

REVISITING ASPECTS OF LANGUAGE IN SOUTH AFRICA DURING THE APARTHEID ERA

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Abstract: In this article, our aim is show how the Afrikaners succeeded in using their language to build their nationalism, the Afrikaners used the state power to use the language situation in South Africa to implement their policy of divide and rule. The existing linguistic differences were manipulated to create many nations called – “multi-nationalism “as the architects of Apartheid would prefer to call it.

Keywords: South Africa, Apartheid, language, linguistic differences, multi-nationalism.

INTRODUCTION

After the Afrikaners succeeded in using their language to build their nationalism, the Afrikaners used the state power to use the language situation in South Africa to implement their policy of divide and rule. The existing linguistic differences were manipulated to create many nations called – “multi-nationalism “as the architects of Apartheid would prefer to call it. The Republic of South Africa as compared to some other African countries north of both the Limpopo and Zambezi has a relatively less complex language situation. In all, we have nine African languages which are spoken in the country. The other two major languages of European origin are English and Afrikaans. The rest is shared by other Indian languages, Khoi, Nama, San and other European languages. Geographically, Afrikaans is an African language in South Africa. It has adapted itself to the South African situation better than to any other environment in the world. Linguistically, it is an Indo-European Language of the West- Germanic sub-group whose closest relative is Dutch. What makes the South African language situation less complex than those of

other African countries are the following factors:

1. All the African languages are Bantu languages
2. These languages are easily intelligible with one another (a factor which lessens problems of communication and provides an advantage to language planners)
3. All these languages have been reduced to writing and have their own limited literatures and elaborate grammars.
4. An average speaker of these languages is trilingual in the sense that he can speak English and Afrikaans, which are official languages whose learning under duress emanating from Apartheid was imperative. A sizable majority of educated Africans can read and write both Afrikaans and English but this may not be the case with the lesser educated Africans.
5. There are speakers of African languages which could communicate freely in all those languages.

1. LANGUAGE GROUPS AND THEIR CLASSIFICATION

These languages are further divided into two groups:

1. **isiNguni-Group:**
 - a. isiXhosa
 - b. isiZulu
 - c. SiSwati
 - d. isiNdebele
 - e. xiTsonga
 - f. Tshivenda
2. **Sesotho-Group**
 - a. Sesotho
 - b. Setswana
 - c. Sepedi

Language Demographics ¹

<u>Language</u>	<u>Linguistic Group</u>	<u>Classification</u>	<u>Number of Speakers</u>
isiXhosa	isiNguni	Bantu ²	2.1 Million
isiSwati	isiNguni	Bantu	841 000
isiNdebele	isiNguni	Bantu	378 00
isiZulu	isiNguni	Bantu	5.3 Million
Setswana	Sesotho	Bantu	1.1 Million
Sesotho	Sesotho	Bantu	1.6 Million
Sepedi	Sesotho	Bantu	2.6 Million
xiTsonga	isiNguni	Bantu	1.0 Million
Tshivenda	isiNguni	Bantu	126 000

Besides these languages there are two Indo-European languages namely, English and Afrikaans. Both English and Afrikaans are languages spoken by European who live in South Africa. The two official languages have also won native speakers from both the so-called Coloureds³ and Indian communities. The majority of this section of the population does not have any other language as first language. They have contributed much to the development of Afrikaans – a feeling of co-architects to both the language and culture of the Afrikaner is beginning to germinate especially amongst the intellectuals.

A very rich variation of Afrikaans bearing elements of Malaysian, Indonesian, Khoi – San, Dutch, English, French and at times African languages. It is from that rich hotch-potch of languages that what we today refer to as Afrikaans developed. What later resulted in a feeling of uneasiness towards Afrikaans is the myth which the Afrikaners built around that language and its speakers. That myth is a combination of Afrikaner religion and politics. As we shall see, BCM and the other political movements had nothing against Afrikaans as a language. Explaining some linguistic problems faced by a black man in trying to conquer Afrikaans and English , Steve Biko extolled Afrikaans as a language closer in idiom to the Africans than English . He said :

“ This makes you less articulate as black man generally, and this makes you more inward-looking. You feel things rather than say them, and this applies to Afrikaans as well. Much more than English , Afrikaans is essentially a language that has developed here, and I think , in many instances, it is idiom. It relates much better to African languages, but English is completely foreign, and therefore people find it difficult to move beyond a certain point in their comprehension of the language”⁴

When asked by a judge whether this closeness of idiom would not make it easy for African to learn Afrikaans rather than English, Biko replied that :

“This is true , actually , but unfortunately Afrikaans has got certain connotations historically that provokes a rejection from the black man and these are political connotations “⁵

When considering both statements, one could read between the lines that it is not the language but the social evils connected with it which needed extirpation. More will be said in this connection when explaining how the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) tried to demystify the power of Afrikaans and how that led to the blood-bath of the 1976 student

upheavals. In the next sub-section I will try to give a broad exposition of the language situation in South Africa. How different languages functioned and how the state tried to manipulate them. Political organisations like the BCM tried to unite these languages with the political situation in that country – and this led to serious confrontation with the powers that be.

The Bantu-speaking people in South Africa as we have already seen are divided into two “Main Groups” the isiNguni and Sesotho. According to the Population Registrations Act of 1950, the Africans were divided according to their linguistic differences into citizens of the so-called reserves. The Africans in South Africa have as their mother-tongue Bantu languages. Most of them have also a speaking knowledge of the two European languages namely, English and Afrikaans. Although these languages were languages of the majority none were given the status of official languages – an attempt by the government to crush African Nationalism. They only became second or third official languages in the different homelands especially those who were afforded independence by the then regime.

