions

specifically denoting the time, place, participants and action of the communicative event (Hart and Cap, 2014:126).

In an account for socio-cognitive analysis (CGA) postulates that personal opinions are formed and informed by generic sociocultural models as well as evaluative representations shared among persons within social groups. These evaluative representations are attitudes expressed about dialectic topics such as immigration, homosexual marriage, or as in the case of this thesis, language of instruction (Hart and Cap, 2014:131). An ideology is described by CGA as social attitudes construing a broader socio-cognitive basis, allowing attitudes to be formed, acquired and applied. Categories such as identities, actions, goals, norms and values, and relations with other groups, specifically the power relations between groups, are formed in the basic cognitive self-schema. Van Dijk postulates that one group has the power to control another if it is able to control specific actions of another group, thus limiting their freedom. Exercising such power requires a symbolic or material power basis, such as access to economic resources, or language of instruction. As is argued in the ideological themes presented by this study (Hart and Cap, 2014:130-33).

CGA, unlike most other sociolinguistic theories, and linguistic anthropology, "there are no direct associations between social structures and discourse structures" (Hart and Cap, 2014:136). It is argued that if such associations are said to be found between discourse and social power, it ought to be regarded as an incomplete analysis, or as presuming mental structures of members and processes that, frankly, remain unaccounted for in analysis. This is because discourse structures are, in essence, unlike social structures, such as social groups, institutions, nation states and their power relations to others. Therefore, it is emphasised that social structures can only influence or be influenced by text and talk by a cognitive intersection that links the mental representation of social structures with the mental structures representing discourse (Hart and Cap, 2014:137). It is postulated that by the guidance of the DHA research practice summarised framework, the CGA principles will be adhered to (Flowerdew and Richardson, 2018:54).

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY

The nature of this research necessitates a comprehensive understanding of the historical context of the SU language policy debate, as well as how the South African newspapers choose to report on it. Thus, the general design of this study will primarily apply the discourse-historical approach (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001). Supplementary discursive strategies will be relied on in order to answer the methodological questions posed by DHA, such as Fairclough's (2003) relational approach to texts and Scollon's (1998) voiced agents and agents of speaking; White's (1997) intensification; and Irvine and Gals (2000) inconisation. These discursive strategies will be applied to data from South African daily newspapers *Die Burger* and *Cape Times*. The aim hereof is to identify how and why certain ideologies are discursively constructed in the SU language policy debate in Afrikaans and English newspapers, respectively. The identification and analysis of differing ideologies and voices presented in this debate may aid in ascertaining the rationale behind different social groups prioritising Afrikaans or English as MoI at SU. This chapter will contextualise the present study socially and theoretically, and discuss the criteria used for data collection, selection and analysis.

5.1 Daily newspapers

Blommaert (1999:9) describes language ideological debates as "excellent linguistic-ethnographic targets". He asserts that the textual footprint allows for easily accessible data sets; that these "texts produce discourses and meta-discourses, [which] result in a battery of texts that can be quoted, echoed, vulgarized, etcetera." Thus, two South African daily newspapers, the *Cape Times* and *Die Burger*, were chosen for analysis for a variety of reasons. Print press was easily accessible in the physical archives as well as digital archives. Additionally, print press allowed for a more comprehensive, chronological study, from 1999-2016. Although online publications may have reported on this debate considerably in recent years, earlier years in the timeframe demanded an analysis of print press. The duration of this period was selected as the debate seemed to flare up frequently during these years. Daily publications were selected for thorough comparison of frequency of reports on the language policy debate for specific linguistic target audiences. It was

important that both papers are circulated in the Western Cape, where SU is situated, as location has been presented as an important physical symbol for linguistic identity (Wodak, 1996; Brink, 2006). The chosen papers were established in significantly conflicting historical eras, for conflicting aims, which is likely to present varying ideologies in the debate.

5.1.1 The *Cape Times* newspaper

Established in March 1876, the *Cape Times* is the oldest South African newspaper which has a record of daily publications since its conception. It was established by Frederick York St Leger, 50 years after South Africa was granted freedom of the press, with its main aim being to be published daily and to be entirely independent from policy, as a voice to the lower middle class. The newspaper's origins are founded in the endorsement of the British Empire and excellence of British rule in the 19th century Cape Colony (Shaw, 1975). The *Cape Times* was specifically selected for this study as it has had an intended reputation for being a voice of the people of the Cape, similar to the claims of *Die Burger*. The British roots of the paper, however, stand in direct contrast of and opposition to the Afrikaans paper. The *Cape Times'* readership, according to the South African Audience Research Foundation (SAARF) was recorded at approximately 183 000 as at December 2015, a significant decline since the previous year's readership analysis at 234 000 (SAARF, 2015). The circulation statistics as at December 2017 were 29 608, a 4,8% decline from the previous year-end circulation statistics (Bizcommunity, 2017).

5.1.2 *Die Burger* newspaper

The newspaper was established in Stellenbosch, with the first of its issues published in Dutch in 1915, and then translated into Afrikaans in 1916. *Die Burger*, translated into English, means *The Citizen*, which is indicative of its dedication to present the people of the Afrikaans community. Being the first newspaper of the media company Nasionale Pers[10] (now Naspers), *Die Burger* played the role of the mouthpiece of the National Party during Apartheid, and served as a primary vehicle for the articulation of nationalist ideology (Wasserman and Botma, 2008:4). In the

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[10] National Press

newspaper's effort to reposition itself post-Apartheid, the paper has substituted its explicit political positioning for the preservation of the Afrikaans language and culture (Wassermann and Botma, 2008:9). *Die Burger*'s readership, as per December 2015 was at approximately 331 000, a significant decline from the previous year's readership at approximately 400 000 (SAARF, 2015). The most recent circulation statistics were found to be 46 379, which was indicated as a 6,1% decline from the previous year's circulation (Bizcommunity, 2017).

5.2 Data selection and corpus construction

Data for this study was sampled from the online archive SA Media, under the overarching banner of Sabinet Reference platform, from 1999-2016. These dates were chosen as the debate seemed to present itself significantly during this time. Of the archived material, the data was collected according to key words "Stellenbosch", "language policy", "taal", "debat". The data was then divided into hard and soft news. Hard news in this is categorised as a reporting genre, therefore, articles referring to circumstances surrounding a particular event or public issue; while soft news would explicitly provide readers with a local narrative (Tardy, 2009:274), in this case including opinion pieces and letters to the editor. The latter were removed from the data set as analysis of this goes beyond the scope of the research and theoretical framework. The hard news articles ultimately collected, were 77 and 28 for *Die Burger* and *Cape Times*, respectively. The articles discarded as soft news reports or not exactly pertaining to the search terms were 233 and 39, for *Die Burger* and the *Cape Times*, respectively.

5.3 Analytical framework

The analytical framework of CDA which this thesis takes is the discourse-historical approach (DHA) (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009). The supplementary discursive strategies employed also draw from Fairclough's relational approach to text analysis (Fairclough, 2003:35); Irvine and Gal's indexicality and iconisation semiotic processing (Irvine and Gal, 2000:35); and Scollon's forms of attribution in terms of agents of speaking and voiced agents (Scollon, 1998:223-230); and White's (1997:7) intensification strategies. The DHA is used as an instrument of analysis to explain why the data presents said ideologies, as this approach makes a socio-diagnostic critique which aims

"to 'demystify' the hegemony presented in discourses by deciphering the ideologies that establish, perpetuate and fight dominance" (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009:88).

A relational approach to text analysis operates on the premise that texts ought to be analysed externally and internally. An external analysis takes into account the social relationship between texts; while an internal analysis involves the linguistic analysis of a text. While the DHA provides the framework for an external analysis, Fairclough's internal analytical tools such as semantic relations, grammatical relations to text, and various forms of legitimation in texts will be accounted for and analysed in the context of the broader social relationships (Fairclough, 2003:87-104), which are constructed and perpetuated by semiotic processes such as indexicality and iconisation (Irvine and Gal, 2000:350). Similarly, Scollon's look at voiced agents and agents of speaking, is a form of internal analysis to make external critiques.

Five questions are adapted from the DHA approach in order to heuristically orient the research (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009:93):

1. How are persons, objects, phenomena / events, processes and actions referred to linguistically?
2. What characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena / events and processes?
3. What ideological themes are employed in the discourse in question?
4. From what perspective are these discursive strategies employed?
5. Are the respective utterances articulated overtly; are they intensified?

Semantic relations as a discursive strategy aligned with DHA are categorised as follows (Fairclough, 2003:89):

1. Causal
   a. Reason (I ate the pizza *because* I was hungry)
   b. Consequence (I was hungry, *so* I ate the pizza)
   c. Purpose (I ate the pizza *in order to* satisfy my hunger)
2. Conditional (*If* I do not eat the pizza, I will be hungry)
3. Temporal (I was hungry *when* the pizza arrived)

4. Additive (I feel awful! I'm hungry *and* I have a headache)

5. Elaboration (I am hungry – I have not eaten since breakfast and it is way past my dinner time)

6. Contrastive (I'm hungry, *but* I am sure the pizza will be worth the wait).

Grammatical relations as a discursive strategy aligned with DHA are categorised as parataxis, hypotaxis, and embedding, which are explained as follows (Fairclough, 2003:92-93): Parataxis is when clauses are grammatically equal. For example, 'My pizza was delicious, *and* the wine was of impeccable taste'. Hypotaxis refers to when one clause is subordinate to the main clause. For example, 'My pizza was spicy *because* it had too many chillies'. Finally, embedding refers to an instance when one clause acts as a feature of another. For example, 'the pizza *which* I usually have'.

Legitimation, or the overt process of rationalising an argument employs the following discursive strategies (Fairclough, 2003:98):

1. Authorisation, which draws upon the authority of law, tradition, or people with institutional authority;

2. Rationalisation, which depends on the pre-constructed societal knowledge or ideology, for the sake of a utilitarian institutionalised action;

3. Moral Evaluation, which relies on the societal value system to strengthen an argument; and

4. Mythopoesis, which is legitimation expressed via narratives.

In his chapter on *Newsmakers in newspaper and television*, Scollon (1998:217-245), while addressing forms of attribution, notes the importance of who the reporter chooses to quote directly and indirectly. This study will consider those, as well as those quoted indirectly, as agents of speaking; and those referred to as significant, those mentioned by those quoted directly, as legitimation as voiced agents. The application of the discursive strategies is not applied to the data in clear, predetermined steps, as each text in the corpus cannot be treated mechanically. Instead, after considering the chose social actors, excerpts of texts are deconstructed at sentence level to argue for what the respective newspapers seek to legitimise, through indexing and the iconisation of social actors. Thereafter, texts are deconstructed according to ideological themes, identified

during the data collection phase. In this section, it is measured whether initial hypotheses have been met, and how they have been linguistically portrayed.

That being said, the data set is committed to analysis adhering to the orienting questions, discursive strategies, tools for analysis and Bhaskar's explanatory critique. Therefore, after the discussion of the data, the researcher critically reflects on their role in the debate and how they themselves are socially positioned (Fairclough, 2003:209-210). This last analytical step is of integral importance, since a common critique in CDA is the blurred line between the researcher and the vantage point from which the research question is analysed.

CHAPTER 6

DATA COLLECTION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

As per the Discourse-Historical Approach, this chapter seeks to answer the five heuristically orienting questions (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009:93) by analysis of discursive strategies employed in the SU Language Policy debate. The questions are set out as follows: Firstly, how are persons, objects, phenomena / events, processes and actions referred to linguistically? Secondly, what characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena / events and processes? Thirdly, what ideological themes are employed in the discourse in question? Fourthly, from what perspective are these discursive strategies employed? Lastly, are the respective utterances articulated overtly; are they intensified? This chapter will first outline the data set in terms of frequency of publications, page number distributions, and common themes presented in the debate. Using elements from Reisigl and Wodak (2009:94), Fairclough (2003:89-98) and Scollon (1998:217-245), the analysis will focus on the discursive strategies employed to achieve such thematic attributions, as well as voicing strategies, in an attempt to deconstruct the way the language policy debate has been constructed in the South African English and Afrikaans media publications. In order to discuss the broader discursive strategies used, close attention will be paid to nomination; predication; argumentation; perspectivisation, and intensification. Supplementary to these strategies are those of legitimation, semantic, as well as grammatical relations in sentence constructions.

6.1 Overview of the data

This thesis considered articles from SA Media and Sabinet's digital archives, accessed at the SU library. The data was extracted from *Die Burger*'s and *Cape Times*'s hard news pertaining to the SU language policy debate. Owing to the fact that the digital archive was solely relied on for this study, it cannot be confirmed that all the print articles for the *Cape Times* and *Die Burger* were captured, however, all the archived articles were certainly thoroughly inspected. The data consists of 77 *Die Burger* articles and 28 *Cape Times* articles. The quantity of unused opinion pieces, especially for *Die Burger* (233), are deemed significant as it is indicative of the Afrikaans community's involvement in this debate. This is testament to Brink's (2006:i) observation that

even though the debate is of public concern and has "consumed barrels of ink", it is something which the majority of South Africans have – for the most part – been unaware of, as the debate "about Afrikaans, has been conducted almost exclusively within Afrikaans". The timeline from this dataset ranges from 1999-2016 for *Die Burger*, and 2005-2016 for the *Cape Times*.
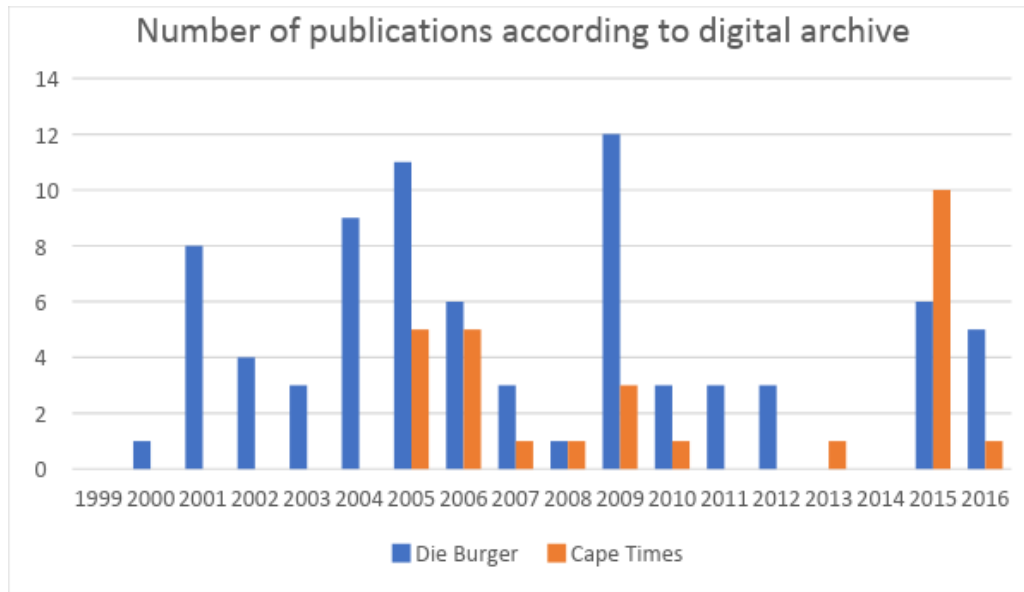
Figure 1: Number of publications according to the digital archive

6.1.1 Frequency of publication

This frequency distribution is useful for noticing flares in publications. For example, the Afrikaans media published most in 2001, 2004, 2005 and 2009. The English media published most on this matter in 2005, 2006 and exponentially in 2015. This is significant as the language policy had changed in 2002, 2007, with many questions pertaining to multilingualism in the form of dual medium in 2005, many grievances pertaining to parallel medium in 2009, and coming under question regarding the nature of Afrikaans preservation by student activists in 2015 (see Chapter 2 and SU website). Interestingly, though, is that in 2016 the rector of the university decided that English and Afrikaans should have equal status, thereafter, the university was taken to court for making an unconstitutional decision, but neither newspaper's publication frequencies reflect the gravity of this event (see article *Court dismisses application to overturn SU's new language policy,* News24 27-10-2017).

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6.1.2 Page numbers on which articles appear

Table 1 presents that the average page number of articles presented in *Die Burger* is 5,02, whereas in the *Cape Times*, it is 3,33. This is noteworthy as the *Cape Times* mostly reported on the topic in the current news section, when reporting on specific events. *Die Burger*, on the other hand, discussed events on pages 17, 22, and 25, and often on page 6. It ought to be noted that *Die Burger* was found to republish articles, placing them further back in the newspaper. For example, on 14 February 2009 an article entitled *Taalwending by Maties*[11] was published on the front page, then republished on page 19 on 28 February. The frequency of publications and variety of sections in which the debate takes place is indicative of the fact that, in Afrikaans, this debate occupies most spaces.

When considering front page headlines, it is observed that *Die Burger* presents only 9 (11,69%), and the *Cape Times* 7 (25%). The quantity is considered insignificant or unreliable as a comparison because of the vastly varied dataset sizes. Since the frequency varies to such a significant extent, however, it can be noted that 25% front page headlines for the *Cape Times* is significant, especially considering that these headlines were in 2005, 2006 and 2015, in the height of the multilingual debate. Both newspapers had the lowest page numbers averages when they had the most grievances regarding the policy, which will be discussed upon further analysis.

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[11] *Language turning point at SU*

Table 1: Page numbers on which articles appear

		PAGE NUMBERS											
YEAR	AVE	DIE BURGER											
1999													
2000	4	4											
2001	6,375	5	4	11	2	16	2	5	6				
2002	7,5	2	2	25	1								
2003	6,6667	2	12	6									
2004	6,3333	2	22	7	4	4	8	4	5	1			
2005	4,6364	8	17	2	2	2	6	4	4	4	1	1	
2006	5	4	4	7	7	6	2						
2007	4,6667	6	4	4									
2008	6	6											
2009	5,4167	7	8	1	6	5	5	2	8	5	6	10	2
2010	3,6667	4	1	6									
2011	4	4	4	4									
2012	5	1	4	10									
2013													
2014													
2015	3	3	3	1	5	6	3						
2016	3	3	4	1	5								
	5,0174												
YEAR	AVE	CAPE TIMES											
1999													
2000													
2001													
2002													
2003													
2004													
2005	4	3	3	3	6	5							
2006	1,4	3	1	1	1	1							
2007	1	1											
2008	6	6											
2009	5	5	5	5									
2010	3	3											
2011													
2012													
2013	3	3											
2014													
2015	3,6	9	4	1	2	3	1	4	3	6	3		
2016	3	3											
	3,3333												

6.1.3 Ideological themes

During the course of the data collection, and in conjunction with the historical context chapter, four main themes have been identified as proverbial boxes in which voiced agents package their articulations of why the language policy should look a certain way. In other words, they are boxes in which articulations of ideology are hypothesised to be delivered. These categories are Transformation, Diversity/Inclusivity, Language Loss and Apartheid. Brink (2006) has primarily framed the SU language policy debate in the context of Transformation and Diversity/Inclusivity. It must be noted that "diversity" and "inclusivity" are grouped as one because this thesis (as well as expressions from the data) views 'diversity' the expansion of organisational culture by means of authentic inclusivity. Giliomee (2016), on the other, has primarily framed the debate in terms of language loss (see Chapter 2). Apartheid was then selected as a possible theme as it is the overarching framework from which to view the post-1994 language changes. A brief overview of how frequently these hypothesised themes occurred in the data will be provided. After the analysis chapter, a discussion will take place regarding salient themes presented by the discursive strategies employed, in consultation with these initial quantitative findings.

Of the 77 *Die Burger* articles, 59 (76,62%) pertain to transformation – with the most expressed in 2005 and 2009. This is significant as these are years in which the language policy had come under revision. For example, a 2005 article entitled *Taalstryd groei*[12] (Die Burger, 15-10-2005:17), pertains to a petition against dual medium education signed by 80 Afrikaans authors; and a letter by 3 famous Afrikaans authors from 3 different generations. This article makes claims such as "dat dubbelmedium-onderrig fataal is vir die kleiner taal"[13] (referring to Afrikaans). In 2009, the introduction of parallel medium was met with the same dissatisfaction. An article titled *Studente betoog oor US-taalbeleid*[14] (Die Burger, 05-05-2009:2) voices the Adam Tas student organisation stating that parallel medium, or having English and Afrikaans as equal, is "soortgelyk aan die apartheidsregering se destydse besluit om Afrikaans as onderrigtaal op swart leerders af te dwing"[15]. Whereas of the 28 *Cape Times* articles, 23 (82,14%) pertained to transformation. This

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[12] *Language-battle grows*

[13] "dual-medium is fatal for the smaller language"

[14] *Students protest about SU language policy*

[15] "the same as the apartheid governments decisions to force Afrikaans upon black students"

was expected as it was hypothesised that *Cape Times* would report in favour of change for multilingualism. In a 2005 article entitled *Students complain of slow change at Stellenbosch University* (Cape Times, 29-07-200:3), student leaders from UWC and UCT were quoted as saying "we can no longer accept the rape of minorities at Stellenbosch University", with rape being used as a metaphor for exploitation, as well as "the doors of education must be open to all".

Inclusivity or diversity are mentioned 49 times in *Die Burger* (63,63%) and 18 times in the *Cape Times* (64,29%). This is contrary to what was hypothesised. As with Transformation, it was assumed that Inclusivity / Diversity would be discussed more extensively in the English media. It is however noteworthy that *Die Burger's* Inclusivity / Diversity articles are often coupled with language loss, such as the articles entitled *Vier nuwe US-raadslede waarsku oor Visie 2012*[16] (Die Burger, 30-03-2006:7) and *Geen tyding van Pandor oor taal verslag*[17] (Die Burger, 09-02-2006:6). In the first article, council members assert that "Die oorspronklike visie lyk vir ons na 'n visie van bevordering van tweetaligheid binne 'n Afrikaanse konteks waartoe ons, en ook die US se konvokasie verbind is. Visie 2012 se 'Afrikaans bevorder binne 'n meertalige konteks' is iets heeltemal anders en is in stryd met die rektor se ondernemings"[18]. In the second article, it is stated that "ten minste een Afrika-taal moet bevorder word"[19] and "Taal kos geld. Dis tyd dat die regering geld uithaal sodat die universiteite vir meertaligheid kan doen wat die regering van hulle verwag"[20]. This alludes to the expanding of multilingualism without expanding on English, thus, expanding the other national languages.

As expected, Language Loss was expressed significantly more in the Afrikaans data. However, not as prominently as was expected. *Die Burger* expressed language loss 48,05% of the time, whereas the *Cape Times* 21,24% of the time. In the *Cape Times*, articles pertaining to language loss reported on specific events where the loss of Afrikaans was in question, or quoted experts who

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[16] *Four new SU Council members caution regarding Vision 2012*

[17] *No new news from Pandor regarding language report*

[18] "there is a difference between the development of multilingualism in an Afrikaans context and the development of Afrikaans in a multilingual context. The former is what the council has agreed upon and the latter is in conflict with the rector's ventures"

[19] "at least one African language should be promoted"

[20] "Language costs money. It is time that the government provides money so that universities can do what is expected of them by the government as far as multilingualism is concerned"

state that the language will regress as multilingualism develops. Such articles are *Stellenbosch graduates rejected proposed multilingual policy at heated meeting* (Cape Times, 14-11-2005:3) or *44% of Maties council candidates want Afrikaans campus* (Cape Times, 20-03-2006:3). In *Die Burger*, headlines such as *Dit is wat US-konvolasie van hersiende taalbeleid verwag*[21] (Die Burger, 17-10-2007:4) and *Bekendes sê ja vir dokument oor Afrikaans aan US*[22] (Die Burger, 09-02-2002:2) indicate that the plight for the preservation of Afrikaans is not advocated for with students as the primary voice, but by prominent Afrikaners and previous students, advocating for the preservation of a language out of fear for the loss of the language.

As aforementioned, Apartheid was a previously determined theme as it is regarded as at the root of the language debate. This however, was not expressed overtly, with only 21.24% in the *Cape Times* and even less in *Die Burger* 11.69%. In an article *Verslag moedig oop gesprek aan*[23] (Die Burger, 04-03-2012:4) it is asserted that the language debate "skep die beledigende indruk dat studente wat in Afrikaans wil studeer 'verkramptes' is wat na 'die vorige werklikhede van Suid-Afrika (apartheid) verlang'"[24]. Then, more resonant with the nuances expressed in the *Cape Times*, *Die Burger* also expresses notions that *Afrikaanse dood sal taalbulle se skuld wees*[25] (Die Burger, 11-09-2011) where a Professor of Law at UCT and a Stellenbosch alumnus cautions the impression "dat jy taal gebruik om die universiteit oorheersend wit te hou nie"[26]. Similarly, "Afrikaans as taal is nie die probleem by die US nie, maar wel die hele kulturele pakkie wat daarmee verbind word"[27] (Die Burger, 05-08-2009).

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[21] *This is what US-convocation expects from revised language policy*

[22] *Prominent people say yes to document regarding Afrikaans at US*

[23] *Report encourages an open discussion*

[24] "creates the impression that Afrikaans students who want to learn in their first language are conservatives who long for a South Africa of the past"

[25] *The death of Afrikaans will be the Language Bulls' fault*

[26] "that the language is used to keep the university unanimously white"

[27] "Afrikaans as a language is not the problem at SU, but the cultural package in which it is presented is"

Table 2: Ideological themes hypothesised

Die Burger	Total articles	Transformation	Diversity/Inclusivity	Language Loss	Apartheid	Cape Times	Total articles	Transformation	Diversity/Inclusivity	Language Loss	Apartheid
1999						1999					
2000	1	1		1		2000					
2001	8	6	4	6	2	2001					
2002	4	2	2	3		2002					
2003	3	3	3	1		2003					
2004	9	8	8	2		2004					
2005	11	10	6	4		2005	5	4	1	2	
2006	6	5	4	4		2006	5	4	5	3	
2007	3		3	1		2007	1	1	1		1
2008	1	1				2008	1	1	1		
2009	12	10	8	6	3	2009	3	2	2	1	
2010	3	3	1			2010	1	1	1		
2011	3	3	1	1	1	2011					
2012	3	3	3	2	1	2012					
2013						2013	1	1	1		1
2014						2014					
2015	6	2	5	4	2	2015	10	8	6		4
2016	4	2	1	2	0	2016	1	1			
	77	59	49	37	9		28	23	18	6	6

6.2 Introduction to analysis and discussion

Upon outlining the data set, a closer analysis can now be taken. Firstly, by assessing the social actors more thoroughly. Then, deconstructing quotes from articles at sentence level, according to theme. Thereafter, deconstructing other noteworthy claims and observations made from the data set at sentence level. In summation, conclusions can be made about the newspapers regarding their deliberate voicing and the roles they play in the debate.

6.3 Social actors

Table 2 categorises voiced agents and agents of speaking into experts and laymen. The following people are seen as experts: spokespersons of the university (as they speak on behalf of university management who are assumed to be experts on managing university governance); professors or lecturers of language, politics, sociology or history; politicians (as they are assumed to be experts in advocating for equitable policy); members of the university council, senate or institutional forum – excluding student representative council – as they are assumed to be experts in governing the tertiary education intuitions. Laymen are considered to be: reporters; student representatives;

student activists; and professors or lecturers outside the aforementioned scope. These voices are considered laymen because their profession does not formally contribute to the development and execution of the language policy, but their opinions and suggestions are regarded highly in this paper. As argued by Oostendorp and Anthonissen (2014:81) the most valuable implementation of a language policy and plan should be informed by the complex grappling with language experienced by the laymen. Thus, the purpose of this section is not to legitimate the expert voice by noting how much expert opinion is provided – as experts could present either faction of the language policy debate. Instead, the voiced agents are noted in order to deconstruct which newspaper regards whom as important and why.

Table 3: Social actors quantified

Die Burger	Voiced agents		Agents of speaking		Cape Times	Voiced agents		Agents of speaking	
Year	Experts	Laymen	Experts	Laymen	Year	Experts	Laymen	Experts	Laymen
1999					1999				
2000	0	0	1	3	2000				
2001	26	0	7	1	2001				
2002	6	3107	8	1	2002				
2003	1	0	3	0	2003				
2004	10	5	13	3	2004				
2005	18	2392	20	143	2005	3	5	7	3
2006	17	1	12	0	2006	4	5	12	2
2007	2	5	2	1	2007	1	0	0	0
2008	1	0	2	0	2008	0	2	1	3
2009	16	12	12	6	2009	2	0	4	0
2010	9	3	4	0	2010	1	0	1	0
2011	4	3	4	2	2011				
2012	4	7	7	1	2012				
2013					2013	2	2	0	3
2014					2014				
2015	5	264	11	77	2015	15	12	7	8
2016	0	6	5	2	2016	10	0	2	1
Total	119	5805	111	240	Total	38	26	34	20

A breakdown of *Die Burger* is as follows: In total, *Die Burger* has voiced 230 experts and 6045 laymen. The experts mostly referenced are Kader Asmal (then Minister of Education) and

Hermann Giliomee (*taalstryder*). The most laymen were voiced as surveyed groups regarding their satisfaction of the execution of the language policy. On the other hand, the *Cape Times* has referenced 72 experts and 46 laymen. It must be noted that more laymen were referenced unspecifically in the *Cape Times* – in which case, a group was labelled as one - than in *Die Burger*, where group-laymen were quantified more specifically. In *Cape Times*, the most laymen were voiced in 2015 when the student protests were rife. This also correlates with the number of publications on this topic in the English media. It is noteworthy that for the first time in 2015, the laymen are voiced as the authoritative voice and the experts as subordinate – with headlines such as *We call for transformation at SU and for minister to support our demands* and *Stellies SRC heeds activists cause* where the students are voiced primarily, and a university spokesperson is merely asked for commentary. This might suggest a difference in esteem at which the English and Afrikaans media holds the so-called experts.

Social actors have been divided into two groups, as guided by Scollon (1998) namely, Agents of Speaking, who are people directly quoted or consulted for the purposes of reporting on the specific event pertaining to the article; and Voiced Agents, people or groups of people referred to as being concerned with the event at hand. The following table represents prominently voiced people or groups in the debate and compares their voicedness in Afrikaans and English media respectively. The table further divides these people or groups into experts and laymen. The experts are made up of key university policy makers such as rectors, chairpersons of council and convocation; ministers of education; and then a historian, a prominent voice in the debate. The laymen are student groups as well as an alumni group. It must be noted that most of the SRCs mentioned are SU Student Representative Councils, however, both newspapers voiced other South African universities regarding the SU language policy. They were thus grouped together in a general SRC group.

Table 4: Social actors named

Social Actors		Die Burger			Cape Times		
Name	Role	Total	Agents of Speaking	Voiced Agents	Total	Agents of Speaking	Voiced Agents
Experts							
Prof. Chris Brink	SU Rector 2002-2006	9	5	4	3	3	0
Dr. Blade Nzimande	Minister of education	2	0	2	3	2	1
Edwin Hertzog	Council Chairperson	5	3	2	3	2	1
Hermann Giliomee	Historian and Afrikaans language activist	11	9	2	3	2	1
Kader Asmal	Minister of education	7	3	4	0	1	0
Prof. Christo Viljoen	Convocation chairperson	4	4	0	2	1	1
Prof. Leon de Stadler	Director of SU Language Centre	5	4	1	0	0	0
Prof. Pieter Kapp	Convocation chairperson XX	4	4	0	0	0	0
Prof. Russel Botman	SU Rector 2006-2014	9	5	3	3	3	0
Laymen							
Adam Tas	Student Organisation	6	3	3	0	0	0
Members of convocation	Body of Alumni	4	0	4	3	3	0
Open Stellenbosch	Student activist collective	2	2	3	9	5	4
SRc	Formal student body	6	3	4	7	4	3

6.3.1 Discursive strategies employed for the representation of social actors in news reports

The most prominent social actors in *Die Burger* were expert Hermann Giliomee, and rector Chris Brink. In the *Cape Times*, they were OS and the SRC. This is indicative of the fact that *Die Burger* was primarily concerned with the experts and the policy itself, while the *Cape Times* was interested in the activism on the SU campus. Thus, these five social actors, along with the language policy, the language policy debate, and the student activism will undergo closer analysis, by answering questions one and two as outlined by Reisigl and Wodak (2009:93) in the methodology chapter, being 1) How are persons, objects and events referred to linguistically; and 2) What characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to these social actors, objects and events? This is the departure point from which a relational approach to text analysis will take place, which requires an external and internal text analysis. These two questions allow a critical glance at the external relationship: being a social relationship between texts.

6.3.1.1 How are Experts referred to linguistically and what characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them

In order to deconstruct the esteem at which the experts are held by the respective newspapers, the frequency of their appearance and the manner in which they are presented as experts must be closely assessed and compared. Having already discussed frequency and determining that Giliomee and Brink have been the prevalent experts drawn upon in the debate, especially in *Die Burger*, linguistic characteristics and qualities assigned to these social actors will be discussed. Predicative qualities allow for both newspapers to frame certain social actors as more legitimate than others. The legitimation strategy most employed is authorisation, through the clarification of titles or mythopoesis through the providing of a narrative of the social actor, moral evaluations are also assigned hereto. Typically, causal relationships are made between the experts and the outcome of an event in the debate; and importantly, subtle contrastive strategies are employed to distinguish between the comparative importance of experts.

Voiced as an agent of speaking nine times out of eleven in *Die Burger*, Hermann Giliomee is legitimated as an expert and authoritarian voice on the SU language debate. The personification of

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a motion set forward by Giliomee is employed to symbolise him as an authority of Afrikaner rights, tradition, and an intellectual expert. In the *Cape Times*, Giliomee's introductions are less authoritative and more informative, where instead, predication is used as a discursive positioning whilst his professorship and historian qualification are not regarded as important. The principle quality used to describe Giliomee in both newspapers is that of a struggle fighter. By means of predication, the qualities assigned to him are: *pro-Afrikaans; language purist; taalstryder;* and *General of language war*.

Chris Brink, who was voiced as an expert agent of speaking five times out of nine in *Die Burger*, was not introduced or voiced with the same esteem as Giliomee, even though, as rector of the institution, he had a larger role to play in the transformation of the policy. Often not referred to by his full role or title, Brink is frequently portrayed in *Die Burger* as a traitor to Afrikaans or having failed the language cause. The *Cape Times* however applied authorisation and mythopoesis to indicate praising his governance, referring to him as someone who understands how to create a truly South African university.

The two Experts are contrasted against each other as to signify the dialectic nature of the debate. Their respective voicing is an ideological endorsement or moral evaluation, discursively constructed by means of embedding a predication from the perspective of an authoritative voice. In order to examine these claims the following three illustrations will highlight the representation of Expert social actors while reporting on the same event. Article 1 is a headlining publication in *Die Burger*, contrasting the role of Brink and Giliomee in a specific event involving the T-option at SU. Article 3 was published in *Die Burger* the following day, focusing on Hermann Giliomee as an integral social actor in an event; while Article 2 is a *Cape Times* report on the same event three days later drawing upon various expert social actors, also contrasting the role of Giliomee and Brink as experts. The result is that a causal relationship is created between the social actor and the event, allowing the social actor to become emblematic for the outcome and ideologies in the debate around the event.

6.3.1.1.1 Illustrations of the contrastive iconisation of social actors in *Die Burger* in a discussion of Article 1: *T-Opsie vir US afgeskiet*[28] (11-11-2005:1)

Subtitle: Aanvaar: Giliomee-mosie[29]

Highlighted quote: Brink verwys taalbesluite na senaat terug[30]

Byline: STELLENBOSCH.- Die herrie oor die taalbeleid van die Universiteit Stellenbosch (US) is gisteraand grotendeels ontlont toe die Giliomee-mosie teen die T-opsie aanvaar is en alle taalbesluite sedert 2002 na die senaat terugverwys is.[31]

Synopsis: The SU Convocation had resulted in a unanimous vote against the T-option being introduced until third-year level in the faculty of Arts and Social Sciences by a motion brought forward by Hermann Giliomee, resulting in Chris Brink conceding to revert all language decisions made since 2002 back to the SU Senate.

Lines 1-5 describe the large number attending the convocation meeting as well as the quiet atmosphere with which the meeting was met.

Lines 6-11 introduce Hermann Giliomee, "bekende historikus"[32], as being the reason for the meeting by objecting to the implementation of T-option until third year level in the Arts and Social Sciences faculty. Referring to Giliomee by his title as a well-known historian employs the legitimation discursive strategy of authorisation.

Lines 15-18 describe Giliomee as an agent of war against the T-option, stating that he "in sy mosie 'n striemende aanval op die T-opsie gedoen"[33]. This metaphor of war, which will be further

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[28] *T-option for SU shot down*

[29] Accepted: Giliomee-motion

[30] Brink refers language decisions back to senate

[31] The rumpus around the language policy at SU was largely diffused when the Giliomee-motion against the T-Option was accepted and all language decisions since 2002 were referred back to Senate.

[32] "well-known historian"

[33] "in his motion, committed a scathing attack on the T-option"

deconstructed in the discussion, is a common theme in the debate, creating an 'us and them' relationship between Afrikaans and English in the debate.

Lines 19-25 quote Giliomee motivating his motion by providing four 'crucial' arguments against double-medium instruction: the first being that SU is allowing too many non-Afrikaans speakers into the university; the second being that this is the time when Afrikaans should be safeguarded; the third being that double-medium instruction is a slippery-slope to Anglicisation, and finally that SU has a constitutional right to be Afrikaans. These arguments have been discussed at length in Chapter 2. The article employs perspectivisation here in two ways: Firstly, by introducing the quote as a scathing attack on the T-option; and secondly by presenting the quote as a paragraph on its own, with no indirect speech or interjection from the author of the article. In this way, the article postulates an opinion through the Expert Voiced Agent.

Line 35 introduces Chris Brink as "Prof Chris Brink, rektor"[34]. This introduction seems neutral, however, upon further investigation, it will be found in fact to be deliberately distant or cold. This is the first piece of evidence, when compared to Giliomee's introduction having a qualifying adjective of praise being "well-known" instead of simply "historian".

Lines 35-54 provide Brink's pro-multilingualism stance and cautions against the risk of a single-medium institution. The article does not present an opinion on this quote, but lines 55-56 portray a concession by Brink, when stating that he will review all language decisions made since 2002.

This concession indirectly alludes to the metaphor of war by implying that there is a winner and loser in the language debate. As demonstrated by the structural elements of the article such as the contrasting Social Actors presented in the subtitle and highlighted quote, as well as the article text, Giliomee and Brink are emblematic of the dialectic nature of the debate and employed as tools of perspectivisation in the newspaper.

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[34] "Professor Chris Brink, rector"

6.3.1.1.2 Illustrations of the contrastive iconisation of Expert Social Actors in the *Cape Times* in a discussion of Article 2: *Stellenbosch graduates reject proposed multilingual policy at heated meeting* **(14-11-2005:3)**

Synopsis: The same event is described with very similar factual information as the Article 1.

Lines 41-49 introduce Giliomee for the first time as a "well known academic and author of *The Afrikaner*, <u>who</u> said protest against the T-option was the university's 'last chance' to protect Afrikaans as a medium of both instruction and transformation". The discursive strategy employed here to introduce Giliomee as a social actor is embedding, whereby his ideological opinion (lines 45-49) is indexed with his name by the use of the relative pronoun <u>who</u>.