2.1.1 The isiNguni Group

The isiNguni speakers constitute the majority of the African languages in South Africa. The AmaZulu, the largest language group comprised eight million of the total number of fifteen million – the rest are AmaXhosa. The AmaNdebele and AmaSwati, are seen as a very small minority, are not included in the fifteen million. The AmaZulu are found all over South Africa but they are mainly concentrated in Natal and that part of Natal called Kwa – Zulu (a homeland for the Zulu). The AmaZulu are also in the majority in the urban townships especially in Soweto and the whole Reef. The isiZulu language is slowly gaining momentum as a language of inter-communication amongst the Africans in the urban areas, and for this, it was competing favourably with other African languages and English. But it should be noted that this influence of isiZulu can only be clearly detected in the urban areas of Natal, Transvaal and much less in the Free State. In the Cape, its influence was not traceable.

As for the Cape Province, isiXhosa in the urban townships is dominating with English as

a runner-up. At social gatherings, AmaXhosa prefer to use English rather than isiXhosa ⁶. AmaXhosa are found also throughout South Africa but they are concentrated in the whole Cape Province especially in the Transkei and Ciskei (both former homelands intended for the AmaXhosa by the racist Apartheid government.) The AmaZulu and the AmaXhosa are very proud “nations” especially about their languages or anything which touches their cultures. Like all the other African national units these two are known for their love of music and up to now still keep their traditional praise-singers called *iimbongi*.

The Amandebele are found in the Northern part of what was called Transvaal on the borders of South Africa and Zimbabwe and in Zimbabwe itself. The AmaNdebele did not have literature of their own, for in their schools they still use isiZulu literature. In any case, there is very little difference between them and AmaZulu. The AmaSwati are found in the North Eastern part of the then Transvaal on the borders of Swaziland. isiSwati as a language is confined to those areas. Most of AmaSwati in the industrial areas of South Africa would prefer to communicate in isiZulu rather than in their own language.

The Amandebele are a relatively new ethnic group. Their roots are in Kwa-Zulu where they lived as AmaZulu. They split from AmaZulu during the reign of King Shaka of AmaZulu. They were first referred to as *Matebele* by the Basotho through whose country they passed. According to G. Fortune ⁷ they left the land of AmaZulu around 1822. The term *Matebele* comes from the Sesotho term *ho tebele* which means to chase after in order to capture. The Basotho first called them *Batejelwa* or *Matejelwa* – those who are at large and those that are being chased in order to be captured”this is just but one of the many version given to about the origins if the name Mandebele.”. At this early stage of their development the AmaNdebele were speaking isiZulu, and the Sesotho word *Matejelwa* was corrupted to *Amandebele*. As to whether they later voluntarily or willingly accepted themselves as such is a contentious issue which does not concern us here. Some well-known historians maintain that the name was later used by missionaries who did not know what it meant.⁸

The Amandebele are an offshoot of AmaZulu. So linguistically and culturally the two are intertwined. But after a period of about 150 years, the isiNdebele language was slowly becoming distinguishable from the isiZulu language and a new nation was in the making. By the time they arrived in Inyathi the AmaNdebele were already an established nation. Their first attempt to establish a new nation was at Mosega and that was destroyed by the Afrikaners in 1836.

As early as 1863, hardly three years after their arrival in Inyathi, the missionaries of London Missionary Society in Kuruman produced the first two books in isiNdebele. By 1866 four books in that language were already printed. Fortune in his foreword to “*A practical Ndebele Dictionary*” states the following :

“ What is interesting in the decision of the early missionaries , Thomas Morgan Thomas , G. S. Moffat and William Sykes to base their educational work even at that early date , on Ndebele and not on Zulu. Ndebele was already felt to have diverged, particularly in lexicon from the parent language ”⁹.

It is important to note that in Zimbabwe isiNdebele has developed a vigorous life of its own and is replacing isiZulu as the vernacular language studied in the schools.¹⁰

The first translation of the new Testament was printed in 1903 by the British and Foreign Bible Society and the second in 1912. Psalms were translated in 1930. In 1961, a committee was founded to modernise the Script in the New Testament and that work was completed in 1968. Immediately thereafter, it was decided that the Old Testament be for the first time translated into isiNdebele. The real work was actually started two years earlier in 1966. The first complete edition of the whole Bible was printed in 1976 in Salisbury (Harare).¹¹ As early as 1884, a version of St. Matthew was translated by William Sykes of the London Missionary Society and was published by Saul Solomon and Co. in Cape Town. The first attempts to translate the New Testament were made by Morgan Thomas of Shiloh Mission. They were taken by the Amandebele during the so called Matebele War of 1893-4 and used headgear. In 1901, a corrected version by W. A. Elliot appeared. Most copies of this work were destroyed by the war and some remained

in private hands. It will be wrong to say that the Amandebele never had a literature.¹²

What is important about the isiNguni language speakers, is that although they are of different national groups they can easily communicate, for instance it is common to find umZulu addressing umXhosa in isiZulu, and the umXhosa replying in isiXhosa and not in isiZulu but the understanding of one another remains almost perfect. The same applies to the other isiNguni language speakers. Among the isiNguni speakers, isiXhosa also has dialects which are more noticeable in the Cape amongst amaXhosa. Along Eastern Pondoland in places like Umzimkhulu, Bizana , Griqualand-East and Harding there is a isiMpondo dialect. The AmaMpondo being on the borders of Natal and Transkei tend to speak a mixture of isiZulu and isiXhosa, although of course one can also hear strange new words which are neither isiZulu or isiXhosa. In the area of Kokstad one finds a few AmaBaca, who are in actual fact found in great numbers in the area around Umzimkhulu and Umzimvubu. Some of the isiBaca dialect speakers and the isiMpondo are scattered throughout the whole of South-Eastern Natal.