Lines 65-66 introduce Brink with a contrastive phrase "The university's rector Chris Brink <u>on the other hand</u>" followed by lines 67-95 expressing his caution against an Afrikaans monolingual university. This contrastive phrase once again indexes Brink as an icon for the opposing ideology.

Lines 88-99 quote a moral imperative by Brink "Surely this is not what we want for our children" referring to the isolation caused by monolingual instruction. This moral evaluation in the context of the number of lines spent on Brink's opinion (19 lines) in juxtaposition to that of Giliomee's (5 lines) is a deployment of legitimation in the form of moral evaluation.

It must be noted that in this article, publishing on the same event as Article 1 and 3, while no reference is made to war or struggle a contrastive relationship between Expert Social Actors is still construed, perpetuating an 'us and them' discourse in the debate.

6.3.1.1.3 Illustrations of the perspecitivisation in *Die Burger*: Giliomee Iconised in Article 3: *Vrede aan US vir eers herstel na taaloorlog*[35] **(12-11-2005:4)**

Subtitle: Giliomee: Tevrede[36]

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[35] *Peace restored at SU after Language War, for now*
[36] Giliomee: Satisfied

Byline: KAAPSTAD.- Dit will voorkom asof die vrede ná 'n verwoede taalstryd aan die Universiteit Stellenbosch met 'n voorlopige wapenstilstand herstel is.[37]

Highlighted quote: Alumni het 'n baie duidelike boodskap aan bestuur gerig[38]

Synopsis: Hermann Giliomee was interviewed regarding his participation in an SU Convocation meeting the two evenings prior, where the introduction to the T-option at all undergraduate levels in the Arts and Social Sciences faculty was strongly opposed.

The article *Vrede aan US vir eers herstel na taaloorlog* is a shining demonstration of employing the discursive strategy of authorising by deliberately choosing an Agent of Speaking from which the lens of an event ought to be interpreted. Other Voiced Agents such as Andre van Niekerk's opinions were not directly expressed but told through the interpretation of Giliomee. Positive qualifiers were employed for the Agent of Speaking, and not for the Voiced agents, once again deliberately positioning certain social actors above others. A noteworthy acknowledgement of the absence of a reference to rector, Chris Brink must be highlighted at this point.

The headline draws explicitly on metaphors of war, but most significantly for this paper the postulation that the motion passed against T-option brings peace to the Afrikaans community.

The subtitle directly refers to Giliomee is the provider of peace, thereby iconising him as a hero in the war to safeguard Afrikaans.

Lines 1-10 introduce Giliomee as "Prof. Hermann Giliomee, historikus en een van die 'generaals' in die stryd teen dubbelmedium-onderrig (die T-opsie) op derdejaarsvlak in die fakulteit lettere en wysbegeerte."[39] Positioning Giliomee as a professor, historian and "general" in the war against the

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[37] CAPETOWN. - It seems as though peace has been restored at SU with a provisional ceasefire after a relentless Language War

[38] *Alumni sent a very clear message to management*

[39] "Prof. Hermann Giliomee, historian and one of the Generals in the war against double medium education (the T-option) at third year level in the faculty of Arts and Social Sciences"

T-option is an overt use of legitimation through authorisation and mythopoesis, whereby the narrative of war against Afrikaans is perpetuated in the seemingly simple task of introducing a social actor.

Lines 11-18 quote Giliomee's opinion of the outcome of the event, that the university _must_ remain inclusively Afrikaans. This quote expresses a moral evaluation through perspectivisation.

Lines 17-18 punctuate a sentence with "het hy gesê"[40], referring to Giliomee's opinion. The very next line, line 19 begins with "Volgens hom"[41]; then once again line 31 is punctuated with "het Giliomee gesê"[42] while line 32 begins with "Volgens hom"[43]. This is consistently applied in _Die Burger._ For example, an article on 22 April 2009, is reminiscent of his prominent status as a "General" in the debate, as the first paragraph is an indirect quote, the second paragraph reads only as follows: "Só het die historikus prof. Hermann Giliomee eergisteraand in Stellenbosch by 'n vergadering van die Adam Tas-vereniging gesê"[44](22-04-2009:7). The article also ends with "het Giliomee gesê."[45]. His prominent voice as a historian and General in the war to safeguard Afrikaans is evident as his name seems to punctuate articles in _Die Burger_. This repetition of Giliomee's opinions indicates that he is a legitimate and trusted source for _Die Burger_. Therefore, the endorsement of his name becomes an endorsement of his ideology, once again employing perspectivisation.

6.3.1.2 How are Laymen referred to linguistically and what characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them?

In order to deconstruct the manner in which Laymen are drawn upon by the respective newspapers, the frequency of their appearance and the manner in which they are presented as experts must be closely assessed and compared. Having already discussed frequency and determining that these

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[40] "he said"

[41] "According to him"

[42] "said Giliomee"

[43] "According to him"

[44] "Thus said the historian prof. Hermann Giliomee at a meeting of the Adam Tas union"

[45] "said Giliomee"

OS and the SRC have been drawn upon in the debate, especially in the *Cape Times*, linguistic characteristics and qualities assigned to these groups of social actors will be discussed. It is argued that mythopoesis is employed when referring to these laymen groups in both newspapers but for varying reasons. In the *Cape Times* it is postulated that a narrative of activism and liberation from an oppressively Afrikaans policy is drawn upon when calling on student groups as agents of speaking. While in *Die Burger*, it is postulated that when referring to especially OS, a narrative of national fear is constructed and perpetuated in the Afrikaner community.

6.3.1.2.1 Significant comparisons between the referencing of Laymen Social Actors in the *Cape Times* and *Die Burger* in a discussion of a number of articles

The linguistic references of the Laymen Social Actors are not as significant as their frequency of referencing by the *Cape Times* in comparison to that of *Die Burger*. In the *Cape Times* OS is voiced in eight of the nine published articles in 2015, while in *Die Burger*, they are only mentioned in two of the six 2015 hard news articles. In such cases they are referred to as "'n groep studente"[46], "die studentebeweging"[47] (Die Burger, 29-07-2015), or simply a "US-groep"[48] (Die Burger, 30-07-2015). This vague account of their role on campus in 2015 is the opposite of authorisation or elaboration.

As with OS, the linguistic reference to the SU Student Representative Council (SRC) is not as significant as the frequency of voicedness. They are voiced seven times in the *Cape Times* and six in *Die Burger*. They are the go-to student voice as they are the most formal student body. Interestingly, the student activism in 2005 voices UCT's SRC on the SU campus, and qualifies that the SU SRC as deeming themselves "unpolitical" (Cape Times, 29-07-2005). Then, in 2013 and 2015 the SRC is referenced as a driving force behind transformation, in articles such as *SRC aims for more diversity* (Cape Times, 12-03-2013). In *Die Burger* the formal student body is barely voiced. Interestingly, in an article *Tukkies maan US oor Engels*[49] (Die Burger, 23-05-2009) the

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[46] "a group of students"

[47] "the student movement"

[48] "SU group"

[49] "Tukkies cautions SU regarding English"

University of Pretoria's SRC is voiced as an agent of speaking, but the SU SRC is merely an indirectly voiced agent.

Student activism in the *Cape Times* is referred to neutrally as "protest" (Cape Times, 28-07-2015), while in *Die Burger*, it is referred to as "taalprotes"[50] (Die Burger, 26-02-2004), "protesaksie"[51] (Die Burger, 05-02-2009) and then verbs such as "betoog"[52] (Die Burger, 05-05-2009) and "opruk"[53] (Die Burger, 29-07-2015) present themselves in 2016. A significant finding is that when the student activism on the SU campus was pro-Afrikaans, neutral terms such as a 'taalprotes'; 'betoog'; and 'protesaksie' were employed by *Die Burger* to qualify the events. However, when the student activism was pro-English, it was qualified as an 'opruk' (29-07-2015). In the *Cape Times*, the quality of healthy activism is assigned more frequently than that of "violent" protesting (16-11-2015). For example, the student activist group is voiced with authority as "Stellies activists" in three articles (23-09-2015; 02-10-2015; 07-12-2015).

6.3.1.2.2 Illustrations of the mythopoeic utility of Laymen Social Actors in the *Cape Times* in a discussion of a number of articles

Article 4: *We call for transformation at SU and for minister to support our demands* (01-09-2015:9)

Synopsis: OS's first appearance in the *Cape Times* is in an open letter to the Minister of Education.

In lines 2-6 where they were given the platform to self-identify as "a collective of students and staff working to bring about change at SU and challenging the deeply entrenched racism at the institution" The *Cape Times* thus gives the student collective a chance to establish themselves with the English readership of the Western Cape by means of mythopoesis, giving them an open platform on which to share their narrative.

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[50] "language protest"

[51] "protest action"

[52] "protest"

[53] To "march" or "be upset"

Article 5: *Stellies activists dismayed at plans* **(23-09-2015:3)**

Subtitle: NOT CONSULTED

Highlighted quote: Modules with highest enrolment considered first for conversion to parallel-medium

Synopsis: A report on the reaction of student groups regarding the limited implementation of parallel-medium instruction, containing SU managements rationale behind phasing in implementation and student groups opinions on the matter.

The headline *Stellies activists* has a twofold significance. Firstly, the *Cape Times* has somewhat anglicised the affectionate name of the university, aside from referring to vocal student groups as "Maties" they were regarded as Stellies. This point will be deconstructed in discussion. Secondly, the term "activists" implies fighting for a liberating cause, a notion which will not be found in *Die Burger*. This labelling is mythopoeic as it creates an empowering new narrative and identity for vocal student groups.

The subtitle construes an authoritarian position as the phrase "NOT CONSULTED" implies that students, especially 'activist' (implying minority) students ought to have been consulted. This implication of an unmet obligation subtly implies a moral evaluation legitimates the 'Stellies Activists'.

This is immediately reinforced in line one where the first word of the article is "ACTIVISTS", thereby legitimating the voices of the students by providing their role with repetitive and physical gravity (in the form of capital letters).

Line two uses the verb "slammed" and line eight the noun "demands" when referring to interactions which Laymen social actors have had with the university management. The metaphorical choice of the verb 'slammed' is an intensification strategy which implies forceful

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agency, substantiated by the authoritative noun 'demands'. This level of agency and authority given to student groups is, as per the data set, unprecedented.

While lines 21-64 quote experts on why parallel-medium could not be implemented in a single sweep, this is punctuated by line 65 voicing a Layman Social Actor as saying, "<u>We</u> are <u>disappointed</u>". The gravity of this statement enhances the mythopoeic discursive strategy as it punctuates rationality with a narrative of moral evaluation, once more. Instead of saying *Students expressed disappointment…* the direct, collective subject "<u>We</u>" shapes a narrative of strength and collective struggle, once again allowing Laymen the agency of expressing a moral evaluation echoed in lines 74-75 where they are quoted as providing a judgement "we are not surprised".

Lines 88-94 are an interesting ending to the article, employing the mythopoeic discursive strategy by construing a narrative of suspense, concluding the article with a cliff-hanger. The invitation expressed by management for student groups to join in on the conversation post-decision, allows for the reader to experience a sense of intrigue, awaiting the Laymen Social Actors' next response, especially since the article was laced with moral judgements provided by said group.

6.3.1.3 How is the Stellenbosch University Language Policy referred to linguistically and what characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to it?

In *Die Burger*, the SU Language Policy is mostly referred to as the *taalbeleid* in Afrikaans. It has, however, also been referred to as the "taaltwis"[54] (19-04-2010:1), "taal-federalisme"[55] (15-11-2007:6), and finally as "'n raaisel"[56] (13-03-2009:8). Predication is used as a discursive tool to articulate insecurity about the changing policy, for example, where federalism and mystery are used to refer to the policy when it shifts from rigidly enforced policy to a more flexible, adaptable one. Further qualities assigned to the policy to reiterate insecurity surrounding the policy have

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[54] "language controversy"
[55] "language federalism"
[56] "a mystery"

been *afgerammel*[57] (15-11-2007:6)*, afgewentel*[58](12-10-2007:4)*,* and leaves SU staff and students floundering, by use of the word *kleitrap*[59](11-06-2004:8)*.*

In the *Cape Times*, an article is titled *Stellenbosch students to protest against 'racism' and Afrikaans language policy* (28-07-2005:3). There racism in inverted commas is the use of perspectivisation. The reporter wishes to distance themselves from the accusation of racism. The reporter does however equate 'racism' to the Afrikaans language policy by making use of the additive conjunction 'and'. This policy is then referred to as exclusive, as per this extract "to transform the university's Afrikaans-only policy to a more inclusive one" (08-11-2006:1); or an "oppressive language policy" (01-09-2015:9). These are bold claims justified by means of elaborative elements, by rewording the moral evaluation of the policy. In general, a quality assigned to the SU Language Policy by the *Cape Times* is that it is 'controversial' (20-03-2006; 2-10-2015).

6.3.1.3.1 Illustrations of the illegitimation of the Language Policy *Die Burger* in a discussion Article 6: *Skrap die taalbeleid, vra Maties*[60] (15-11-2007:6)

Subtitle: Dringende mosie: Studente meen tweede konsep is 'afgerammel' en te vaag om deur te voer[61]

Highlighted quote: Taal-federalisme sal verwarring bring[62]

Byline: STELLENBOSCH. – Studenteverteenwoordigers wat dien in die institusionele forum (IF) aan die Universiteit Stellenbosch (US) het Dinsdagaand eenparig 'n dringende mosie gebring dat die tweede konsep van die taalbeleid in sy geheel geskrap moet word.[63]

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[57] *rushed*

[58] *devolved*

[59] *floundering*

[60] *Scrap the language policy, asks Maties*

[61] Urgent motion: Students state that second concept is 'rushed' and too vague to be implemented.

[62] Language-federalism will cause confusion

[63] Student representatives who serve in the institutional forum (IF) at Stellenbosch university (SU) unanimously urged the second draft of the language policy as a whole to be scrapped, on Tuesday.

Synopsis: Student representatives put forward a motion for the second draft of the language policy be removed in its entirety.

The subtitle, situated at the top of the page refers to the Language Policy as 'afgerammel' and 'te vaag'. Perspectivisation of an inadequate Language Policy is thus set before one even reads the article title. The term rushed implies that the policy was not clearly thought; while *too vague* implies that it had not been adequately fleshed out. These are qualities contrary to the specific, rigid policies as called for by the Laponcian (Giliomee, 2016:307) view of language planning, as generally ascribed to by the Afrikaner community.

The highlighted quote, situated just beneath the article heading, reaffirms a Laponcian view by stating that language federalism *will cause* confusion. This causal semantic relation of consequence between language federalism and confusion creates an atmosphere of a looming sense of chaos. The term 'federalism' refers to the policy as resembling a federal government system which emphasises the division of power, which is a notion contrary to the intended hegemonic status of Afrikaans at SU.

The byline repeats the notion presented in the heading that the Language Policy ought to be scrapped. This repetition employs a moral evaluation to legitimate student claims, thereby illegitimating proposed, federated policy. The term 'scrapped' (echoed in line 19) as opposed to *revised* or *abolished* implies, metaphorically that the federated Language Policy is 'junk' or 'scrap'.

Lines 5-9 quote student representatives as saying that the language policy is currently not in the best interest of the students or the university and therefore should be rejected, while no specific shortcomings other than an overarching vagueness is mentioned. By quoting this opinion with no further clarity provided, *Die Burger* employs perspectivisation.

Line 15 refers to the "<u>onremedieërbare vaagheid</u>"[64] of the policy, echoed in line 40-41 as "<u>ontoepasbaar vaag</u>"[65]. Referencing the policy as incessantly vague reiterates the opinion that the decentralised policy promises to cause confusion.

Lines 48-51 employ a conditional semantic relation to text by asserting "<u>Indien hierdie beleid so deurgaan sal dit 'n absolute chaos veroorsaak wanneer dit toegepas moet word</u>."[66] This conditional incites fear and angst in the Afrikaner community as it overtly states that a decentralised policy will cause chaos.

Lines 48-50 quote an agent of speaking as providing advice, implying a wiser council on the matter. "Die US moet eerder 'n beleid opstel wat nie <u>afgerammel</u> en <u>vaag</u> is nie"[67] Once again repetition of "afgerammel" and "vaag" by a different social actor, creates a sense of insecurity, thus illegitimating the policy.

Lines 52-54 quote an agent of speaking asserting that the policy "<u>beweeg (…) weg van 'n meer gesentraliseerde en gereguleerde bestel</u>"[68] which finally voices the Laponcian preference of a rigid, "centralised", and "regulated" policy.

6.3.1.3.2 Illustrations of parataxis in reference to the Language Policy and racism the *Cape Times* in a discussion Article 7: *Stellenbosch students to protest against 'racism' and Afrikaans language policy* (28-07-2005: 3)

The article headline as well as lines 41-43 employ the discursive strategy of parataxis by equating racism to the language policy.

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[64] "unremitting vagueness"

[65] "inapplicably vague"

[66] "If this policy is approved, it will cause absolute chaos upon implementation"

[67] "SU should rather implement a policy which is not hasty and vague"

[68] "The policy is moving away from a centralised and regulated system"

Lines 43-45 employ the discursive strategy of embedding, by stating "…language policy, under which all graduate courses are presented in Afrikaans". This embedding subtly implies that the parataxic relationship is because of the policy's exclusive use of Afrikaans.

Lines 72-74 quote Chris Brink as referring to the Language Policy as "pragmatic, rather than dogmatic", a contrastive opinion which we do not see him echoing in year 2006. The *Cape Times* seems to want to present a balanced view of the allegations of racism, by providing counter narratives at the beginning and end of the article.

6.3.1.4 How is the Stellenbosch University Language Policy Debate referred to linguistically and what characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to it?

Die Burger undoubtedly made use of predication in their reporting of the debate, by making figurative connections with the language battle and going to war. SU Language policy debate was commonly referred to as the *taalstryd*. Examples of such articles were entitled as follows *Taalstryd groei*[69] (Die Burger, 15-10-2005) and *Taalstryd by US neem wending*[70]. A reporter even referred to a change in the policy as the "jongste veldslag in die US se taalstryd"[71] (Die Burger, 19-04-2010). This term was used eight times while the neutrally translated term, the *taaldebat* was only used four times.

In the *Cape Times*, there seemed to be less personal attachment to the debate, it was referred to as a "heated debate" (Cape Times, 20-03-2006) and a "critical discussion" (Cape Times, 27-03-2006). The *Cape Times* only echoes the war metaphor in 2015 when student activists begin to protest the policy, qualifying the debate as "publicly violent" (03-09-2015). Before this, it is simply assigned the quality of a "heated" (20-03-2006) or "critical" (27-03-2006) debate. This vast differing in quality assignment indicates that *Die Burger* readership has much more to lose, than that of the *Cape Times*.

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[69] *Language war grows*
[70] *Language war at SU takes a turn*
[71] "the latest battle in the language war"

6.3.1.4.1 Illustrations of the Mythopoesis of the Language Policy Debate as War in *Die Burger* in Article 3: *Vrede aan US vir eers herstel na taaloorlog*[72] (12-11-2005:4)

Subtitle: Giliomee: Tevrede[73]

Byline: KAAPSTAD.- Dit wil voorkom asof die vrede ná 'n verwoede taalstryd aan die Universiteid Stellenbosch met 'n voorlopige wapenstilstand herstel is.[74]

Highlighted quote: Alumni het 'n baie duidelike boodskap aan bestuur gerig[75]

This article is laced with metaphors and comparatives of war, as a shining example of the mythopoeic narrative of war as a significant discursive strategy employed in *Die Burger* in reference to the Language Policy Debate. This article is specifically used as a demonstration, although previously used as an illustration, as the previous illustration could not expand on the scope of *Die Burger*'s employment of this metaphor of war.

The headline first introduces a hypotaxis between peace (Vrede[76]) and war (taaloorlog[77]) at SU, signifying an ongoing conflict – a conflict which is not merely presented in the confines of a debate, but as with war, expounds beyond the debate and takes with it several casualties. This sentiment is echoed in the byline which refers to the debate as a "verwoede taalstryd"[78], where the notion of a relentless language struggle, far reaches a description of a debate. The byline keeps this metaphor continuing by referring to an agreement as a "wapenstilstand"[79] While a debate is rational and logical, a war is emotional, fear inciting, and tragic, therefore these metaphors are an overtly powerful expression of the value of the debate to the Afrikaner community.

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[72] *Peace restored at SU after Language War, for now*

[73] Giliomee: Satisfied

[74] CAPETOWN. - It seems as though peace has been restored at SU with a provisional ceasefire after a relentless Language War.

[75] Alumni sent a very clear message to management

[76] Peace

[77] Language war

[78] "relentless language struggle"

[79] "ceasefire"

In the quote (lines 29-31) "Hy maak die taalbeid nou 'n morele kwessie, en dit is ongehoord"[80] it is referred to as 'unheard of' to make the language policy a moral issue while referring to a claim that necessitates the use of English for the morality of inclusivity. This sentiment is contradicted in lines 16-17 which quote an agent of speaking as saying that SU "<u>moet</u> inklusief Afrikaans bly"[81]. The use of an obligatory verb 'must' conveys the discursive strategy of a moral evaluation, claiming an obligation of SU to remain Afrikaans. Implying that while SU ought not to have a moral obligation to South Africa, it certainly has one to the Afrikaner, once again reiterating the 'us and them' narrative employed by the mythopoeic strategy of a war narrative.

In line 44, the debate is referred to as a "<u>taalkwessie</u>"[82] which seems to be an unusual understatement, inconsistent with the narrative of war set thus far. However, taking lines 44-46 into holistic consideration, it is clear that narrative of war is continued, by the typical juxtaposition of a narrative of hope for resolution, portrayed as "Ek hoop die hele taalkwessie kom nou tot 'n einde. Die US <u>moet</u> nou 'n wedstryd vir Afrikaans wen."[83] This narrative of hope is not a neutral hope for a resolution of the debate, but specifically a resolution in favour of Afrikaans. The moral evaluation of the use of the obligatory verb 'must' here implies a sense of desperation, consistent with the narrative of struggle. This nuance echoes a narrative of war which is typically factionalised in terms of 'us and them'.

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[80] "He's now making the language policy a moral issue, which is unheard of"

[81] "must remain inclusively Afrikaans"

[82] "language issue"

[83] "I hope the entire language issue comes to an end now. SU needs a win for Afrikaans."

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION OF IDEOLOGICAL SYMBOLS IN THE DATA

Informed by the answers of orienting questions one and two regarding the social actors in news reports in the previous chapter, this chapter seeks to answer questions three to five: What ideological themes are employed in the discourse in question? From what perspective are these discursive strategies employed? Are the respective utterances articulated overtly; are they intensified? Evaluating empirical findings in the data against the theory, this chapter will argue for ideological perspectives employed by the respective newspapers.

7.1 What ideological themes are drawn upon in the discourse?

Based on the findings in Chapter 6, it is argued that the salient ideology drawn upon, and therefore constructed, in the debate is that of War. In *Die Burger*, it will be argued that the supplementary themes in this overarching ideology are concerned with Hegemony, Language Loss, and 'Us and Them' – all articulated using various forms of Herderian notions of language (Blommaert, 2011; Wodak, 2015). In the *Cape Times*, it will be argued that the supplementary themes under this overarching ideology are Liberation, expressed as language as a vehicle for transformation, and Oppression, expressed as language as a barrier to access.

7.1.1 News events as sites of ideological struggle: Differences in corpus size and reporter tones

Rather than newspapers reporting in a dialectic nature, by echoing each other's narratives and providing explicit counter ideologies, it is noted that with respect to the corpus sizes and reporter tones, it seems the debate took place in language silos. Consistent with the demonstration of Herderian notions of language ideologies in Blommaert's (2011) study in Chapter 3, a siloed language debate results in the radicalisation of discourse, thereby enhancing 'Us and Them' narratives. The data corpus size is a clear indication that *Die Burger* was more formally invested in the progression of the language policy debate, reporting on the matter more frequently and providing a more holistic account of the debate. Consisting of 77 *Die Burger* articles and 28 *Cape*

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Times articles; especially considering the unused 233 opinion pieces in *Die Burger* is aligned with Brink's (2006:i) observation that even though the debate is of public concern and has "consumed barrels of ink", is essentially a debate "about Afrikaans, [which] has been conducted almost exclusively within Afrikaans". Also asserting this fact is the timeline of this data set. Ranging from 2000-2016 for *Die Burger*; and 2005-2016 for the *Cape Times,* it is evident that the English media were, for the most part, unaware of the debate.

The reporter tone was also indicative of the intended style of message and target audience. White (1997) asserts that the portrayal of a social order is perpetuated by the use of a text type, in this case hard news, which is structured in order to naturalise the ideology that informs the report. Naturalisation is said to be achieved through textual development and a distinctive tone of address (White, 1997:29). *Die Burger* was perceived to have a more neutral, formal reporting tone, where more formal and metaphorically nuanced language is employed. This is a reflection of the *taalstryders'* drive to maintain the Afrikaans status of being used for higher functions (Giliomee et al., 2001:118). The *Cape Times* was more informal, using colloquial terms such as 'Stellies' (23-09-2015:3) and making use of less expert authorisation than *Die Burger.* This thesis postulates that this strategy is employed by the *Cape Times* as a method to attract readership who are not English L1 speakers, thus making news more accessible to the rest of South Africa.

Maties is the official nickname for SU and SU students. There is speculation that "Maties" is a diminutive plural form of the word *maat*[84]. At Russel Botman's welcoming speech to first year students he described Maties as *tamaties*[85], drawing on the universities maroon colour which is worn as sport attire. SU is referred to as Maties in *Die Burger* headlines 17 times. It is an affectionate, familiar term as though a personification of the place as a person, and its people as a unit. The *Cape Times* refers to SU as Maties in 4 headlines until the year 2009. Suddenly, there is a shift to the English term Stellies, which is an English nickname for SU. Seven *Cape Times* articles in 2015 refer to SU as Stellies instead of Maties, none of *Die Burger's* articles do so. This Anglicisation of a group identity is a significant reflection of the transforming demographic, and a significant symbol of the transformed ideology of what it means to be an SU student. One

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[84] *friend*
[85] *tomatoes*

possible interpretation is that this change in terminology is employed by the *Cape Times* as a method to deliberately distance itself from the idea that the university ought to be Afrikaans.

7.2 The construction of social actors as icons of ideology

As accounted for in the previous chapter, the two newspapers specifically draw upon differing sets of social actors as authoritative voices in order to employ specific perspectivisation. While the previous chapter focused on how these social actors where portrayed, this chapter seeks to answer why they were portrayed in such significantly different manners in respective newspapers. With specific attention paid to indexed construals, as represented in collocations (Wodak, 1998:129); intensification; and comparisons (White, 1997:7).

7.2.1 Experts as Generals of War in *Die Burger*

Die Burger repeatedly made explicit figurative connections with the language debate and going to war, which is consistent with Blommaert and Verschueren's (1998:202) assertions regarding the role of language as sites of battle for dominance. SU language policy debate was commonly referred to as the *taalstryd*. Examples of such articles were entitled as follows *Taalstryd groei* [86](Die Burger, 15-10-2005) and *Taalstryd by US neem wending*[87]. A reporter even referred to a change in the policy as the "jongste veldslag in die US se taalstryd"[88] (Die Burger, 19-04-2010). This term was used eight times while the neutrally translated term, the *taaldebat* was only used four times.

As described in the previous chapter, *Die Burger* also refers to its experts in favour of Afrikaans as Generals in the war for Afrikaans. For example, an article introduces Giliomee as "Prof. Hermann Giliomee, historikus en een van die 'generaals' in die stryd teen dubbelmedium-

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[86] *Language war grows*
[87] *Language war at SU takes a tur*n
[88] "the latest battle in the language war"

onderrig"[89] (12-11-2005:4). The same article refers to the debate as a *taaloorlog*[90] (12-11-2005:4). In another example, in an article entitled *T-Opsie vir US afgeskiet*[91] (11-11-2005:1) lines 15-18 describe Giliomee as an agent of war against the T-option, stating that he "in sy mosie 'n striemende aanval op die T-opsie gedoen"[92].

These metaphors are consistent with White's (1997:7) definition of 'intensification', whereby a specific lexis is used which combines informational meaning with interpersonal symbolism. Therefore, by using the terms *stryd* instead of *debat*[93]; *afgeskiet* instead of *verwerp*[94]; and *striemende aanval* instead of *aansienlik uitgedaag*[95], *Die Burger* explicitly communicates that it sees English MoI as an opponent, or rather, overtly rejects English MoI as equal to Afrikaans at SU. In Irvine's (1989:255) definition of language ideology which is expressed as "a system of ideas concerning social and linguistic relationships packaged with their moral and political interests", the political interest thusly expressed is the desired demarcation of SU for Afrikaans.

7.2.2 Laymen as Freedom Fighters in the *Cape Times*

As discussed in Chapter 6, the *Cape Times* employs students as their main authorisation strategy in every article in 2015. Each article involves updates from the OS student collective, who have been iconised as carriers for transformation. As in lines 2-6 where they were given the platform to self-identify as "a collective of students and staff working to bring about change at Stellenbosch University and challenging the deeply entrenched racism at the institution" (01-09-2015:9), hereby employing the other 'intensification' strategy, defined by White as comparisons or qualifications of the "size, force, severity, [and/or] significance" of the event or action in question (White, 1997:7).

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[89] "Prof. Hermann Giliomee, historian and one of the Generals in the war against double medium education (the T-option)"

[90] *language war*

[91] *T-Option shot down*

[92] "in his motion, committed a scathing attack on the T-option"

[93] *debate*

[94] *rejected*

[95] *significantly challenged*

Lines 33-54 capture OS as making specific demands towards transformation, taking explicit instances of oppression into account:

1) No student should <u>be forced to</u> learn or communicate in Afrikaans and all classes must be available in English.

2) The institutional culture at Stellenbosch University needs to change radically and rapidly to reflect diverse cultures and not only <u>white Afrikaner culture</u>.

3) The university needs to publicly acknowledge and actively remember the central role that Stellenbosch and its faculty played in the <u>conceptualisation, implementation and maintenance of apartheid</u>. (01-09-2015:9)

These demands create indexing between Afrikaans MoI and issues of race and transformation (Wodak, 1998:129).

A further example of the article entitled *Stellenbosch students to protest against 'racism' and Afrikaans language policy* (28-07-2005:3) is consistent with Bucholtz's demonstration that these indices linking social category to linguistic form, are reinforced and re-established repeatedly in such a way that they come to typify the essence of a character. A paratactic relationship thus begins to form between language <u>and</u> institutional culture. A correlation is drawn between Afrikaans monolingual undergraduate programmes and racism on campus (by student groups ANCYL and Sasco). A paratactic representation hereof in lines 58-63 is:

there are still too few Black, Coloured and Indian students on campus and many students (and lecturers) struggle to feel at home here, succeed academically and survive financially.

A signifier that reporters tread lightly when reporting such claims is that Sasco and ANCYL are not directly interviewed, only in passing when noting that the rector had refuted their claims. Only formal university structures had been directly voiced. Another such signifier is that 'racism' is presented in inverted commas in the title, and the reporter refers to alleged racism. Years later, the same discursive strategy by students is observed, although this time, with a less cautious reporter tone (see Chapter 6).

7.3 The ideological construction of the language policy debate

According to Wodak (2015:26), the three symbols salient to right-wing populism are: firstly, the notion of the people; secondly, the heartland or homeland of the people; and thirdly, a distinction between 'us' and 'them'. In a time of transformation, the perception that SU ought to be the homeland for Afrikaans was contested. It is deduced that the articulations of loss, especially found in *Die Burger* are symptomatic of the fear of losing power and relevance, for example, "As dinge voortgaan soos nou, sal die US oor 'n kort tydperk in ons nasie se geskiedenis verengels"[96] (09-02-2002). The predications of war metaphors allow for the reinforcement of the notion of a people; and the articulations that Afrikaners need to make too many concessions in the name of transformation are a strategy towards framing an 'us' and 'them'. A constant reinforcement of the notion of being robbed or disadvantaged by the act of power and access sharing is also a strategy in which to gain active supporters of a nationalist cause. Discourses such as "Afrikaans word soos 'n indringerplant uitgeroei"[97] (22-07-16) and that multilingualism "fatal is vir die kleiner taal"[98] (15-10-2005) all produce and perpetuate insecurities among the Afrikaner group, which encourages hegemonic ideology.

This ideology accepts that a language has ownership of a place, culture and people. A significant expression of hegemony is the notion of inclusive Afrikaans. An article in *Die Burger* voices the notion that "almal wat respek vir Afrikaans het word aan US aanvaar"[99] (11-12-2005). This concept of being able to demand respect as a condition for access is symptomatic of the desire to exert and retain control within a space. Another articulation of this is that a more flexible policy, referred to as "taal-federalisme" (Die Burger, 15-11-2007) will cause total chaos. The two notions are linked because they both demand power and control. When student activists articulated, in the *Cape Times* "Students are asking for transformation, they are asking for these changes. It is not that management is trying to change the university. The university has repeatedly said it values diversity. You don't want a concentration of race or language in a residence" (12-03-2013), it was assumed that a concentration of race and language (or culture) is not the desired demographic for a university, this notion was not reflective of the Afrikaner discourse which asserted "Dit is

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[96] "if things continue in this way, SU will soon anglicise"

[97] "Afrikaans is being eradicated like an indigenous plant"

[98] "is fatal to the smaller language"

[99] "everyone who respects Afrikaans is welcome at SU"

common sense dat die US primêr Afrikaans moet wees"[100] (13-03-2009). This concept of common sense is frequently articulated in hegemonic ideology and is symptomatic of a lack of exposition to counter ideology (Galindo, 1997:168). It implies that there is only one universally acceptable way of knowing and doing.

As aforementioned in Chapter 2, there are two sets of thinking at play in the debate, namely, either/or, which resembles an archaic, Herderian, hegemonic state, whereby people identify within single categories and rely on certainty to feel secure in their communities. Such people groups are characteristically pro-monolingualism for the purposes of preservation. As discussed with regard to language as a symbol of loss, the experience of loss stems from the unwillingness to share power. On the other hand, the advocates for multilingualism do so from a both/and perspective. Whereby single identification categories are rejected and heteroglossia of culture and language is favoured. This perspective is shared by a people who come from previous oppression and wish to evolve, and transcend themselves, rather than preserve what they have already had.

7.3.1 Language debate as War on Afrikaans in *Die Burger*

Consistent with the fear of language loss is the feeling of fighting or competition for domination, thus, seeing other languages as an invasion or an opponent. In this article entitled *Afrikaans in hoër onderwys op die spits*[101] (17-05-2001:11), a metaphor in line 12 articulates that it is a "stryd en strewe"[102] to keep Afrikaans in higher education. Once again, intensification is employed where *op die spits*[103] is used instead of a more neutral articulation.

The following year an article entitled *Matie oes lof in oor petisie vir taakspan*[104] (10-01-2002:2) voices a student who petitioned (with 3107 student signatures) against dual-medium instruction. It is articulated that "dubbelmedium- of parallelmedium-opsie sal beteken dat Afrikaans as

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[100] "it is common sense that SU should be Afrikaans"
[101] *Afrikaans in higher education under fire*
[102] "struggle and striving"
[103] *under fire*
[104] *Matie rejoices for task team*

akademiese taal <u>wegkwyn</u>"[105] (lines 17-19) and "Afrikaans reeds benadeel word aan die US"[106] (lines 25-26). The term *wegkwyn*[107] intensifies the notion that Afrikaans is being disadvantaged by SU.

7.3.2 Afrikaans as having ownership of Stellenbosch University in *Die Burger*

2002 was met with ample criticism of the proposed language policy. This criticism, however, is articulated in terms of expressing ownership of Afrikaans and is in keeping with the metaphors of violence, loss and competition. Such as in the article *Nog 'n <u>fel aanval</u> op US-taalplan*[108] (10-01-2002:1). Herewith a war metaphor is implemented to intensify the reader's reaction to the change in policy.

Expert voices are voiced in opposition to the multilingual language plan in lines 4-5: "Dit sal net tot nadeel van Afrikaans en die US strek"[109] (referring to the policy). This claim is rationalised in the following way in lines 49-52: "As studente genoeg Afrikaans begryp om dubbelmedium-klasse te kan volg, kan die onderrig net sowel enkelmedium Afrikaans wees"[110]. This criticism of double-medium education by an expert resource, deliberately does not take into account the level of comprehension needed for undertaking tertiary education in an additional language. Furthermore, it is asserted, as if threateningly, in lines 20-21, that "die US nou 'onomwonde verklaar dat sy <u>ankertaal</u> Afrikaans is'"[111]. The metaphor of the anchor implies that Stellenbosch is the home or centre of gravity for Afrikaans. Thus, the debate is about more than just teaching and learning, but about exclusive ownership and competition for survival (Wodak, 1998:202).

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[105] "double or parallel medium options will mean that Afrikaans as academic language will wither"

[106] "Afrikaans has already been disadvantaged at SU"

[107] *wither*

[108] *Another fierce attack on the SU language plan*

[109] "It will just be to the disadvantage of Afrikaans and the SU"

[110] "If students have sufficient understanding of Afrikaans for dual-medium classrooms, then the medium of instruction might as well be single-medium"

[111] "SU must unequivocally declare that his anchor-language is Afrikaans"

Ownership is articulated in the following ways in an article entitled *Bekendes sê ja vir dokument oor Afrikaans aan US[112]* (09-02-2002:2): "dit kan nie toegelaat word dat Stellenbosch met sy hele Afrikaanse <u>erfenis en herkoms</u> 'verdwyn' nie"[113] (lines 37-39); or "dat Afrikaans sy <u>regmatige plek</u> aan die US inneem"[114] (lines 6-7). This personification of Stellenbosch as someone who owns something and originates in something is a common articulation, also highlighted in Brink (2006). Conditional sentences are also often used when expressing indefinite language loss, such as "as Afrikaans wil <u>oorleef</u>"[115] (lines 42-43). Similarly, metaphors such "<u>doodsklok</u> vir enige Afrikataal aan tersiêre instellings"[116] (lines 56-57). The claim for the indefinite death of Afrikaans is articulated as caused by one verb of certainty: "verengels"[117] (line 42).

A final articulation for ownership and territory in an opinion exert *Afrikaanses moet nou praat[118]* (25-02-2004:4) presented below an event article entitled *Maties moet hulle nie van SA afsonder – ANC*[119] (25-02-2004:4), Afrikaans taalstryders also advocate for the expansion of monolingual universities. Based on the number of Afrikaans speakers in the country "moet daar 'n Afrikaanse universiteit in die noorde en in die suide wees om Afrikaans as tersiêre onderrigtaal te laat <u>oorleef</u>"[120] (lines 11-14). Upon stating the high percentage Afrikaans speakers who "verdien 'n Afrikaanse universiteit"[121] (lines 18-19), the claim is made that "te veel mense vra handwringend verskoning omdat hulle Afrikaanssprekend is"[122] (lines 5-7).