Somewhere between the AmaMpondo and AmaThembu there is also a dialect called isiBomvana. In Kokstad, Hershell, Sterkspruit, Aliwal-North and Glen-Grey we find a totally different dialect, which is a mixture of Sesotho and isiNguni languages and this is called isiSihlubi. The rest of the amaXhosa speak isiXhosa from which standard isiXhosa derives its vocabulary. In the Ciskei , we have the Amararabe and Amagqunukhwebe who each speak their own dialect of isiXhosa. Again here, only a person born in that region could explain these dialects and illustrate how they were distributed in the entire region.

2.1.2 The Sesotho Language Group

As we have already mentioned, the Sesotho language group could be divided in Sesotho , Setswana and Sepedi. Sesotho is spoken mainly in present-day Lesotho, the whole of the Free State especially in the Free Sate Gold-fields and the Vaal Complex. The Basotho are made up of about four million of the present South African population. Sesotho could also be heard in the Reef where it is being overshadowed by isiZulu and English. Certain

townships in Soweto where formerly reserved for Sesotho speakers only but even there isiZulu dominates. Sesotho, in its purest form can be heard in the Vaal complex, around Sharpeville, Van der Bijl Park, Sasolburg and the whole of the Free State. In these areas, Zulu does not stand a chance. At social gatherings, English and Sesotho are always dominating most of the Basotho today are forced to leave urban areas and they are bundled into the former homeland Qwa-Qwa where there is great overcrowding. In Frankfurt, Villiers, Memel, Warden, Reitz, Harrismith and partly in Bethlehem isiZulu is widely spoken.

Qwa-Qwa is a small area but the Apartheid government expected to house four million people in this area. The Basotho like the AmaZulu and AmaXhosa are very proud people who respect and guard their language jealously. Among the Basotho one can also hear some dialects like Sekgolokwe, which is spoken around Harrismith, Bethlehem, Bergville and that part of Qwa-Qwa called Tsheseng. It is a dialect which draws words from both Sesotho and isiZulu. There is also a dialect called *Setlokwe* which could also be heard in the areas mentioned above.

The largest group of the Sesotho speakers are the Batswana which were numbered about five million. The Batswana are found mainly in the Southern Free State and in the vicinity of Bloemfontein and Thaba-Nchu. The Tswana speakers are also scattered throughout the whole of the Free State. In the former Transvaal, they could be traced in great numbers in the Pretoria area including Mamemlodi one of Pretoria's Townships and also Potchestroom, Orkney, Krugersdorp, Randfontein, Hammanskraal and Ga-Rankuwa. The majority of the Batswana are from the former homeland Bophutaswana (a homeland for Batswana) which was situated between the Northern Cape and former Northern Transvaal (today known as North West Province) and used to stretch right to the border of Botswana and South Africa. When one listens to their language, there is no doubt that even Sesotho broke away from this language. There is no difference between these South African Batswana and the Batswana of Botswana. They are indeed the same people.¹³

The Batswana are, very much attached to their language and culture but do not have difficulty

learning other languages nor is it difficult to learn Setswana. Setswana dialects are so many that one cannot discuss all of them in this treatment. Amongst others, we have *Serolong* which is a dialect spoken in Bloemfontein and the whole Southern Free State and Thaba-Nchu. The other dialects like *Sengwato*, *Setlhaping*, *Setlokwe*, *Sehurutshe* are linguistically so close to each that it needs a real Motswana to bring about the differences.

The last group of the Sesotho speakers are the Bapedi. The Bapedi are found all over the former Transvaal but they are concentrated in the areas North of Pretoria and the whole Northern Transvaal. The homeland for the Bapedi was known as Lebowa. Most of the Bapedi are in Pietersburg, which was also supposed to be the capital of that homeland. The Bapedi language can also be divided into dialects e.g. (Ki) lobedu, a dialect found in the vicinity of Mooketsi, Duiwelskloof, Tzaneen but most of these dialects are found in the Modjadji area. Another dialect is called *Setokwa*, with speakers concentrated in places like Soekmekaar and part of Pietersburg (now known as Polokwane).¹⁴

In Bushbuckridge and in Phalaborwa there is another dialect called *Sepulana*. Sepedi is the main dialect on which standard Sepedi is based and the speakers of it are found in Sekhukhuniland, Jane-Furse and Middleburg (Transvaal). Written Sepedi draws most of its vocabulary from this dialect. Ezekiel Mphahlele, one of the outstanding African writers comes from this language group.

As amongst the AmaNguni speakers, there are no impediments of communication between speakers of Sesotho languages. They are closely related. Problems of communication can be observed between a speaker of Setswana or Sesotho with isiXhosa or isiZulu speakers who in their lives have never been exposed to the Sesotho languages, or the other way round and in such cases there is a need for the employment of interpreters. This is common practice throughout South Africa in multi-lingual places.¹⁵

2.1.3 xiTsonga

xiTsonga is a spoken language of a small minority national unit sometimes called "Shangaan". The isiTsonga speaking people

are found in the area around Beitbridge, Messina, Bushbuckridge, Nkomati and in Mozambique where they are in the minority. The BaTsonga who live in the industrial areas of South Africa are mainly in Pretoria and in the Reef.

In Soweto, there is a township which was allocated to them by the apartheid government called Chiawela. In Soweto and in other multi-lingual places, xiTsonga as a language is discriminated against. There is a tendency amongst some African speakers of other Bantu languages to look upon the language as a strange, inferior language, for the mere fact that, that language is spoken by a small minority. When in contact with other national groups some xiTsonga speakers tend to compromise their language and simply turn to the languages of the majority. Some years ago, even church services in the BaTsonga areas were conducted in Sepedi. There were no hymn books translated into xiTsonga and therefore even the singing in the church was in Sepedi.¹⁶

The first selections from Scripture and hymns were translated into xiTsonga in 1883 by E. Creux, Paul Berthoud and the Swiss Romande Mission. The second translation came in 1892 which was the Book of Luke by Henri Berthoud and the Swiss Romande Mission, with occasional footnote references to the Old Testament. The New Testament and Old Testaments were printed in 1894 and 1896 respectively. The whole Bible translation came out in 1906. All these translations were by Portuguese and Swiss French on the Mozambiquean side of the border. There has been a whole range of publications in this field. Why the BaTsonga for some time did not have hymns and Bibles in that language on the South African side may have been due to the following reasons.

1. Pressure from the Bapedi (an overwhelming majority in that region) amongst whom the Tsonga (a small minority) lived in South Africa.
2. There may had been a delay since the first hymns and sections of the Bible were translated from Portuguese and French and not from English or Afrikaans , outside South Africa in Mozambique.

3. Some unknown political motives from or between South African government and the Portuguese in Mozambique.

A more detailed study of this part of the BaTsonga history and socio-linguistic milieu by sociolinguists in the future would bring more light to the development of this language.¹⁷

Because of the position of weakness in which the speakers of that language find themselves linguistically, and the fact that they are always forced to learn other languages, it is not uncommon to come across a xiTsonga speaker who is fluent in all the other African languages including the European languages Afrikaans and English.

1. *Sikanlanga (xiKalanga)* is a dialect spoken in Beitbridge , Messina and in all the other areas where Tsonga is spoken.
2. *Sihlengwe (xiHlengwe)* , is only confined to Bushbuckridge.
3. *Siputukezi (xiPutukezi)* , Nkomati and the whole of Mozambique. This dialect has borrowed , the name suggests , many words from Portuguese , although the bulk of its vocabulary comes from the other Tsonga dialects.
4. *Sihlaba (xiHlaba)* , is spoken only in the Tzaneen area .
5. In the Reef and Pretoria there is another dialect which is heavily influenced by the other Nguni languages like Zulu, Ndebele, and Swazi.

Although most of the Bantu language speakers are not in a position to learn xiTsonga, communication between them is not absolutely impossible as xiTsonga has in its vocabulary loaned words from the other Bantu languages.¹⁸

2.1.4 Tshivenda

The last Bantu language spoken in South Africa is Tshivenda. Venda like xiTsonga is forced to occupy a very inferior position as a language. The speakers of Tshivenda are in the

smallest minority. The racist apartheid regime had allocated for these speakers a homeland called Venda, with its head-quarters in Thohoyandou. Similar to the Batswana and amaXhosa they were also “blessed” with bogus independence. Tshivenda is spoken in the whole of Northern areas of South Africa especially around the boarder areas of South Africa and Zimbabwe, The Tshivenda languages is said to be very close to the minority languages in Zimbabwe especially Kalanga or Karanga. Having discussed the distribution of the Bantu languages, I think it is necessary to examine the position they hold as languages in South Africa and moreover the languages of the majority.¹⁹

2.1.5 Dialect

Although more than a dozen South African Bantu dialects have already been investigated and described, there are many others which have hardly been touched. In this paper for example no mention was made of the *Sekgatla* dialect, which is a dialect belonging to the Setswana language. Thus, for example, far more than half of the dialects of which the Sesotho and isiNguni language groups are composed, have not yet been described. To what extent these dialects are still characterised by deviant or distinctive systems, or have meanwhile had to make way for other more dominant systems, will become clear only when a comprehensive survey of all the South African Bantu dialects is carried out.²⁰

Most Bantuists agree that such a survey is essential, particularly in the light of the levelling influence of mass media like the press, radio and education, on dialect differences. There is no doubt that certain dialects have already bowed to these pressures, and the longer the survey is postponed, the greater the risk becomes that still more dialectal material will be irrevocably lost. In the Bantu languages, such a disappearance of dialectal material is always regrettable, especially since dialects often contain material which enable the Bantuist to determine the historical course of linguistic processes in these languages far more accurately. In a sense, dialects are to the Bantuist historical sources as they are to the Indo-Europeanist. This is the reason why dialect research remains one of the highest priorities of the Bantuist and why it should always receive the necessary support.²¹

Lanham and Prinsloo are of the opinion that research into the geography of dialects is just as imperative as dialect research.²² Unfortunately nothing has yet been done on this at all. For example, it is known that the word for “talk” in Transvaal Sesotho occurs as “go-bolela”, “go-bua” and “go-apa” but in which dialects each form is used and where the exact boundaries between them lie, remain an enigma. Even the minor differences in pronunciation through which one dialect imperceptibly changes into another, have thus far escaped the attention of researchers. This is a particularly rich and rewarding field just awaiting exploration.²³

When as many languages are spoken within the same national borders as in South Africa, one can expect all sorts of compromises between the languages. This is indeed the case, particularly in the large cities where reciprocal influence occurs on a strikingly large scale, and for different, reasons, too. Here the Blacks come into contact with the full diversity of languages in South Africa and must know how to extricate themselves from the confusion sometime caused by the veritable babel of tongues. In such multi-lingual communities a “pure” Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, isiZulu or isiXhosa has long since disappeared, although they can still be found in the homelands. Thus it is not uncommon to hear a person speaking, for instance, Setswana, moulded in a Sepedi idiom and pronounced with a slight Sesotho accent. In these communities mixing takes place not only between languages belonging to the same group, such as the various Sesotho languages, but also between those of the other groups (e.g. isiZulu blended Setswana).²⁴