7.3.3 Language as proxy for Transformation, Diversity/Inclusivity and Race in the *Cape Times*

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[112] *Well-known people say yes to document regarding Afrikaans at SU*

[113] "It cannot be allowed that Stellenbosch with its entire heritage of Afrikaans disappears"

[114] "that Afrikaans takes his rightful place at SU"

[115] "if Afrikaans wants to survive"

[116] "death knell for any African language in tertiary education institutions"

[117] "anglicisation"

[118] *Afrikaners must speak up*

[119] *Maties must not separate themselves from SA - ANC*

[120] "there must be an Afrikaans university in the north and south of the country to ensure the survival of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction"

[121] "deserve an Afrikaans university"

[122] "too many people apologise for being Afrikaans"

The paratactic relationship between language and Diversity/Inclusivity is highlighted in the article *SRC aims for more diversity* (12-03-2013:3). The article begins with lines 1-8 establishing the paratactic relationship between language and culture by quoting a student leader as equating the language policy with the idiomatic phrase "'the best thing since sliced bread' as it would address the lack of diversity at residences." Thus, the comparative qualifier employing White's (1997:7) intensification by using a superlative idiom, signifies a causal relationship between the language policy and Diversity/Inclusivity at SU.

The reporter makes use of embedding to introduce Liebenberg in lines 36-43 and to frame him according to a certain ideology:

> Willem Liebenberg, who wrote the motion which opposed the draft policy, said students should be accepted based purely on their academic performance, without taking race, language and other criteria into account

Similarly, in lines 60-64, his qualifications and age are embedded into his voicedness so as to delegitimise him, or to accentuate his distance from expertise on the topic: "Liebenberg, who graduated from the US in 1985 with a BSc Honours in Agriculture, said South Africans should move past apartheid". In lines 65-75 Liebenberg is quoted as saying:

> It's 19 years since 1994. In other words, the young men and women who are going to study at Stellenbosch, they have nothing to do with what happened in the past. They are not responsible for what happened, especially the white Afrikaans young men and women who come from Stellenbosch.

Liebenberg assumes that the new placement policy is university management's agenda to limit the Afrikaans population and assumes that after Apartheid all SA citizens are on equal footing. Contrary to popular structuring, the students are voices of rationalisation and authorisation of the opposite ideology in lines 110-119:

> Students are asking for transformation, they are asking for these changes. It is not that management is trying to change the university. The university has repeatedly said it values diversity. You don't want a concentration of race or language in a residence.

It must be noted that students are motioning for residences and classrooms which are representative of the nation and alumni are reported as motioning for supposedly unbiased spaces on the basis of merit, not taking systemic racism or historical prejudice into account. Discursive strategies of English-speaking students when speaking out against the language policy is parataxis, in other words, addressing institutional culture *and* language.

7.3.4 Ideological perspectives on multilingual practices: T-option vs Parallel-medium

Both newspapers seem to criticise the T-option, *Die Burger* more explicitly than the *Cape Times.* Parallel medium is however seen as positive by the *Cape Times,* while *Die Burger* expresses notions of language loss in the expression of both forms of multilingualism.

7.3.4.1 Perspectives on the T-option

The T-option, as aforementioned in Chapter 2, has been severely criticised by all sides of the debate. The first argument presented by *Die Burger* was a conditional statement used as rationalisation against the T-option is that if students have enough basic understanding of Afrikaans to have half their lecture in Afrikaans, the policy might as well remain single medium Afrikaans, articulated as follows: "As studente genoeg Afrikaans begryp om dubbelmedium-klasse te kan volg, kan die onderrig net sowel enkelmedium Afrikaans wees."[123] (01-10-2002:2)

In the same article this view is justified by claiming that the introduction of the T-option "beteken dat Afrikaans as akademiese taal wegkwyn"[124] thus articulating a fear of language loss. This is echoed in a 2006 *Cape Times* article on the perspectives of Hermann Giliomee, where the T-option is characterised as being a "slippery slope" (27-03-2006:1) towards anglicisation.

The third argument against the T-option by the Afrikaans community is that it is unfairly taxing on lecturers to repeat themselves in lectures. It is articulated by means of a rhetorical question: "Is

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[123] "If students have sufficient understanding of Afrikaans for dual-medium classrooms, then the medium of instruction might as well be single-medium"

[124] "double or parallel medium options will mean that Afrikaans as academic language will wither"

dit werklik redelik om op dubbelmediumonderrig aan te dring en van dosente te verwag om hulself te herhaal?"[125] (Die Burger, 26-02-2004:7). The same sentiment is held when referring to parallel-medium later on, begging the question about how many concessions Afrikaans will have to make for the sake of transformation.

7.3.4.1 Perspectives on parallel-medium

The *Cape Times* introduces parallel-medium, by means of a modal phrase of permission "first-year Maties in four faculties <u>to be allowed</u> to choose language of instruction" (25-02-2009:5). *To be allowed* might allude to the fact that they have since been prevented for doing so and that a need has finally been catered to. Thus, it is interpreted as a positive transformation.

As expressed in the T-option, a second concern is that Afrikaans universities are felt by the Afrikaners as making too many concessions. As articulated as "kan universiteite waar parallelmediumonderrig aangebied word dit nie bekostig om nog meer toegewings te maak nie"[126] (Die Burger, 23-05-2009:6). The SRC is quoted as expressing a number of concerns regarding parallel-medium, the first is a concern about the practical implications about the execution of the policy "kommer oor die praktiese uitvoerbaarheid van die besluit"[127]; second is the concern about the financial implications thereof, "kommer oor finansiele implikasies daarvan"[128]; the most significant is the possibility of increasing segregation on campus "die moontlikheid dat segregasie bevorder kan word"[129] ; and fourth is that enough time cannot be dedicated to research because lecturers' teaching time will double: "kommer dat navorsingstyd van dosente hierdeur ingeboet sal word"[130] (Die Burger, 07-05-2009:10).

A suggestion as an alternative to parallel medium was translation services, which was eventually implemented, and further "eerste voorkeur die instelling van tolkdienste. Indien dit nie prakties

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[125] "Is it truly reasonable to insist on double-medium instruction and expect lecturers to repeat themselves?"
[126] "universities where parallel-medium instruction is used cannot afford to make more concessions"
[127] "concern about the practical implications of the decision"
[128] "concern about financial implications thereof"
[129] "possibility that segregation can be increased"
[130] "concern that lecturers' research time will be limited"

moontlik is nie, is parallelmediumonderrig 'n kompromis wat gesluit sal word"[131] (Die Burger, 07-05-2009:10). Giliomee expressed the same sentiment in 2010, regarding the consequences which the university will face if translation services are not introduced: "Die alternatief is voortdurende taalstryd, toenemende aktivisme, stygende uitgawes vir geboue en salarisse om vir parallelle onderrig voorsiening te maak en al groter twis tussen dorp en universiteit"[132] (Die Burger, 20-04-2010:6). It was however demonstrated that the use of translation services resulted in protest action on the grounds of it perpetuating an exclusive culture on the SU campus (Luister, 2016).

7.4 The researcher's position

As prescribed by Bhaskar's explanatory critique, the researcher is required to critically reflect where they are coming from and how they themselves are socially positioned (Fairclough, 2003:209-210). Thus, a thorough explanation of my multifaceted identity and motivations for this study is accounted for as follows. It must be noted that this study and the statement of the problem was observed by personal experience, being an active student on the SU campus between 2011-2017. Being an Arts and Social Sciences student, all my lectures made use of the T-option, and while I can attest to the fact that it has contributed to bilingual enrichment, my lived experience at the time was that it hindered my learning and that the quality of my education seemed to be collateral damage in a political-linguistic war.

I am a first language English speaking Cape Coloured woman from the Cape Flats. My second language is Kaapse Afrikaans, and I am a first-generation student at SU. Despite my love and respect for Afrikaans (as voiced as a prescription in *Die Burger*), all the signs and symbols on the Stellenbosch campus told me I was not welcome there. While the Arts and Social Sciences classrooms were bilingual, the residence spaces and general signage were monolingual Afrikaans. My family home was a mere 30 kilometres away, but suddenly I was living in a space in where

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[131] "first choice would be the use of translation services. If that is not practical, parallel-medium will be the compromise."

[132] "the alternative is continued language struggle, increasing activism, rising spending for buildings and salaries to provide for parallel education and greater controversy between town and university"

everything from general communication to communal prayer had to take place in Standard Afrikaans, a language unfamiliar to me and more so my African black peers.

As a student I witnessed the flaws of the T-option, as I felt I had only ever touched the surface of the content provided in a lecture, having to continuously translate, either from Afrikaans to English, or English to Afrikaans (on the occasion where the terminology was only previously provided in Afrikaans). As a tutor, I witnessed how parallel-medium limited critical thinking in the Social Sciences, specifically in the Afrikaans classrooms, where students were either middle-class coloured or lower middle-class white, sharing a fairly similar cultural and ideological background. The English tutorial was much more heterogeneous as the racial, cultural and class makeup varied significantly.

As the first English head of the house (Primaria) in the residence context, I was responsible for the supposed Anglicisation of my residence, at least for that year. As a student leader on campus, I witnessed first-hand the pains and politics privy to the language debate. I became sympathetic to the Afrikaner rhetoric – it had become clear that it was a perceived struggle for survival, albeit articulated as a struggle for power. While fully aware of the complexities of the debate, such as: the benefits and necessity for multilingualism, the necessity for the continued investment in Afrikaans as an indigenous language, the pain it had caused the majority of the population, the political insecurity of the minority population post-Apartheid, and most importantly, the unclear roles of university and government in this debate, there was and is still no blueprint or historical clue, to deal with the complex South African problem, regarding the role and power of Afrikaans at tertiary education institutions. This brings me to the following section.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

The aim of this study was to deconstruct the ideologies perpetuated in *Die Burger*'s and *Cape Times*'s reporting on hard news events pertaining to the language policy debate at SU between 2000 and 2016. An important constituency of the research was the identification and rationale of the social actors chosen as voiced agents in the respective newspapers, under the assumption that different social actors frame the debate differently. Reisigl and Wodak's (2009) Discourse Historical Approach was chosen as the method of analysis because the method is problem centred, context sensitive, and requires a macro and micro analysis, which fit this research question like a glove. The problem identified was that metalinguistic debates are emblematic for larger socio-political issues. In this case, ideologies articulated in English and Afrikaans perspectives of the debate essentially have two different conversations: the English conversation is about broadening access to tertiary education for the majority non-Afrikaans speaking South African population in order to create a heteroglossia of cultural, intellectual and linguistic innovation experts in South Africa; while the Afrikaans conversation is concerned with the survival of the language in terms of retaining its higher functions while having to compete with a dominant global language such as English.

The data was collected digitally from Sabinet Research Platform's SA Media division. The years 1999-2016 were chosen for analysis as the SU language policy had undergone frequent changes in that time. *Die Burger* had reported on the debate substantially more frequently than the *Cape Times*, which had been echoed by Brink's (2006) claim that the problem with the debate was that it was about the role of Afrikaans in South Africa, but it took place mainly in Afrikaans. The articles were initially assigned hypothesised themes during the collection phase, such as transformation, inclusivity/diversity, language loss, and Apartheid. Discursive strategies employed by reporters were then deconstructed according to Reisigl and Wodak's DHA (2009); Fairclough's relations to text (2003); Scollon's (1998) voiced agents and agents of speaking; White's (1997) intensification; and Irvine and Gal's (2000) inconisation. Thereafter the data was reviewed according to the literature on ideology in order to consolidate the macro-linguistic findings. Finally, as per Bhaskar's explanatory critique as accounted for by Fairclough (2003:209-210), a

thorough account was given on the researchers position regarding the social problem under investigation.

The findings suggest that since the debate has taken place primarily in Afrikaans, little opportunity was allowed for counter-ideologies to be explored in the Afrikaans speaking community. Here a parallel is drawn between this study and Galdino's whereby it is postulate that in Western societies, there is a lack of counter ideology "through which divergent interests may be pursued" (Thompson, 1981:148). Thus, any differing value, belief and attitude is regarded as deviant or alien. In the case of this study, the concept of an equally multilingual institution is regarded as deviant by *Die Burger*. When counter ideologies are presented they bring about tension and competition for privilege or dominance (Galindo, 1997:168). The *Cape Times* illustrates that the counter-ideologies causing competition for dominance was brought on by governmental pressures from 2002 to 2007 and students from 2013 to 2016. Foucault (1993:33) outlines a method of control as constructing discourses as being aligned with reality and equating to madness. This means that anything counter-ideological is treated as utter madness; while rationality resembles any thought or utterance which is aligned with the symbols constructed within the institution. This results in the construction and perpetuation of radicalised discourse, which this thesis postulates is reminiscent of right-wing populist discourse (Wodak, 2015) in *Die Burger*.

Furthermore, the findings elicit that both *Die Burger* and the *Cape Times* employ metaphors of war in their reporting. *Die Burger's* overt and continuous use of the war metaphor is symptomatic of an experience of a loss of hegemony post-1994, which is expressed as a loss of language. *Die Burger* employs the two salient arguments against multilingualism in the Afrikaner struggle for hegemony, being the integration and efficiency assumptions (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998:206). The integration assumption, which is essentially an ideology demarcation tool, assumes that the purpose of a nation is to unify a body of people and postulates that the most unifying symbol is language. Parallels are drawn between Blommaert's (2011) Belgium case study and this one, whereby the integrationist assumption influences monolingual territories to show very little tolerance to minorities who deviate from the monolingual norm, which consequently perpetuates that social, cultural, and linguistic diversity regarded as deviant. While this study does not present

data showing explicit intolerance, it postulates a view that the war metaphor employed in *Die Burger* expresses signs of an exclusive Afrikaner culture in spaces on the SU Campus.

In the *Cape Times,* however, a variation of this war metaphor is subtly employed in recent years as a liberation discourse, by indexing race and transformation issues as a proxy for language issues. Blommaert and Verschueren (1998:202) explain that because the dominant language group (Afrikaans, in the case of SU) is oppressive against a 'natural group' (every other official South African language group), resistance is legitimated, and the discourse resembles liberation and freedom. The *Cape Times* employs this discourse by capturing student protests as well as their narratives of diversity or race and transformation as language issues. This thesis highlights the fact that both newspapers employ a war metaphor, albeit to different degrees, as noteworthy, as it resembles an oppositional discourse. This indicative of Silverstein's (1985:220) assertion that the ideological components of the use and structure of language are dialectic in nature, whereby speakers conceptualise language use as socially purposive action.

The most salient finding suggests that while hard news reports seem to be neutral in tone, the iconisation of social actors (Irvine and Gal: 2000:35), as well as the intensification of lexis (White, 1997:7) are means for perspectivisation for both newspapers. What is particularly noteworthy is the fact that the newspapers choose to draw on different social actors as categorised by Scollon (1998). *Die Burger* chooses to voice experts as its authoritative social actor; while the *Cape Times* primarily voices laymen as its authoritative social actor, which is in line with the purposes of their intended social action (Silverstein, 1985:220). For *Die Burger* this social action is to compete for what was once held as complete hegemony; while for the *Cape Times,* the social action is to compete for access, using morally loaded discourses of liberation and freedom. Therefore, this thesis, argues that language is emblematic for larger socio-political insecurities experienced by a young democratic nation. Furthermore, contributions and limitations of the study will be discussed.

8.1 Contributions of this study to the field, South Africa, and the field of Linguistics

The primary contribution of this study is the critical discourse analysis of a language policy debate in the South African context which, as previously established, is unique as it boasts a constitution

born out of a peaceful revolution, with 11 official languages – where in every socio-political and socio-economic sphere, there seems to be democratic winners and losers (Wodak, 2015:26-28). The linguistic deconstruction of ideologies presented in the debate bears the hopes of enlightening the South African population to the intricacies underlying the articulations in the debate, bringing attention to the need for a critical glance at newspapers as agents of perpetuating ideology to a specific target readership. Additionally, this thesis highlights the need for readers to engage with a diversity of texts. As articulated by Woolard (1998:27), Johnson and Ensslin (2007:8) and Pennycook (2004:17), ideologies cannot evolve if people are exposed to the same texts perpetuating the same beliefs as they already hold.

Furthermore, the scope of the study expounds upon the application of CDA in a theoretically multifaceted fashion. The integration of the DHA (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009) as a theoretical framework, with supplementary discursive strategies employed (Fairclough, 2003., Irvine and Gal, 2000., Scollon, 1998., and White, 1997) allowed for the exploration of the discursive construction of language ideological debates as purposive social action (Silverstein, 1985:220). This study thus specifically contributed to the empirical exploration of language use at the intersection of ideology. Thereby asserting Blommaert's (1999:9) description of language ideological debates as "excellent linguistic-ethnographic targets", whereby a textual footprint allows for the discovery of the construction, perpetuation and contestation of language ideologies.

The ultimate aim is to introduce this complexity to the field of Linguistics in hopes to attract an innovative sustainable solution for the linguistic and intellectual development of the multilingual South African population while sustaining and further developing the Afrikaans language as an inclusive creative and academic language.

8.2 Limitations of this study

Given that the data relied on an online database, it is not guaranteed that all the hard news articles have been attained as all the hard news articles may not have been captured by the database as it should have been. Thus, the recommendation would be to collect data from a print-based archive, or a corpus-based archive. The latter would allow for a better grasp of the frequency of lexis and

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collocations. This approach would also be more in line with Hart's (2011) cognitive linguistic approach, thereby providing insights to how the audience receive and make sense of these news reports.

A further suggestion, given the interdisciplinary nature of the study, would be to collaborate with a historian and/or political scientist in order to fully capture the historical relationship which Afrikaans has with the rest of South Africa and the implications thereof, to perhaps better make predictions for the future or possible solutions to bridging the gap between using multilingualism as a tool for empowerment and anglicising a linguistically rich country. Anthonissen and Oostendorp (2014) has provided an account of Afrikaans student perceptions of multilingualism on campus, Brink (2006) and Giliomee (2015) contributed insights to the management struggles faced while navigating the complexities of implementing multilingualism. Thus, the final step is, using this study, is to invent a language policy that practically and inclusively empowers as many linguistic constituencies of South Africa as possible.

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Appendices

Article 1: *T-opsie vir US afgeskiet* **(Die Burger, 11-11-2005:1)**

Konvokasie: Aanvaar Giliomee-mosie

T-opsie vir US afgeskiet

Brink verwys taalbesluite na senaat terug

MICHELÉ O'CONNOR

STELLENBOSCH. – Die herrie oor die taalbeleid van die Universiteit Stellenbosch (US) is gisteraand grotendeels ontlont toe die Giliomee-mosie teen die T-opsie aanvaar is en alle taalbesluite sedert 2002 na die senaat terugverwys is.

Honderde oudstudente en konvokasielede het die konvokasievergadering in die saal van die Paul Roos Gimnasium bygewoon. Ondanks die harde woorde wat in die aanloop tot die vergadering geval het, het dit in 'n rustige atmosfeer plaasgevind.

Die vergadering word reeds sedert September beplan nadat prof. Hermann Giliomee, bekende historikus, en dr. Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, oudpolitikus, kapsie gemaak het teen dubbelmedium-onderrig, of die gewraakte T-opsie, vir derdejaars in die fakulteit lettere en wysbegeerte.

Prof. Pieter Kapp, president van die konvokasie, het gesê meer as 2 500 verskonings van oud-Maties vanoor die wêreld is ontvang.

Giliomee het in sy mosie 'n striemende aanval op die T-opsie gedoen. Volgens hom verwag 95% van alle eerstejaars wat aan die US kom studeer dat hulle in Afrikaans sal lees, skryf en klasdraf.

"Die probleem is nou dat die US te veel mense toelaat wat nie Afrikaans kan praat, lees of skryf nie. Die protes teen die T-opsie is die laaste kans om Afrikaans te beskerm. As dubbelmedium-onderrig op derdejaarsvlak toegepas word, is dit neusie verby vir Afrikaans. Die universiteit het 'n grondwetlike reg om Afrikaans te wees."

Giliomee het dr. Edwin Hertzog, voorsitter van die US-raad, gekasty oor 'n vroeëre stelling dat die US 'n middelmatige universiteit sal word as hy sy andertalige dosente verloor. Hy het gesê dosente en studente gee nie meer om nie. Die US loop net een pad en dit is na algehele verengelsing.

Prof. Christo Viljoen, 'n vorige vise-rektor, het gevra dat 'n onafhanklike taalombudsman aangestel word.

Prof. Chris Brink, rektor, het gesê hy glo die vergadering stem saam oor die US se spesiale verbintenis tot Afrikaans en die behoud van dié verbintenis. Die kern van die vraag oor Afrikaans aan die US is die kwessie van volhoubaarheid. Die vraag is hoe 'n veilige en volhoubare beding en bedryf kan word vir 'n klein inheemse taal in die teenwoordigheid van 'n groot internasionale taal.

Volgens Brink hou meertaligheid natuurlik 'n risiko in vir Afrikaans, maar dieselfde geld vir streng eentaligheid – en in laasgenoemde geval is die risiko syns insiens baie groter.

"As ons meertaligheid se risiko wil opsom as dié van 'n onwillekeurige glybaan na verengelsing, dan moet ons eentaligheid, of dan 'n alte sterk aandrang op Afrikaans, se risiko opsom as dié van 'n onwillekeurige glybaan na isolasie. In die komplekse wêreld waarin die universiteit haarself nou bevind, sal sy as geheel maklik kan gly na die posisie van 'n parogiale klein streeksuniversiteit."

Brink het gesê hy gaan alle taalbesluite sedert 2002 na die senaat terugverwys.

Kapp het gesê die taaldebat het die universiteit geleer dat die ongelukkige kategorisering van konvokasielede tussen oues wat in voor-1994-denke vasgeval is en nuwes wat die nuwe Suid-Afrika krities bevorder, heeltemal vals is. "Die feit dat 133 skrywers van alle geslagte, kleure en ouderdomme en meer as 2 500 konvokasielede van veral die jonger geslag, die sogenaamde ouer konvokasielede se standpunt ondersteun, bevestig dat so 'n kategorisering nie 'n werklikheid is nie."

Giliomee se mosie is met 623 stemme aanvaar en 76 stemme was daarteen.

Mnr. Michiel le Roux, 'n oudstudent, het in 'n tweede mosie ondersteuning aan dubbelmedium-onderrig gegee. Hy het konvokasielede uitgedaag om R50 miljoen in te samel waarmee voorheen benadeelde en andertalige studente aan die US onderhou kan word. Sy mosie is verwerp.

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Article 2: *Stellenbosch graduates reject proposed multilingual policy at heated meeting* (Cape Times, 14-11-2005:3)
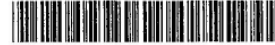
Stellenbosch graduates reject proposed multilingual policy at heated meeting

KAREN BREYTENBACH

AN overwhelming majority of Stellenbosch University graduates at a heated convocation meeting have rejected the university's multilingual language policy in favour of Afrikaans as the primary language of instruction.

While the language policy by default is reviewed every three years, and therefore would be reviewed next year, Thursday's majority vote at a heated convocation meeting means that all decisions on the language policy taken since 2002, will have to be referred back to the university senate for review.

This came less than a week after the university council reaffirmed its commitment to the university's language policy to use English and Afrikaans, which is aimed at making the university's large arts faculty more accessible to all language and race groups.

Over 1 000 university personnel and graduates crammed into the Paul Roos Gymnasium to debate and vote on a motion against the controversial "T-option" policy, which has dominated headlines in the Afrikaans press since its implementation.

The majority voted against dual medium instruction.

Those in favour of the T-Option argued that the university could not afford to resist change.

Leading the motion against the language policy was Hermann Giliomee, well known academic and author of *The Afrikaners*, who said protest against the T-Option was the university's "last chance" to protect Afrikaans as medium of both instruction and transformation.

About 75 of about 1 200 convocation members voted against the motion by Giliomee that the T-Option on third-year level should be reconsidered, said university spokesman Martin Viljoen.

The university council will discuss the proposal today at its quarterly meeting.

"It seems the battleaxes have been buried, but we're still anxiously awaiting the outcome of the university council meeting," said Viljoen.

The university's rector Chris Brink on the other hand explained why the university could not and should not be a unilingual university, saying it would be forced into isolation in today's globalising world.

In a speech distributed before the meeting, Brink told the gathering: "If we regard the risk of multilingualism as that of a slippery slope to anglicisation, then we must, on the other hand, regard the risk of Afrikaans unilingualism as that of a slippery slope to isolation.

"In the complex world in which the university finds itself, within the force fields of globalisation, the university as a whole will easily be able to slide back to the position of a small, parochial, regional university.

"Surely this is not what we want for our children. And it is no use denying this risk by saying that it did not happen in the past, because the Stellenbosch of the past was a different world from the Stellenbosch of the present or the future."

A concerned student leader, Theunis "Wortel" Strydom, commented afterwards: "What we have seen in the classroom is that the T-option in theory means English in the classroom in practice.

"If there are 20 Afrikaans speakers and two who can't follow, the entire lecture will be conducted in English. Or the lecturer would repeat everything in both languages, so we're getting only half a period for the price of a full one."

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Article 3: *Vrede aan US vir eers herstel na taaloorlog* **(Die Burger, 12-11-2005:4)**

Giliomee: Tevrede

Vrede aan US vir eers herstel ná taaloorlog

'Alumni het 'n baie duidelike boodskap aan bestuur gerig'

MICHELÉ O'CONNOR

KAAPSTAD. – Dit wil voorkom asof die vrede ná 'n verwoede taalstryd aan die Universiteit Stellenbosch (US) met 'n voorlopige wapenstilstand herstel is.

Prof. Hermann Giliomee, historikus en een van die "generaals" in die stryd teen dubbelmedium-onderrig (die T-opsie) op derdejaarsvlak in die fakulteit lettere en wysbegeerte, het gister aan *Die Burger* gesê hy is tevrede met die verloop van die konvokasievergadering waarop daar oorweldigend teen die T-opsie gestem is.

"Ek is dankbaar die vergadering kon só 'n netelige saak soos die taaldebat so gematig debatteer. Ek glo die alumni het Donderdagaand 'n baie duidelike boodskap aan die universiteitsbestuur gerig. Die US moet inklusief Afrikaans bly," het hy gesê.

Volgens hom het 'n uitspraak van prof. Anton van Niekerk, voorsitter van die US se taalkomitee, oor die pad van Engels aan die universiteit hom egter diep ontstem.

"Hy (Van Niekerk) het eintlik die US se hele plan weggegee. Volgens Van Niekerk moet die US na Engels oorslaan omdat daar so baie studente is wat net Engels verstaan.

"Hy maak die taalbeleid nou 'n morele kwessie, en dit is ongehoord," het Giliomee gesê.

Volgens hom behoort die universiteit studente en dosente wat Afrikaans nie behoorlik magtig is nie aan te spoor om die nodige taalvaardigheidklasse vir Afrikaans en Engels by te woon.

Prof. Christo Viljoen, nuutverkose visepresident van die konvokasie en 'n vorige viserektor van die US, het gesê hy is ook tevrede met die manier waarop die vergadering plaasgevind het.

"Ek hoop die hele taalkwessie kom nou tot 'n einde. Die US moet nou 'n wedstryd vir Afrikaans wen. Ek hoop die universiteitsraad gaan die konvokasie se besluite en voorstelle nou ernstig opneem," het hy gesê.

Volgens Viljoen sou die hele taaldebat voorkom gewees het as die raad die konvokasie in 2002 ernstig opgeneem het.

"Ek is bly my amendemente tot die hoofmosie (Giliomee-mosie) is aanvaar.

"Ek het onder meer hierin gevra vir 'n onafhanklike taaloudit wat op voetsoolvlak gedoen moet word, 'n onafhanklike taalombudsman en dat die T-opsie teruggesny word na die eerstejaarsvlak," het Viljoen gesê.

Prof. Pieter Kapp, president van die konvokasie, het gesê hy is tevrede met die verloop van die vergadering. Almal is dit eens dat die T-opsie, soos oorspronklik beplan, net op eerstejaarsvlak gebruik moet word.

"Ek glo almal, diegene wat die T-opsie ondersteun én diegene wat dit teenstaan, stem saam oor die rol van Afrikaans aan die US. Die maniere waarop die twee groepe vir die taal ruimte wil skep, verskil egter van mekaar," het Kapp gesê.

Volgens Kapp is daar geen sprake van diskriminasie of isolasie van nie-Afrikaanssprekendes nie. Almal wat respek vir Afrikaans het, word aan die US aanvaar, het hy gesê.

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Article 4: *We call for transformation at SU and for minister to support our demands* (Cape Times, 01-09-2015:9)

We call for transformation at SU and for minister to support our demands

DEAR Minister Nzimande,

Open Stellenbosch is a collective of students and staff working to bring about change at Stellenbosch University and challenging the deeply entrenched racism at the institution. On May 13, 2015, we handed over a memorandum of grievances and demands to the university management.

These demands are to be seen as the beginning of a long and much-needed discussion about comprehensive transformation at Stellenbosch University.

One major concern we have raised is related to the way in which Afrikaans, enabled by the university's oppressive language policy, is used as a tool for the exclusion of black students at Stellenbosch. For this reason, the mass meeting we held offered a detailed account of the personal testimonies of students and staff, and the ways in which they are affected by the language policy. In addition, we highlighted the ways in which the university hides behind constitutional rights for the protection of Afrikaans and, by extension, of Afrikaner nationalism and supremacy.

Our primary demands are as follows:

1) No student should be forced to learn or communicate in Afrikaans and all classes must be available in English.

2) The institutional culture at Stellenbosch University needs to change radically and rapidly to reflect diverse cultures and not only white Afrikaner culture.

3) The university needs to publicly acknowledge and actively remember the central role that Stellenbosch and its faculty played in the conceptualisation, implementation and maintenance of apartheid. This should include reparations for the approximately 3 000 people who were forcibly removed from the area formerly known as Die Vlakte, now the site of university buildings.

The management of Stellenbosch University claims it is actively pursuing transformation and that it supports and encourages student activism. This is contradicted by the fact that members of the Open Stellenbosch collective have been threat-ened with disciplinary action by the management of the university for exercising our right to protest on campus. Several members of the Open Stellenbosch collective have been intimidated and threatened with violence, and have been made subject to verbal abuse and hate speech both in person and online by students and faculty members of the university. Some students and staff at the university have also been subject to physical violence either for expressing anti-racist views or simply because they are black in a town and university that remains a stronghold of white supremacy.

The widespread racism on our campus and ignorance about the history of our own country as well as that of our neighbouring countries, and indeed, our continent, is a clear sign that transformation measures thus far are not sufficient to bring about social justice in the aftermath of apartheid.

Many faculty members studied and began working at the university during apartheid. We call for open discussions about how apartheid-era ideologies continue to affect what we are taught in the present and how such forms of knowledge and ways of being affect the work and thought of those who teach students today. We call for the decolonisation of our curricula in order to produce a new kind of university, one that works for the public good.

Minister Nzimande, we call on the state to explain to us why and how the state has allowed the situation at Stellenbosch University to fly under the radar for more than 21 years. We call on the state to provide a full account for how this status quo came about during the negotiated transition, during which time it is clear that Stellenbosch was granted immunity from transformation.

In addition, we call for an account for how this state of affairs continues today.

Since Open Stellenbosch was formed in March 2015 we have called for justice for those who were forcibly removed; we have called for the university to remove the plaque honouring HF Verwoerd; we have campaigned against racism and sex-ism on our campus; we have called for the institution to establish a centre for transformation, and we have engaged in numerous public debates about the language policy and institutional culture at Stellenbosch University. The management of the university has been forced to concede to some of our demands but they have never acknowledged the key part our movement has played in bringing about transformation.

Instead they have opted to delegitimise our grievances and close down what we are seeking to open up. For the first time in the history of our country, black students are claiming their rights in Stellenbosch.

We call for you to publicly support our movement as we work towards the realisation of a post-apartheid, public university that recognises rather than disavows its relation to the injustices of the past and actively works towards bringing an end to the radical inequality that continues to characterise our society.

We welcome the response of the portfolio committee to our call for transformation and request that Open Stellenbosch be invited to attend the meeting at Parliament with the university management since management has categorically refused to meet us.

We demand an open Stellenbosch, one in which we can all belong.

Open Stellenbosch

Call for support for Open Stellenbosch: Open letter to the Higher Education and Training Minister

Cape Times

Article 5: *Stellies activists dismayed at plans* **(Cape Times, 23-09-2015:3)**

Stellies activists dismayed at plans

first for conversion to parallel-medium

'NOT CONSULTED

Carlo Petersen

ACTIVISTS at Stellenbosch University (SU) slammed the institution for not consulting them before making decisions about the university's language policy.

SU recently received demands from the Students Representative Council (SRC) and Open Stellenbosch (OS), which requested parallel-medium classes for the university to offer lectures in Afrikaans and English.

Head of SU's language task team, vice-rector for learning and teaching Arnold Schoonwinkel, said the decision was for Afrikaans and English to have equal status.

"The task team has recommended that given the real constraints of lecturer availability, classrooms, timetable and module combinations, the modules with the highest enrolments should be considered first for conversion to parallel-medium teaching (PMT) in 2016, especially where the classes are offered in multiple groups already," said Schoonwinkel.

He added that longer term strategies should be formulated with faculties to increase the multilingual offering above 75 percent in English and above 75 percent in Afrikaans earlier than 2020.

SU spokesperson Martin Viljoen said: "In practice, this means that the options related to the acceleration of PMT will be investigated with a sense of urgency and priority be given to the conversion of modules with high enrolment.

"The student feedback process on language implementation will be revised to ensure a rapid response."

Schoonwinkel said it was "simply not possible" for the university to change to fully-fledged PMT in the remaining months of this year.

"Part of the process is a consideration of the physical infrastructure requirements and timetable changes to strive to full access to the university's knowledge base by means of multiple languages"

OS expressed dismay, saying the group's demand for the language policy to be changed was still not being heard by SU management.

"We are disappointed that up to this day, we have not been heard despite our numerous and varied appeals.

"The university went about a task team without meeting Open Stellenbosch, and now presents things about us agreed upon without us.

"Nonetheless, we are not surprised since the university has consistently been dismissive to our grievances. The collective will meet for a way forward," said OS spokesperson Majaletje Mathume.

Schoonwinkel responded by saying: "The real work starts now. Due to the extensive nature of the implementation of these recommendations, individual work groups will tackle specific aspects.

"We sincerely hope that the SRC and Open Stellenbosch will accept our invitation to become part of these individual work groups and to assist us to address the issues raised in their memorandums."

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Modules with the highest enrolment considered

Cape Times

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Article 6: *Skrap die taalbeleid, vra Maties* **(Die Burger, 15-11-2007:6)**

Dringende mosie: Studente meen tweede konsep is 'afgerammel' en te vaag om deur te voer

Skrap die taalbe leid, vra Maties

'Taal-federalisme sal verwarring bring'

MALANI VENTER

STELLENBOSCH. – Studenteverteenwoordigers wat dien in die institusionele forum (IF) aan die Universiteit Stellenbosch (US) het Dinsdagaand eenparig 'n dringende mosie gebring dat die tweede konsep van die taalbeleid in sy geheel geskrap moet word.

Die motivering vir die mosie was as volg: "Namens die studentesektor is dit ons, die verteenwoordigers, se eenvormige opinie dat die beleid soos hy tans staan, in al sy hoofpunte, nie die beste belang van die studente of die universiteit dien nie en daarom in sy totaliteit verwerp moet word. Ons vereenselwig ons ten sterktste met die opinie van die konvokasie dat die goedkeuring en implementering van hierdie beleid, soos sy tans is, uitgestel moet word vir deeglike heroorweging.

"Die onremedieërbare vaagheid lei ons insiens daartoe dat die beleid nie eens wat betref sy hoofpunte implementeerbaar is nie, en daarom totaal geskrap en heropgestel behoort te word.

"Die tekort aan oorweging en insae van studente, en veral die alternatiewe konseptuele raamwerk van die sogenaamde Vlottenburgdokument, versterk ons opinie dat die voorgestelde nuwe beleid in sy hoofpunte en daarom ook in sy huidige uitgebreide vorm onaanvaarbaar is en van voor af opgestel behoort te word."

Die mosie is deur mnr. Renier Kriek, primarius van die manskoshuis Simonsberg, voorgestel en deur me. Cara Venter, 'n studenteraadslid, gesekondeer.

Volgens mnr. Roelof Nel, voormalige SR-ondervoorsitter en uitvoerende komiteelid van die IF, het studente hul ongelukkigheid uitgespreek dat die taalbeleid ontoepasbaar vaag is, desentralisasie voorstel en nie die belangegroepe se menings (veral studente s'n) in ag geneem het nie. "In die geheel is die beleid nie ordentlik opgestel nie en word dié swak beleid nou met 'n stoomrollerproses gedryf.

"Indien hierdie beleid so deurgaan, sal dit 'n absolute chaos veroorsaak wanneer dit toegepas moet word. Die US moet eerder 'n ordentlike beleid opstel wat nie afgerammel en vaag is nie," het Nel gesê.

Volgens Kriek, ook 'n verteenwoordiger in die IF, beweeg die beleid weg van 'n meer gesentraliseerde en gereguleerde bestel.

"Die beleid beweeg na wat met reg 'n tipe 'taal-federalisme' genoem word. Hoewel ek die meriete van dié idee kan insien, sal só 'n beleid duidelike oorhoofse riglyne nodig hê om te vlot. Andersins sal dit verwarring onder studente bring."

Hy het verder gesê "verteenwoordigers van die studentekorps versoek dat die taaltaakspan 'n meer inklusiewe en deelnemende proses volg om by 'n konsep uit te kom wat veral meer gewig gee aan die insette van studente en die studenteleierskorps.

"Studente word gereeld uitgekryt oor apatie rondom taalkwessies. Nou het die studente-stem gepraat – kom ons hoop dit word gehoor."

● Die IF bestaan uit 28 lede, sewe lede uit elk van die volgende groeperinge: beheer- en bestuursektor, personeel-, studente-, en gemeenskapsektor.

● Die IF adviseer onder meer die Raad aan die US oor aangeleenthede rakende die universiteit, ten opsigte waarvan die Raad na oorleg met die IF besluite neem.

● Die nuwe voorsitter van die IF is dr. Le Roux van der Westhuizen.

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Article 7: *Stellenbosch students protest against 'racism' and* Afrikaans (Cape Times 28-07-2005:3)

SA Media - The University of the Free State

Page: 1

Source: CAPE TIMES

Date: 28-Jul-2005

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Stellenbosch students to protest against 'racism' and Afrikaans language policy

KAREN BREYTENBACH

PERCEPTIONS of Stellenbosch University have changed among black students over the past five years, a Centre for Science and Technology survey has found.

The centre surveyed black students at Stellenbosch and found that many of them viewed it as a university of quality, offering tuition and producing research that were of national and international standard.

Between 72% and 75% believed the Afrikaans language and culture were being maintained, while 58% to 66% believed the university was multicultural and inclusive.

According to the standards of the National Research Foundation, Stellenbosch and UCT researchers rank highest in the country and the enrolment of black and coloured post-graduate students has more than doubled in the past five years.

This was announced yesterday by Stellenbosch University rector and vice-chancellor Chris Brink during his annual public report, on the eve of a protest planned by students who believe the university is not being transformed into an academically, culturally and financially inclusive institution.

ANC Youth League (ANCYL) and SA Students Congress

(Sasco) members at Stellenbosch University are also to protest today against alleged racism and the university's language policy, under which all undergraduate courses are presented in Afrikaans. They demand that all study material be made available in English.

The march is to begin in Kayamandi and end in front of the university's Administration B building in Victoria Street.