The same applies to the mixing between the various Bantu languages and Afrikaans, although perhaps on a smaller scale. The degree of this mixing, the level on which it occurs, to what extent it takes place systematically and whether or not it differs from speaker to speaker and from occasion to occasion are but a few of the questions of which the answer can only be guessed, for the simple reason that no researcher has yet made any attempt to investigate these fields with their wealth of sociolinguistic phenomena. What makes such research doubly necessary is the fact that these “township colloquia” have already become some of the most powerful

communication aids in the ranks of the black population in South Africa.²⁵

To what extent a single lingua-franca or even several will develop out of this hotchpotch of languages, as for example, Ki-Swahili did in East Africa, and part of Central Africa, is another question that will have to be answered with a view to future language planning. One thing is already clear, however, that there is little chance that this role will ever be played by *Fanakalo* – a language associated with exploitation by many Blacks in South Africa. Although the primary aim of this languages was to solve the language problems, for the workers who happen to be coming from various linguistic communities, the Black man in the township views this languages as “a tool of convenience for the perpetuation of the exploitation of the oppressed masses “. Meanwhile, it is clear that a great and challenging task lies ahead of the Bantuists in these multilingual communities, one which will be difficult to tackle without a thorough knowledge of the principles and methods of sociolinguistics.²⁶

2.1.6 Education and Training

In the field of Education, African languages have a role to play as media of instruction. In 1949 soon after the newly elected Nationalist government under Dr. D. F. Malan took office, it set up a Commission under the chairmanship of Dr. W.W.M. Eiselen. The Commission was asked inter alia to formulate plans for an “education for natives as an independent race, in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics, aptitude and their needs under ever-changing social conditions could be investigated.” The Commission thus began with the premise that distinction should be drawn between black and white.²⁷

The Commission brought out its recommendation in 1951. It proved to be one of the most controversial documents on education ever to be produced in South Africa. In fact, the recommendations of this Commission laid the foundations of the notorious Bantu Education Act, No 47 of 1953. Two types of primary schools were proposed by the Commission: “a lower primary school catering for pupils between the ages of 7 and 9 and offering a four-year course, from Sub-Standard A to Standard 2 directed primarily at

the acquisition of numeracy and literacy in the mother tongue. In the higher primary school for pupils in the age range 11 and 14, the instruction was in both official languages, English and Afrikaans. “

Most of the African schools especially in the Cape and Natal, decided to teach only in English and the African languages were taught only as school subjects. The situation in the Free State was slightly different because here the Provincial government forced the using of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction running on a 50 – 50 basis with English. At Junior Certificate level (e.g. Std 7 to 9) the situation remained the same right through to matriculation and university level.

When Dr H.F. Verwoerd took office in 1954, the Commission’s report remained intact but it was slightly amended especially on the question of medium of instruction, according to him the media of instruction in lower, primary and higher schools was to be in mother-tongue. As a result of this, there was a very high rate of drops-outs at the first year of Junior Certificate. This was caused mainly by the language change. At this level English and Afrikaans would be taught at 50 – 50 basis as media of instruction and also as subjects. The African languages were only taught as subjects. The same situation is carried through until the end of matriculation. In most of the African universities instruction was in English, although as a rule, English was to share this responsibility with Afrikaans.²⁸

The African students had a negative attitude towards this language (Afrikaans). They regarded it as language of oppression. Above all learning Afrikaans would only produce academics confined only to South Africa, whereas on the international platform Afrikaans had no place. English remains the only language in South Africa which is international and the only possible choice for those who would like to study abroad. Dr Verwoerd, justifying his amendments to the Commission’s report had this to say :

“ The Bantu pupil must obtain knowledge, skills and attitudes in the school which will be useful and advantageous to him and at the same time beneficial to his community. The school must equip him to meet the demands which the economic

life of South Africa will impose upon him. The Bantu teacher must be integrated as an active agent in the process of the development of the Bantu – Community. ***He must learn not to feel above his community, with consequent desire to become integrated into the life of the European community***²⁹

The marked part of his statement is the one which explains clearly why European languages were not to be taught to an African child at an earlier age. The mastery of these languages, especially English, would introduce him to the world of science and technology where he was not to be allowed. The same Dr. Verwoerd was later on quoted to have said.

“The purpose of giving education to a Bantu is to open his eyes so that he sees the green pastures on which the white man is grazing but he should never be allowed to graze there”³⁰

The question of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction as we shall see did not succeed, for exactly a decade after the death of Verwoerd, in 1976, it stirred the students' uprisings in Soweto and all over the country – an incident which will never be erased in the minds of the Africans.

An African child, because of language barriers, faces many difficulties throughout his educational life. For instance, I am umXhosa by birth but was born in an area which is predominantly Sesotho. As both my parents are AmaXhosa, at home we as children only spoke isiXhosa. It was a punishable offence to speak Sesotho at home. At school we learned in Sesotho and played with the other children in the street communicating only in Sesotho. Throughout my primary education the medium of instruction was in Sesotho, English and Afrikaans were only taught as subjects. Later on in my life, I moved to Secondary school level, and this was at a boarding school in Thaba-Nchu. The medium of instruction there was only Afrikaans and of course the majority of staff members were Afrikaners including the principal. English, Setswana and Sesotho were only taught as school subjects.