The Student Representatives Council has announced that it "fully supports the right of any organisation to stage a protest to resolve grievances" and agrees that transformation is dragging.

"There are still too few black, coloured and Indian students on campus and many students (and lecturers) struggle to feel at home here, succeed academically and survive financially. These are unacceptable stressors," SRC chairman Lourens du Plessis said.

At a meeting with the ANCYL and Sasco on July 21, Brink refuted ANCYL claims that "the university has done nothing about transformation".

Brink yesterday said the language policy was pragmatic, rather than dogmatic. "A regard for Afrikaans should not be seen as a rejection of transformation." Brink acknowledged the students' rights to protest.

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Article 8: *Taalstryd groei* **(Die Burger, 15-10-2005)**

SKRYWERS LOOP U.S. TROMP-OP
TAALSTRYD GROEI

DIE twis oor die Universiteit van Stellenbosch se besluit om dubbel-medium-onderrig in die fakulteit lettere en wysbegeerte uit te brei, het verhewig toe van die land se bekendste Afrikaanse skrywers hulle daarteen uitgespreek het.

Meer as 80 Afrikaanse skrywers het in 'n beswaarskrif hul teenkanting teen dubbelmedium-onderrig uitgespreek. Elsa Joubert, Abraham H. de Vries, Leonard Koza en George Weideman het die beswaarskrif binne drie dae saamgestel.

Van die ondertekenaars is Hennie Aucamp, Chris Barnard, Breyten Breytenbach, T.T. Cloete, Susan Botha, Lina Spies, E.K.M. Dido, John Miles, Dine van Zyl en M.M. Walters.

Nog drie bekende skrywers, André P. Brink, Etienne van Heerden en Tom Dreyer, wat hulself beskryf as Afrikaanse romansiers en skrywers van drie verskillende skryfgenerasies, het daarna in 'n brief ook sterk beswaar gemaak teen die nuwe taalbeleid.

Luidens die beswaarskrif het die groep Afrikaanse skrywers begrip vir die taalprobleem aan Suid-Afrikaanse universiteite en spreek hulle hul dank uit teenoor die inrigtings wat die probleme met kennis, kreatiwiteit en 'n goeie wil aanpak. Hulle spreek egter hul intense "onbehae" uit dat die US dubbelmedium-onderrig in die fakulteit lettere en wysbegeerte aanvaar het "sonder seminale debat en gesprekke oor dié gediskrediteerde metode".

"Ons is bekommerd oor die toenemende afskaling van Afrikaans – die taal waardeur ons die hart en die siel van die individu en die Suider-Afrikaanse gemeenskap kan uitdruk; 'n taal wat die verskeidenheid en kulturele rykdom van dié deel van Afrika weerspieël.

"Dat dubbelmedium-onderrig fataal is vir die kleiner taal, dus Afrikaans op Stellenbosch, is bekend. Daarmee word meer as Afrikaans aan die US in gevaar gestel. Die onversetlike toepassing van die sogenaamde T-opsie lei tot die aantasting van die funksionaliteit van Afrikaans.

"Gegewe die werwingsgebied van die US (wat oorvleuel met dié van die drie Engelstalige universiteite in die Wes-Kaap), kan hoërskole binne 30 jaar verengels. Of *Die Burger* – en boeke van gehalte – dan nog in Afrikaans gaan verskyn, is 'n ope vraag."

Brink, Van Heerden en Dreyer het gesê hulle weet uit jare van ervaring in doseerlokale " 'n klasreeks wat in beide Engels en Afrikaans aangebied word weliswaar 'n idealistiese idee is ... maar helaas in die praktyk sal dit beteken dat die posisie van die minderheidstaal sal erodeer".

As die US op sy ingeslane weg voortgaan, sal daar ná die drie skrywersgenerasies wat hulle verteenwoordig, nie 'n vierde generasie wees wat 'n roman in Afrikaans sal skryf nie. "Ons is oortuig dat Afrikaans uiteindelik die spit sal afbyt."

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Article 9: *Taalstryd by US neem wending* **(Die Burger, 12-06-2009:2)**

GERUGTE

Taalstryd by US neem wending

Rektor kanselleer reis na Maleisië waar hy minister wou oortuig

JACKIE PIENAAR-BRINK
Stellenbosch

Die stryd oor die taalbeleid by Maties het gister 'n dramatiese wending geneem toe die rektor 'n oorsese besoek gekanselleer het te midde van aanduidings dat Afrikaner-organisasies teen die universiteit se raad mobiliseer.

Prof. Russel Botman, die Matie-rektor, wou die taalkwessie op 'n beraad in Maleisië met die nuwe minister van hoër onderwys bespreek. Volgens Botman se inligting is daar 'n poging om "alle Afrikaner-kultuurorganisasies teen die raad van die Universiteit Stellenbosch (US) te organiseer". Gerugte wil dit hê dat dit vir 17 Junie gereël word deur prof. Hermann Giliomee "of iemand na aan hom".

Giliomee het betrokkenheid by enige sodanige vergadering ontken. "Die gedagte is dat indien die Afrikaanse Taalraad iets wil reël, dit hul prerogatief is," het hy gesê.

Botman sou 'n konferensie van rektore van Statebondsuniversiteite en onderwysministers van Statebondslande in Kuala Lumpur bygewoon het. Die betrokke minister, dr. Blade Nzimande, het voorgestel hulle praat daar nadat 'n ontmoeting tussen hulle verlede Vrydag gekanselleer moes word.

Die Burger het Botman gister om kommentaar genader ná uitlatings deur Nzimande dat die regering 'n nuwe liggaam beplan vir die monitering van en oorsig oor transformasie by universiteite. Nzimande het die hoop uitgespreek dat die US volwasse genoeg sal wees om, sonder inmenging van buite, te besluit Afrikaans kan nie gebruik word om studente uit te sluit nie.

Oor wat hy met Nzimande sou wou bespreek, het Botman gesê hy het al telkemale aan die raad genoem een van die grootste gevare is dat die regering ingryp en die US onder administrasie plaas omdat hulle nie verstaan wat in die openbare domein uitgaan nie.

"Ons Afrikaanssprekendes praat onder mekaar. Dit beteken nie die mense wat Engelssprekend is, snap wat dit is nie. Al wat hulle hoor, is: Hier kom 'n bakleiery oor Afrikaans van dié kant of die ander kant, en dis 'n bruin klomp of 'n wit klomp. Die groot uitdaging is hoe om ons gesprek te voer."

Dit is 'n eenheidsoeke en terselfdertyd 'n soeke na eenheid met die res van die land. "Ons het moeite om daardie punt oorgedra te kry, maar dit is in Afrikaanssprekende wittes en bruines se belang om dit reg te kry."

Hy sou aan Nzimande wou sê hy moenie hierna kyk as 'n etniese kwessie nie. "Dit is 'n taalkwessie ongeag hoe jy die debat hoor . . . nie 'n uitsluitingsgesprek nie."

Hy voel die geheel van die senaat en die grootste deel van die raad bedoel dit goed met die universiteit, die land en Afrikaans. "En ek moet dit aan hom oorgedra kry."

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Article 10: *Taaltwis kan in hof draai* **(Die Burger, 19-04-2010:1)**

Taaltwis kan in hof draai

Regsmening bevind beleid is 'onreëlmatig'

JAN GERBER
Stellenbosch

Die jongste veldslag in die Universiteit Stellenbosch (US) se taalstryd kan dalk met die hooggeregshof as loopgraaf plaasvind.

Twee vorige raadslede, prof. Hermann Giliomee en mnr. Jacko Maree, het op die vooraand van vandag se raadsvergadering bekend gemaak hulle glo die universiteit se taalbeleid is onwettig en kan "nietig verklaar word".

In 'n ope brief aan die raad se voorsitter, dr. Paul Cluver, het hulle aangekondig hulle het regsadvies by advv. Jeremy Gauntlett SC en Frank Pelser bekom oor die sogenaamde "Arabella-beleid".

Beide Giliomee en Maree was steeds raadslede toe 'n taalmodel verlede Februarie tydens 'n buitengewone raadsvergadering by die Arabella-hotel bespreek is.

Volgens Giliomee het dié model sedertdien beleid geword aan die US.

"Dit maak voorsiening vir parallelmedium in vyf fakulteite in die eerste jaar, maar maak die deur wyd oop vir dubbelmedium in die senior jare en in die kleiner fakulteite," skryf Giliomee in 'n verklaring.

"Die bestuur bestempel nou Afrikaans-enkelmedium, wat ten grondslag van die formele taalbeleid is, as 'n belemmernis vir toegang vir alle studente."

Gauntlett – self 'n oud-Matie – en Pelser het op 'n pro bono-basis 'n regsmening geformuleer gegrond op wat Giliomee noem "ernstige prosedurele foute wat die bestuur en raad gemaak het in die aanneem van wat in feite 'n nuwe taalbeleid is".

"In sy finale aanbieding van sy model in November 2009 het die bestuur geen voorstelle vir verpligte monitering of taalvaardigheidsvereistes gemaak nie, al het sommige raadslede daarop aangedring," het Giliomee gesê.

Volgens hom bevind Gauntlett en Pelser die US se jongste taalbeleid "onreëlmatig" en "gevolglik nietig". "Indien hierdie regsposisie nie deur die universiteit aanvaar word nie, sal 'n aansoek gebring kan word in die Wes-Kaapse hooggeregshof om 'n verklarende bevel tot dié effek," lui Giliomee se verklaring.

Cluver het luidens Giliomee se verklaring gereageer dat die universiteit in die lig van "die belang en kompleksiteit van die saak en die verreikende implikasies van 'n besluit hieroor eers sy eie regsmening gaan inwin voor hy terugvoer oor die saak sal gee".

Cluver wou nie gister verder kommentaar lewer nie.

Ook mnr. Mohamed Shaikh, US-woordvoerder, het Cluver se standpunt gedeel:

"Die US volstaan met die kommentaar van Cluver dat in die belang en kompleksiteit van die saak en die verreikende implikasies van 'n besluit hieroor, die US eers 'n eie regsmening inwin voor hy kommentaar oor die saak lewer."

Vandag se raadsvergadering sal die eerste wees wat deur prof. Wannie Carstens, dr. George du Toit, adv. Jan Heunis, dr. Rhoda Kadalie, mnr. George Steyn en prof. P.W. van der Walt bygewoon word. Hulle is verlede maand verkies in 'n verkiesing waarin Afrikaans 'n brandpunt was.

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Article 11: *Bekendes sê ja vir dokument aan US* **(Die Burger, 02-09-2002:2)**

Bekendes sê ja vir dokument oor Afrikaans aan US

THINUS FERREIRA

STELLENBOSCH. – Die sewentien bekende Suid-Afrikaners wat hul volmondige steun aan die Afrikaanse Oorlegplatform toegesê het, is heeltemal daarvan oortuig dat iets daadwerkliks gedoen moet word om te verseker dat Afrikaans sy regmatige plek aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch inneem.

Dié organisasie het pas sy voorsteldokument aan die US gestuur, wat wag vir voorstelle van die publiek oor die rol van Afrikaans aan die universiteit.

Onder die sewentien wat die voorsteldokument steun, is die skrywers André P. Brink en Abraham H. de Vries, die literêre kritikus dr. Ampie Coetzee en die historikus prof. Charles van Onselen.

Ander is dr. R.W. Johnson, oud-direkteur van die Helen Suzman-stigting; dr. Rhoda Kadalie, voormalige lid van die Menseregtekommissie; prof. Jan Sadie, oud-hoogleraar in ekonomie aan die US; prof. Lawrence Schlemmer, direkteur van MarkData; dr. Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, sakeman en oud-politikus; prof. Richard van der Ross, oud-rektor van die UWK; prof. Christo Viljoen, oud-voorsitter van die SAUK-raad en voormalige US-viserektor; mnr. Jannie Gagiano, stadsraadslid van Stellenbosch; en prof. David Welsh, oud-hoogleraar in politieke wetenskap aan die Universiteit van Kaapstad.

Mnr. Ton Vosloo, voorsitter van Naspers, wat ook die dokument steun, het gesê daar kan nie toegelaat word dat Stellenbosch met sy hele Afrikaanse erfenis en herkoms "verdwyn" nie.

"As dinge voortgaan soos nou, sal die US oor 'n kort tydperk in ons nasie se geskiedenis verengels. Ek dink as Afrikaans wil oorleef, moet dit inklusief wees."

Me. Kathleen Heugh, navorser in taalbeleid en -beplanning aan die Universiteit van Kaapstad en voormalige direksielid van Pansat, het gesê sy is baie bekommerd oor die wanopvatting wat mense het oor Engels as die "enigste toegangstaal" in Suid-Afrika.

"Deur Engels die enigste voertaal te maak, word Suid-Afrikaners 'n onreg aangedoen. As die elite slaag in pogings om Afrikaans aan die US te verwyder, lui dit die doodsklok vir enige Afrikataal aan tersiêre instellings."

Prof. Hermann Giliomee, historikus en opsteller van die voorstelle, het gister gesê hy dink die volgende twee jaar is die laaste geleentheid om Afrikaans aan die US te red.

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Article 12: *Afrikaans uitgeroei op Stellenbosch* **(Die Burger, 22-07-2016:5)**

MARLENE VAN NIEKERK OOR MATIES

'Afrikaans uitgeroei op Stellenbosch

Alet Janse van Rensburg

Kaapstad. — Afrikaans word soos 'n "indringerplant" aan die Universiteit Stellenbosch (US) uitgeroei, skryf Marlene van Niekerk, bekroonde skrywer en dosent aan die US.

Van Niekerk, dosent in Afrikaans en Nederlands, maak dié opmerking in 'n brief op die webtuiste LitNet.

"My boodskap aan die universiteitsbestuur en -raad is dit: Gaan kyk na die Baske in Spanje, die Vlaminge in België, die Friese in Nederland; gaan kyk na die oorblywende Keltiese gebiede, Wallis, Ierland en Bretagne. Gaan na die eiland Man en leer iets oor hoe om klein en minderheidstale as waardevolle en onvervangbare kulturele bates in 'n multikulturele konteks te behandel," skryf sy.

"Jy het nog nie begryp dat daar 'n baie moderne, pedagogies deurdagte en intellektueel progressiewe grondslag is vir moedertaalonderrig en taalkundige diversiteit en om minderheidstale te beskerm en te ontwikkel nie. Ja, hulle moet beskerm en versorg word ... En ja, 'n progressiewe universiteit kan die plek wees waar dit gedoen word.

"Hoekom nie erken dat dit ten minste 'n morele, estetiese en akademiese moontlikheid is en dat ons dit skuld aan die land waar Nederlands gesaai is en met plaaslike en buitelandse in-

Die digter en skrywer Marlene van Niekerk. Foto: VERSKAF

vloede gemeng is, en eerste deur die slawe gepraat is nie?"

Van Niekerk skryf nadat die universiteit die politieke korrekte ding gedoen het met sy nuwe taalbeleid, hy steeds met die reuseprobleem sit dat baie swart studente se akademiese Engels heeltemal ontoereikend is.

Sy doen in haar brief afstand van pro-Afrikaanse groeperings wat volgens haar Christelike of Afrikaner-nasionalistiese agendas dryf.

"Ek vind dit uiters jammer dat sekere pro-Afrikaanse groepe weer eens op 'n Christelike, Afrikaanse universiteit op Stellenbosch aandring. Dit is net nie ookal nie. Hulle moet gaan en hul eie universiteit iewers anders bou.

"Baie van die mense in die Wes-Kaap wat Afrikaans praat, is Moslem of agnosties. Openbare universiteite is sekulêr en

moet so bly," skryf sy.

"Ek vind ook die Afrikaner-nasionalistiese ondertone van sommige groepe beledigend. Rassistiese Afrikaner-nasionalisme is die grootste misverstand waarmaan 'n mens in dié spesifieke land kan lv."

Sy noem dat sy tot nou toe geswyg het oor die aanslag op Afrikaans weens die verdoemende etikette wat op die US-kampus om diegene se nek gehang word wat kritiek daarteen uitspreek.

"Nog nooit vantevore het ek so sterk gevoel dat dit gevaarlik sal wees om iets in reguit, funksionele taal te sê nie, om nie eens van 'n gedig of essay oor die studenteprotesie, die staat se rol of die universiteitsbestuur se standpunt hieroor te sê nie," skryf sy.

■ Van Niekerk is die skrywer van onder meer *Agaat* en *Triomf* en die wenner van verskeie literêre pryse.

Die Burger

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Article 13: *US-taalbeleid, 'n raaisel sê boekeman* **(Die Burger, 13-03-2009:8)**

INLIGTINGSESSIE

US-taalbeleid bly 'n raaisel, sê boekeman

'Eerlikheid en openheid van universiteit se raad is nodig'

MALANI VENTER
Stellenbosch

"**W**at gaan aan?" Dié vraag is gister onbeantwoord gelaat op 'n inligtingsessie oor die Universiteit Stellenbosch (US) se veelbesproke nuwe taalmodel.

"Ek kan nie hierop reageer nie, want niemand weet wat aangaan nie," het dr. Gerrit Brand, joernalis en boekeredakteur van *Die Burger*, gesê.

Die studentebeweging Adam Tas het hom genooi om sy siening oor die taalmodel te gee nadat die US onlangs aangekondig het dat parallelmedium-onderrig op eerstejaarsvlak in sommige fakulteite infaseer gaan word.

Die US-bestuurslede en die studenteraad het 'n uitnodiging na dieselfde byeenkoms van die hand gewys.

Slegs 'n handjie vol mense, onder wie studente en 'n paar dosente, het in die lesingsaal van die Ou Hoofgebou opgedaag.

Volgens Brand bestaan daar geen rede waarom die US nie 'n primêre Afrikaanse instelling kan wees nie.

Benewens die bestaan van twee Engelse universiteite in die provinsie, is Afrikaans die meerderheidstaal in die Wes-Kaap, het Brand gesê.

"As 'n historiese Afrikaanse universiteit was die US nog altyd toeganklik vir andertaalsprekendes.

"Engelssprekendes was nog altyd welkom en is toegelaat. Dit is *common sense* dat die US primêr Afrikaans moet wees."

Volgens hom het dit die afgelope drie jaar geblyk die US se T-opsie het misluk. Die doel was om swart studente na die US te lok, maar hul getalle het nie toegeneem nie.

Duidelikheid word volgens Brand nou verlang oor die onlangse besluit van die US-raad om parallelmedium-onderrig op eerstejaarsvlak by vier fakulteite in te bring.

"Beteken die raad se besluit dat Afrikaans oor jare en dekades steeds 'n sterk posisie by die universiteit sal beklee?"

Eerlikheid en openheid van die raad is nodig, het Brand bygevoeg.

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Article 14: *Afrikaans in hoër onderwys op die spits* **(Die Burger, 17-05-2001:11)**

Die taaldebat oor Afrikaans in hoër onderwys bereik eersdaags 'n hoogtepunt wanneer verskeie organisasies en instansies voorleggings aan die Gerwel-komitee moet doen. **Alet Rademeyer** doen verslag.

Afrikaans in hoër onderwys op die spits

Konsensus oor drie beginsels is die afgelope naweek in Pretoria bereik in 'n oop gesprek oor die toekoms van Afrikaans aan onder meer die histories Afrikaanse universiteite: die beskikbaarheid van moedertaalonderrig, die uitbouing van Afrikaans as wetenskapstaal en dat daar geen verdere afskaling van Afrikaans in hoër onderwys moet wees nie.

Meer as 26 organisasies het aan die gesprek deelgeneem.

Die stryd en strewe vir die behoud van Afrikaans in hoër onderwys is verlede maand deur die FAK aangevoer kort nadat mnr. Kader Asmal, minister van onderwys, 'n informele advieskomitee aangestel het om hom oor die kwessie raad te gee.