Outside school, the language of the people was Setswana and most of the students there were Batswana. One thing which was of importance,

was that the school belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church (the state church and the watchdog of Afrikanerdom). For matriculation I went to Moroka High School and there the medium of instruction was English, Afrikaans and Sesotho played a lesser role. Although the medium of instruction was English, we were taught by Afrikaner teachers who had a negative attitude towards English and they deliberately spoke broken English. The same applied to the Afrikaner professors who later on taught us at the universities. At the University of Fort Hare, where I studied, the medium of instruction was English, although the people of the area spoke isiXhosa. It was during this time that my command of both English and isiXhosa started to improve. I even took a course in isiXhosa literature. What I have explained here about myself is the problem faced by many African children throughout the country. Language barrier problems are the most serious causes of high-dropout rates in African secondary Schools and first year university studies.

Perhaps the work of S. Satyo will clarify some of the misconceptions created by the Apartheid regime. Satyo quoting George Poulos (George Poulos, 1986:5-6) writes:”Has the tradition of language learning satisfied the needs or interest of the South African society?” The answer is simply and correctly “no”. Since many South Africans especially whites are still in the comforts of Apartheid where Afrikaans and English were the only official languages. The speakers of these languages up until now do not see any need or reason to learn African languages or even to recognise the multi-lingual set-up that South Africa is. (Satyo, 1988:2) Quoting (Malherbe, 1977:72) satyo writes:”Every Afrikaner who is worthy of the name cherishes the ideal that South Africa will ultimately have one language and that language must be Afrikaans.” This quotation was taken by Malherbe from some of the speeches made by J. Strijdom who was once a South African premier. Satyo further argues that unlike Strijdom the missionaries had a totally different attitude towards African languages. They seriously took to the promotion of African language in that they saw in them the instrument by whose agency so much good has been effected. Satyo talks about both “Voluntary ignorance and perfect indifference” on the part of the whites, Indians and so-called coloureds. He further argues that Apartheid laws like the Group Areas Act of

1950 being a serious impediment for the sad groups to learn African languages (Satyo, 1988:4). He closes his interesting article with a lamentation:” let the children learn African languages more joyously, more freely or to put it differently, let them learn African languages naturally

2.1.7 Media

On the national media, African languages had a very small role to play. Where they had a role to play, it was only to perpetuate Apartheid.³¹ Since 1993 the bulk of newspapers and magazines which were directed to African readership in African languages were strongly censored and they were mostly under control of Afrikaans Perskor Beperk (a publishing house with very close ties to the National Party). The South African Press Association (SAPA) was responsible for the collecting and distribution of news. The information or news printed by the African newspapers and magazines was collected by SAPA from institutions strongly attached to Apartheid, for instance “homeland leaders“. These institutions would never condemn the system which they condoned and supported. In Natal we had a Zulu daily called *Illanga la se Natala* and in the Cape *Imvo Zabantsundu*. There were several other newspaper in African Languages but all of them are not read by the African people and therefore had a very small readership which was usually made up of the adherents of Apartheid. The African people were suspicious of these newspapers which they associated with the Apartheid system.

As for the radio, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) was responsible for the news. Broadcasting in African languages was started in 1940 in Sesotho, isiZulu and isiXhosa of which there were only music and news programmes. In the Apartheid days, a government organ called “Radio Bantu“ could be heard all over South Africa in all African languages. Since Radio Bantu was the brain-child of the SABC, it was obviously were it stood in relation to Apartheid. In standardisation of these languages, Radio Bantu also participated. One of the objectives of Radio Bantu was to spread the Word of God, along the Christian lines and to destroy African culture which they regarded as a threat to Christianity. One of the duties of

Radio Bantu was to coin new words and in this they have only succeeded in causing confusion. Meanings of some words were deliberately distorted to conform to the propaganda machinery of the Apartheid regime. For example in isiXhosa – a terrorist is called *Umrhorhisi*, the translation itself is enough to create a state of terror in the listeners.

In each and every homeland there was a Bureau for Language and Culture. The purpose of these Bureaus was to entrench the policy of separate development as it was prescribed by the South African government. The aim was to nurture tribalism so as to make it possible for *divide and rule*, to function more efficiently. In the literary field, African languages had their own writers and poets who write in these languages. It is regrettable to note that even here, the readership is very small. The African tend to look down upon their own literature. The tendency is to write more and more in English – the languages of prestige, status and professionalism. The educational system was made in such a way that it alienated the Africans from their culture and languages.³²

The rift between the urban African and the rural one became wider and wider every day and that on the other hand was encouraged by the implementation of Bantu Education. In South Africa, an urban-orientated African is usually referred to as a “schooled African” whilst the rural one is tagged a “red African”. The latter is very close to his culture and language whilst the former is contemptuous of both. It was especially in the Reef, where people speak a mixture of African languages. It is not surprising then, that the performance of urban school children in the African languages was very poor. Both teachers and school children regarded the teaching of African languages as an encouragement of “language nationalism” and tribalism.³³

That attitude, which was one of the results of Bantu Education, was very detrimental to the development of Bantu languages. The influence of Bantu and Khoi languages on the official languages has been very slight. A handful of Bantu words have been borrowed into English. These are mostly confined to specific geographical areas and rarely find their way throughout the whole English speaking community. The same pattern manifests itself in Afrikaans, where a number

of indigenous loans is greater. These loans are mostly concerned with African culture and with plant and animal life.

2.1.8 Fanakalo

The last Bantu language variety is *Fanakalo*. *Fanakalo* has been mentioned in passing already in this article. *Fanakalo*, a typical pidgin language which contains elements of English and isiZulu, developed in Natal out of a need to communicate across linguistic barriers. The circumstances of its origin are unknown, and various theories have been advanced in this connection. It seems certain, however, that it must have come to being just over a hundred years ago in Natal, and not the gold mines as some theories would wrongly have it. It is known by many names as Lanham and Prinsloo have it, the most popular being *Fanakalo* which literally means “like this”. Other names are *Isitalapa* (take here language), *Isilololo* (lo-lo-lo being a frequently used definite article) *Isikula* or kitchen “kaffir-language”, as some racists would prefer to call it. *Isikula* (coolie language) suggests that *Fanakalo* was first used to facilitate communication between amaZulus and Indians. The name “coolie” is also used as derogatory name by Afrikaners to Indians.