Dr. Jakes Gerwel, voormalige rektor van die Universiteit van Wes-Kaapland, is die voorsitter van die komitee wat Asmal teen middel volgende maand wil adviseer.

Talle individue, akademici en instellings is gevra om aan die debat deel te neem.

Die eerste gesprek was op 9 April op die Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunstefees op Oudtshoorn waar prof. Andreas van Wyk, rektor van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch, dr. Tersia King, 'n onderwyskundige, en dr. Hermann Giliomee, 'n vryskutskrywer wat baie navorsing oor Afrikaans gedoen het, openbare lesings oor die kwessie gelewer het. Dit is op 3 Mei in Pretoria opgevolg met bydraes deur prof. Hennie van Coller van die Vrystaatse Universiteit, prof. F.I.J. van Rensburg, emeritus-professor van die Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit, en dr. Piet Muller, 'n toekomskundige.

Van die algemeenste menings wat nou in volledige voorleggings deur instansies en organisasies saamgevat word, is dat die droom van 'n eksklusief Afrikaanse universiteit dood is, dat instellings op die wetlike verskansing van Afrikaans moet aandring en dat geen verdere afskaling van die taal geduld moet word nie.

Nie al die instansies se voorleggings is al gereed nie. By navraag het sommige instansies van die volgende standpunte gestel:

● Die Suid-Afrikaanse Onderwysersunie (SAOU):

Mnr. Pieter Martins, hoof-uitvoerende beampte, sê die unie meen moedertaalonderrig is die vereiste om die beste sukses in die onderwys te bereik. Die status van Afrikaans op alle vlakke, ook in hoër onderwys, moet gehandhaaf word.

Die SAOU glo volgens hom dat waar daar 'n vraag na en behoefte aan moedertaalonderrig is, ook by ander bevolkingsgroepe in die land,

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Article 15: *Maties oes lof in oor petisie vir taakspan* **(Die Burger, 01-10-2002:2)**

Matie oes lof in oor petisie vir taakspan

THINUS FERREIRA

STELLENBOSCH. – Die Matie Christa van Zyl wat gister 'n taalpetisie met duisende handtekeninge aan prof. Leon de Stadler, voorsitter van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch se taaltaakspan, oorhandig het, is groot lof toegeswaai vir haar "fantastiese inisiatief".

Sy het binne weke 3 107 handtekeninge onder studente ingesamel wat haar standpunt steun dat die US 'n Afrikaanse tersiêre instelling moet wees met Afrikaans as voertaal.

Byna net soveel studente as wat in die afgelope studenteraadsverkiesing gestem het, skaar hulle by Van Zyl, wat meen 'n dubbelmedium- of parallelmedium-opsie vir die US sal beteken dat Afrikaans as akademiese taal wegkwyn.

Van Zyl het gister gesê sy het nie die oorweldigende reaksie verwag nie.

"Studente voel baie sterk hieroor – die petisie beteken studente wil hê die US moet Afrikaans wees. My persoonlike gevoel is dat Afrikaans reeds benadeel word aan die US."

De Stadler se taaltaakspan wat verlede week 'n konseptaalbeleid en -plan bekend gemaak het, het gesê die US het nou die geleentheid om 'n voorbeeld te stel vir die res van die land deur met 'n "genuanseerde, kreatiewe oplossing" oor taal as onderrigmedium op tersiêre vlak vorendag te kom.

"Ons moet oppas vir aannames," het hy gesê.

"Daar is mense wat sê jy kan nie Afrikaans bevorder as jy Engels ook het nie, en omgekeerd. Die US moet juis nou vir mense bewys dat meertaligheid 'n bate is, en dit gaan baie belangrik wees om daardie balans te vind. Die US gaan Afrikaans op 'n positiewe wyse bevorder."

De Stadler het gesê die voorlopige taalplan is slegs 'n konsepdokument. Hy besef ook dat die konsepdokumente kompleks is.

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Article 16: *Nog 'n fel aanval op US-taalplan* **(Die Burger,**

Nog 'n fel aanval op US-taalplan

THINUS FERREIRA

STELLENBOSCH. – Fel kritiek is gister deur die voorsitter van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch se konvokasie, prof. Pieter Kapp, op dié universiteit se konseptaalplan uitgespreek.

Kapp het gewaarsku dat die voorgestelde beleid "die kiem van voortgesette taalspanning en taalonrus op die kampus" dra. "Dit sal net tot nadeel van Afrikaans en die US strek."

Hy het gesê die konvokasie vrees dat die voorgestelde taalbeleid Afrikaans as universiteitstaal verder sal verskraal.

Kapp, wat as president van die konvokasie al die US se derduisende gegradueerdes verteenwoordig, het gesê die universiteit het 'n allerlaaste kans om Afrikaans vir toekomstige Maties te red. Die reaksie is deel van die kommentaar op die konseptaalplan wat op die US se webwerf geplaas is.

Volgens Kapp moet die US nou "onomwonde verklaar dat sy ankertaal Afrikaans is".

"Die US moet hom posisioneer as 'n Afrikaanse universiteit wat meertaligheid akkommodeer" en nie 'n meertalige universiteit wat Afrikaans op 'n beperkte manier bevorder nie.

"Geen vordering is gemaak om weg te beweeg van dié huidige vae en riskante posisie nie omdat die konseptaalplan Engels as primêre nagraadse taal verder uitbrei en versterk ten koste van Afrikaans," het Kapp gesê.

"Deur die nuwe beleid word Engels die norm en sal Afrikaans as nagraadse taal binnekort verdwyn."

Die instel van 'n rektorsprys vir die bevordering van Afrikaans is afgemaak as 'n "kunsmatige werkwyse om te kompenseer vir 'n skuldige gewete oor die verlies vir Afrikaans".

Hy het ook gesê die verskillende taalmodelle wat deur die plan voorgestel word, is te ingewikkeld.

"Ons begryp steeds nie waarom dubbelmedium-onderrig nodig geag word nie," het Kapp gesê.

"As studente genoeg Afrikaans begryp om dubbelmedium-klasse te kan volg, kan die onderrig net sowel enkelmedium Afrikaans wees."

"Vir die konvokasie is dit belangrik wat die aard van die US as 'n Afrikaanse inrigting oor vyftig jaar sal wees.

"Dit is dán wanneer gevra sal word wat die konvokasie gedoen het om Afrikaans se posisie te bestendig toe hy onder druk gekom het.

"Ons wil graag op rekord wees dat ons 'n standpunt gestel het wat die Afrikaanse belange van die US eerste gestel het. Die US het nog nooit 'n probleem gehad om Afrikaans én uitnemend te wees nie.

"Ons wil dit graag gedokumenteer hê sodat die geskiedenis dit eendag weet dat ons die huidige uitgangspunt nié ondersteun het dat Afrikaans stremmend op uitnemendheid kan inwerk nie."

Kapp se harde woorde was deel van die fel kritiek wat gister uit verskeie oorde uitgespreek is op die konseptaalplan.

Die taalbeleid en -plan is deur talle gebrandmerk as "te vaag" en "teleurstellend" met kommer dat dit Afrikaans as akademiese voertaal verder sal verdun terwyl Afrikaans as nagraadse taal finaal sal sneuwel.

Ook mnr. Ton Vosloo, voorsitter van Naspers en Sanlam, het sy stem gevoeg by dié wat besware het teen die taalplan. Vosloo het gesê die konseptaalplan is "heeltemal te wyd met te veel opsies".

In nog reaksie het prof. Ampie Coetzee, senior professor in Afrikaans aan die Universiteit van Wes-Kaapland, gesê "dit is ontstellend dat Afrikaans op nagraadse vlak nie meer belangrik gaan wees nie. Die US dink hy gaan met die opsie van parallelmedium Afrikaans behou, maar sal dit nie regkry nie."

Die konvokasie se volledige kommentaar kan op die internet gelees word by http://www.sun.ac.za/Alumni/convocation/indeks.htm#policy.

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● Nog 'n berig en foto op bl. 2.

Article 16: *Afrikaanses moet nou praat* **(Die Burger, 25-02-2004:4)**

Taalherrie: 'Opposisie buit vrese uit'

Maties moet hulle nie van SA afsonder – ANC

Karakter van die universiteit nie in die gedrang, sê Rasool

MARLENE MALAN

KAAPSTAD. – Die karakter van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch as Afrikaanse universiteit was wat die ANC betref, nog nooit in die gedrang nie.

Maar dit is tyd dat Afrikaanssprekendes ophou om 'n kordon om hulle te trek en eerder na ander mense uitreik, het die Wes-Kaapse leier van die ANC, mnr. Ebrahim Rasool, gister na kritici en opposisiepartye gekap.

Hy het gesê die enigste rede waarom hy verlede week tussenbeide getree het om 'n protesaksie van die ANC-jeugliga en van die Black Students' Association (BSA) op die kampus te keer, was "dat Afrikaans se toekoms kultureel beding moet word, nié polities nie".

Die ANC wou keer dat " 'n glansryke dag" met die toekenning van 'n eredoktorsgraad aan pres. Thabo Mbeki versuur word. Die jeugliga en die BSA het hul protesaksie vir dieselfde tyd as die plegtigheid beplan.

"As ons nou terugkyk, sal almal saamstem die onderhandelings tussen my, die rektor, prof. Chris Brink, en studenteleiers was die moeite werd. Dit was dit werd om te onderhandel sodat die aangrypende boodskap van die president gehoor kon word sonder die gedruis van protes.

"Dit was nie my bedoeling om 'n politieke stempel op die onderhandelings af te druk en in te meng nie. Die benadering van die ANC was juis om deur vooraf te vergader, te keer dat daar gebaklei word oor sake waaroor liewer onderhandel kan word," het hy gesê.

Vir die ANC is die US se Afrikaanse karakter nie 'n kwessie nie, het Rasool gesê.

"Die uitdaging aan Afrikaanssprekendes is om te bepaal hoe jy jou eie karakter kan behou, maar jou terselfdertyd oopstel vir die verskeidenheid van Suid-Afrika wat graag deel van die uitmuntendheid van Stellenbosch wil wees.

"Van die begin af, sedert my dae as minister van gesondheid, was dit my uitgangspunt dat die karakter van dié universiteit behoue moet bly. Voorheen het oudpres. Mandela en nou pres. Mbeki ook dié uitdaging aan die Afrikaanssprekende gemeenskap gestel. Hulle moenie 'n kordon om hulle trek nie, maar uitreik."

Rasool het voorts gesê die "herrie" oor sy betrokkenheid by die kwessie "bewys Afrikaans is 'n strydbyl in die hande van dié wat polities bankrot is en maklike maniere soek om die vrese van Afrikaanses vir politieke gewin uit te buit".

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Afrikaanses 'moet nóú praat oor US-beleid'

STRAND. – Die onderrigtaal aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch kan primêr Afrikaans bly, maar dan moet Afrikaanssprekendes opstaan "om getel te word".

Te veel mense vra handewringend om verskoning omdat hulle Afrikaanssprekend is, het mnr. Marthinus van Schalkwyk, Wes-Kaapse premier en NNP-leier, op 'n byeenkoms van die Helderberg-Afrikaanse Sakekamer gesê.

Volgens hom moet daar 'n Afrikaanse universiteit in die noorde en in die suide wees om Afrikaans as tersiêre onderrigtaal te laat oorleef.

"Stellenbosch is die voor die hand liggende Afrikaanse universiteit in die suide. Hier is meer as 60% van die bevolking Afrikaanssprekend en die streek verdien 'n Afrikaanse universiteit."

Van Schalkwyk het gesê wanneer die taalgebruik aan 'n universiteit die punt bereik waar 30% of meer van alle studente Engels is, het die pendulum geswaai.

Dit is dan feitlik onmoontlik om te keer dat dit verder verengels.

Daarom moet Afrikaanssprekendes nóú opstaan om getel te word. – (Theuns van der Westhuizen)

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Article 17: *SRC aims for more diversity* **(Cape Times, 12-03-2013:3)**

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY RESIDENCE POLICY

SRC aims for more diversity

Michelle Jones
Education Writer

It addresses the lack of diversity at university residences

THE chairperson of Stellenbosch University's student representative council (SRC) believes a new hostel residence policy is "the best thing since sliced bread" as it would address the lack of diversity at residences.

Clinton du Preez, speaking in his personal capacity, said the policy which aimed to ensure all population and language groups were represented at all residences was a positive step for the university.

"It is the best thing since sliced bread. It addresses the lack of diversity at residences. I think this policy is a fantastic step in the right direction."

Du Preez said the SRC, which had only recently taken over, had not decided on its stance on the policy which had seen opponents and proponents. He said it would meet next Tuesday and discuss the two motions and decide which it should back.

taking race, language and other criteria into account.

"I suggest we use merit. I don't care if 80 to 90 percent of the university population is black or coloured. There should be no discrimination on the basis of race."

He had said the draft policy discriminated unfairly and amounted to "quotas based on race and/or language". An early draft of the policy had recommended certain percentages of races and languages be represented in residences.

Liebenberg, who graduated from the US in 1985 with a BSc Honours in Agriculture, said South Africans should move past apartheid

for what happened, especially the white Afrikaans young men and women who come to Stellenbosch."

Liebenberg said the policy aimed to create a population where the number of white Afrikaans students did not exceed 45 percent.

He said the policy would exclude white students who had achieved excellent marks at school, on the basis of race.

"The new SA is a reality. If we want to build a society of excellence without prejudice, if we want to build a society that will be better, we must select the best people for the best jobs and let's start at university."

been written by a "very specific interest group" who "didn't necessarily keep tabs on what the feeling is on campus".

"It is not a quota. It doesn't try to impose quotas to allow people into Stellenbosch. It tries to spread the diversity we already have.

"Students are asking for transformation, they are asking for these changes. It's not that management is trying to change the university.

"The university has repeatedly said it values diversity. You don't want a concentration of a certain race or language at a residence."

Visser wrote the motion in

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Article 18: *Tukkies maan US oor Engels* **(Die Burger, 23-05-2009:6)**

TAALOPSIES

Tukkies maan US oor Engels

Nuwe beleid sal Afrikaans vernietig, sê studenteraad

MALANI VENTER
Stellenbosch

Die Tukkie-studenteraad het hul steun aan hul Matie-eweknieë toegesê in die stryd teen die instelling van parallelmediumonderrig aan die Universiteit Stellenbosch (US).

Volgens die Universiteit van Pretoria (UP) se verteenwoordigende studenteraad (VSR) kan universiteite waar parallelmediumonderrig aangebied word dit nie bekostig om nog meer toegewings te maak nie. Nog minder kan Afrikaans.

Die VSR het onlangs 'n mosie aanvaar om die Matie-studenteraad "gedeeltelik" te steun in hul teenkanting teen die US se raadsbesluit om aanstaande jaar parallelmediumonderrig by sekere fakulteite in te voer.

Die VSR het in 'n verklaring gesê hy ondersteun die Matie-SR in sy pogings om te veg vir 'n oplossing vir meertaligheid én Afrikaans. Die Tukkies het gewaarsku dat dubbelmediumonderrig nie meertaligheid bevorder nie en gesê probleme kan met dubbel- sowel as parallelmediumonderrig ondervind word.

> **Dit is ook die vernietiging van enige kans vir ander Afrikatale om op akademiese gebied te ontwikkel.**

dervind word.

Die Maties se SR en die studente-organisasie Adam Tas het vroeër laat blyk hulle steun nie die US-raad se besluit in dié verband nie. Dit het gevolg nadat die US-raad bevestig het dat parallelmediumonderrig in die eerste jaar in die fakulteite ekonomiese en bestuurswetenskappe, natuurwetenskappe, agri-wetenskappe en ingenieurswese ingestel sal word.

Mnr. Charl Oberholzer, ondervoorsitter van Tukkies se VSR, het gesê 'n nuwe taalbeleid vir Maties kom neer op die vernietiging van Afrikaans. "Dit is ook die vernietiging van enige kans vir ander Afrikatale om op akademiese gebied te ontwikkel."

Enkele klasse aan die UP word in dubbelmedium eerder as parallelmedium aangebied. Die uitkoms van dubbelmediumonderrig is dat die klasse verengels, het Oberholzer gesê.

Volgens me. Lelanie de Kock, 'n VSR-lid, moet alle studenterade van meertalige universiteite 'n poging aanwend om gesamentlik geld van die minister van hoër onderwys te eis. Geld mag nie as 'n verskoning voorgehou word om nie akademiese tale te behou nie.

Die voorsitter van Tukkies se VSR, mnr. Hector Beyers, het gewaarsku dat dubbelmediumonderrig eerder een voertaal tot gevolg het.

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Article 19: *SR is teen parallelmedium* **(Die Burger, 07-05-2009:10)**

US SE TAALBELEID

SR is teen parallelmedium

Studenteraad besorg oor onder meer moontlikheid van segregasie

> Ons is aangenaam verras en selfs geïnspireer deur die inhoud van die mosie en ons ondersteun onomwonde elke punt daarvan.

MALANI VENTER
Stellenbosch

Die Matie-studenteraad is gekant teen die besluit om aanstaande jaar parallelmedium-onderrig in sekere fakulteite van die Universiteit Stellenbosch (US) in te voer.

Die studenteraad (SR) het Dinsdag op 'n spesiale vergadering 'n mosie aanvaar dat hy nie die US-raad se besluit in dié verband kan steun nie.

Dít volg nadat die US-raad Maandag bevestig het dat parallelmedium-onderrig aanstaande jaar in die eerste jaar in die fakulteite ekonomiese en bestuurswetenskappe, natuurwetenskappe, agri-wetenskappe en ingenieurswese ingestel sal word.

Dit is glo die eerste keer dat die SR standpunt inneem teen die taalbeleid. In die SR se mosie is vier hoofredes aangevoer waarom die raadsbesluit nie ondersteun word nie:

■ Kommer oor die praktiese uitvoerbaarheid van die besluit;
■ Kommer oor finansiële implikasies daarvan;
■ Die moontlikheid dat segregasie bevorder kan word; en
■ Kommer dat navorsingstyd van dosente hierdeur ingeboet sal word.

"Die SR is ten gunste van die ondersoek na ander moontlikhede, soos die wyer gebruik van tolkdienste en ander tegnologie om lesings meer toeganklik vir nie-Afrikaanssprekende studente te maak," lui 'n verklaring deur die SR.

Retief Swart, SR-voorsitter, het gesê die SR verbind hom opnuut tot die bevordering van Afrikaans as akademiese taal.

Hy het bygevoeg die SR was deurlopend betrokke by die taalproses en het nie noodwendig in die verlede sy standpunte aan die media verskaf nie. "Ons het ingesit in forums en konsultasies en altyd probeer om in die beste belang van die studente op te tree."

Die Adam Tas-studentevereniging het die standpunt deur die SR verwelkom.

"Ons is beïndruk dat die SR uiteindelik standpunt inneem oor die taalbeleid. Ons is aangenaam verras en selfs geïnspireer deur die inhoud van die mosie en ons ondersteun onomwonde elke punt daarvan.

"Dít is die tipe leierskap wat ons van die SR soek – waagmoed om standpunt in te neem, ongeag hoe omstrede die kwessie is," het Nico de Wet, Adam Tas-voorsitter, gesê.

Volgens De Wet is Adam Tas se eerste voorkeur die instelling van tolkdienste. Indien dit nie prakties moontlik is nie, is parallelmedium-onderrig 'n kompromis wat gesluit sal word.

Ernst Roets, AfriForum Jeug se nasionale voorsitter, het in 'n verklaring gesê universiteitsowerhede moet in ag neem dat die doeltreffendste manier om gehalte-onderrig en hoë akademiese standaarde te bevorder op die bevordering van moedertaalonderrig neerkom.

"Wanneer studente se taal gemarginaliseer word, lei dit tot frustrasie en 'n gevoel van minderwaardigheid, wat dikwels die bron van konflik en polarisering is," het Roets gesê.