Fanakalo has crossed beyond the borders of Natal to places as far as Zaire. It has been found a particularly useful language on the mines, where Europeans and unilingual speakers of a variety of Bantu languages, many of them from beyond the borders of the country, have to make themselves understood to each other. Its simple structure and vocabulary make it possible to acquire *Fanakalo* within a few weeks. From the mines of South Africa, it has spread to mining centres in neighbouring countries.³⁴ Many claims and pleas have been made on behalf of *Fanakalo*. It has been called the lingua-franca of South Africa by some writers and “Basic Bantu” by others. Both theories are wrong and misleading in that *Fanakalo* draws most of its vocabulary from isiZulu which is but one Bantu language and to a little extent from English and therefore it cannot be said to be “Basic Bantu” and secondly it is only confined to certain areas in South Africa and calling it a lingua franca of South Africa will be stretching it too far beyond its limits. Some suggestions have been made to introduce *Fanakalo* as a school

language and above all one writer ventured to translate a famous passage from Hamlet into *Fanakalo*. The fact that, nowhere in South Africa, is this language used as a mother tongue restricts its development to a fully fledged language. Moreover, its influence is declining due to increasing literacy and multilingualism amongst Blacks and partly to attempts by mining officials to replace it by an official language. Here Afrikaans, as a language commonly used, as a “language of work”, may flourish. In Natal, however, *Fanakalo* is a frequently used medium of communication between Blacks and Whites and between Blacks and Indians.³⁵

The main components of *Fanakalo* are isiZulu and English, to which an element of Afrikaans was later added. Cole found that 70% of the vocabulary came from isiZulu, whereas 22% was English and another 7% Afrikaans.³⁶ The grammar differs greatly from both isiZulu and English. Lanham and Prinsloo found it best to characterise it as a syntax with very simple surface structures, representing what is common to both parent languages, with some distinctive characteristics of both. It should also be said that there is a minimum of difference between deep and surface structures compared with the parent languages. On the question of its basic affiliation, Hockett, among others, suggests that there is no such thing as a genuine “mixed” language. A pidgin language according to him usually turns out to be a highly aberrant form of one of the parent languages. If this is true, *Fanakalo* must be either pidgin isiZulu or pidgin English. On grammatical grounds, it is difficult to decide either way. It would perhaps be true to conclude that in its surface structure, it differs more from English than from isiZulu. Its vocabulary, too, is predominantly isiZulu.

Fanakalo is not a fully-fledged language and I think it will remain a pidgin language until it is totally extinct. In the fields of education, religion, science, commerce and technology this language has no bearing whatsoever. No serious literature has ever been produced in this language, save a few books of elementary grammar produced by mining officials with the help of some universities.

2.2.1 The language Situation of the so-called Coloureds

On the question of Indian and so-called Coloured languages not much can be said since the former is confined to Indian-speaking communities in South Africa, whilst the latter is basically Afrikaans in nature. The language problems of the so-called Coloureds stand out in sharp contrast to those of the Indians. Both share somewhat ambivalent attitudes towards their mother tongue. The general estimate is that about 90 % of the Coloureds have Afrikaans as mother tongue.³⁷ *

Most of the so-called Coloureds speak a peculiar variety of Afrikaans, sometimes called *Gamtaal* or *Kitchen Afrikaans* (as Afrikaners usually refer to it). This variety of Afrikaans is reproduced in some of the later writings of their most gifted author, Adam Small.³⁸ Kloss is correct for instance, to mention that the attitude of the “Coloureds” towards their mother-tongue is determined by three factors, namely:

- a) They had no share in the successive moves to make Afrikaans into a cultural languages.
- b) In their schools Afrikaans was introduced at a later stage than in Afrikaner schools.
- c) The bitterness aroused by the harsh Afrikaner racial policies prevented them to have a common lingual and cultural heritage commanding a joint loyalty³⁹

Afrikaans has been in use in their primary schools for more than 40 years and in their secondary schools as far back as 1960 till today. There are said to be schools where more English was used than Afrikaans. In fact, many literate “Coloureds” consider English their chief literary language. The only newspaper written by and for the “Coloureds” was the weekly *Cape Herald*. There was no single magazine in Afrikaans, catering primarily and solely for the “Coloured” reading public (the only one known to have existed, the *Bannien* ceased publication in 1965).

There was no Afrikaans-language newspaper except for the weekly supplements to the white newspapers *Die Burger* and *Rapport* written for (at least a part) and by “Coloureds”. It was

not unusual at “Coloured” festivals to have all the speeches delivered in English, e.g. at the annual fair of the Cape Malays held in Cape Town. In the rural areas, they have no choice but to adhere to Afrikaans. There was evidence that in many urban families, bilingual parents were deliberately addressing their children in English in order to bring about a language shift. This became very clear after the 1976 students upheavals where the question of Afrikaans was of paramount importance. That seemed to be the case at least for some relatively small groups living outside the Cape Province, especially in Johannesburg, where there was said to be a change-over from the Dutch Reformed to Anglican denominations with a concomitant shift in the language of the pulpit and that of the home.⁴⁰

Yet, there is another aspect to that picture. The younger generation, having passed through Afrikaans medium schools, was known to begin to feel some attachment to the language and an appreciation of its achievements. That may have been about all then, where the solidarity with the oppressed groups seemed to loom more than anything else was an apparent inclination towards English. For more than 30 years a small number of “Coloured” authors (chiefly Petersen, Philander, Small and Mathews) have been making their contributions to Afrikaans poetry, thereby enabling the “Coloured” elite to develop what has been called “possessory feelings” for the language, a sentiment of co-ownership completely lacking in the 1940’s. This trend had been encouraged by the establishment of a Coloured Higher Education Institution, the officially bi-lingual but predominantly Afrikaans speaking University of the Western Cape at Bellville.

According to Kloss, many Afrikaners are now realising that they have committed a major blunder by systematically alienating the “Coloureds”. This, according to me was a blunder then which I thought would never be reversed. The present situation seems to prove me wrong for the “Coloureds” are not fully entrenched in the opposition against the Afrikaner following the change in 1994. The Afrikaners were definitely trying to win the “Coloured” people to their side by giving to them a bogus share in their political life. Kloss goes on to report that at Rondebosch workshop at the *Cape Town Centre for Intergroup Studies* , the Rector-designate of the Western

Cape University reported a marked increase in the use of Afrikaans among educated “Coloureds”. As one of the reasons for this, he mentioned that “Coloureds” are disappointed with Anglo-African whom they had formerly regarded as allies against Afrikaner rule.⁴¹ Whatever the case may be the language shift suggested here by the Rector-designate referred only to a small group of political reactionaries with their opportunistic tendencies. The Rector in question was in actual fact speaking the language which the government wanted to hear and not explaining the language dilemma of the so-called Coloureds.

The situation was a particularly tense one in the case of the Cape Malays, a well-defined sub-group of about 50 000 with a Moslem subculture. Being on the average better-off educationally and economically than the other “Coloureds” they have always bitterly resented their status, and in the words of Dr Abdurahman, the one time leader of the “Coloureds” : “ ... the Afrikaaner is an arch enemy...” Yet even among the Cape Malays, Afrikaans was said to be gaining grounds so that today there are mosques where sermons are first delivered in Arabic, then repeated in Afrikaans, the reason for this was not a resentment of Anglo –African as suggested by the Rector of Bellville in Kloss, but the results from the rights these people were enjoying from the South African government whose aim was to gain the confidence of the rich amongst the “Coloureds”.⁴²

2.2.2 Indian Language Situation

The Indians were the only language community in South Africa, to whom the mother tongue principle was not applied. All state schools catering for Indian population used the English medium. The reason for this deviation from the norm, is the linguistic fragmentation of the Indian population which would have made it exceedingly difficult to provide textbooks which would be adapted to the South African situation with regard to content and outlook. The difficulties were more pronounced since a different script was used for each of the Indian Languages. Thus the obvious choice for an intra-communal contact language was English.

No single Indian language outnumbered the other cognate tongues sufficiently to become the Indian community’s internal means of communication within South Africa. There have been recent efforts to introduce at least one or two Indian languages as optional subjects in some of the state schools. These efforts are being encouraged by an all Indian University of Durban- Westville (now known as the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal). Legally, it would be possible to set up private dual-medium schools using one of the Indian languages as a medium. There are, however, a number of private vernacular schools providing supplementary informal instruction, usually in the evenings and not for examination purposes.⁴³

At the University of Durban Westville courses in *Hindu*, *Urdu* and *Telegu* are being offered and have been since 1975. Since then, courses in *Tamil* and *Gujarati* which used to be taught in the past have been re-introduced. There also exists a small group of Indians, chiefly in the rural former Transvaal, for whom Afrikaans has become the only European language and sometimes in isolated instances has assumed the function of a home tongue. In recent years many have fluxed into Johannesburg where they are adopting English in the same way. According to statistics produced by the Rand Afrikaans University (now known as the University of Johannesburg) , out of a population number of 30 – 35 000 , a good percentage of these are the English – speaking Indians. Although all the South African Indians have some specified Indian languages as their mother tongue, there is no doubt that some assimilation and language shift took place, if only at a relatively slow pace. One reason for this language shift and assimilation process is that most South African Indians have lost contact with India, the country of their fore-fathers. South Africa has now become their home.

According to investigations made by C Rampphal in 1978 into the speech habits of 1052 Indian grade 8 school pupils, it was revealed that English was only spoken by 11.2% with their parents, 45.7% and with their siblings, 85 % with their best friends and that only 22% stated that they are fluent in their mother tongue as well as in English, while 76% of their parents declared the mother tongue to be at least as important as English. The shift among Christians is proceeding faster

than amongst the non-Christians. Speakers of *Urdu* for instance who are nearly all Moslems and Gujarati are said to be the most retentive groups in favour of their original Indian languages.

The Indian population in South Africa forms an important commercial class and as traders and businessmen they seem to be knowledgeable in almost all South African languages. Such knowledge however depends entirely on the region where an Indian trader or a professional is. For example in the Orange Free State, because they were prohibited by law to reside there, such Indian traders are nowhere to be found. In the other provinces they spoke a mixture of African languages a Fanakalo-type of a language whose vocabulary is confined to the trade occupation or business they are involved in that particular region. It is not surprising to find an Indian in Natal who is very fluently in isiZulu. But it is rare to come across a non-Indian who speaks an Indian language. The adult Indian majority remain bilingual. Kloss's statement that : " There seems to be universal agreement that Indians speak English much better than the Bantu ", is debatable.⁴⁴ But it is true that that English will always remain the main literary medium of even those who retained an Indian vernacular as their home language⁴⁵.

The Indians were politically in solidarity with the other oppressed people in South Africa. The polling for the Indian representatives in the Afrikaner Parliament, the so-called tri-cameral Presidential Council, were so poor that it left no doubt that the Indians are a force to reckon with within the struggle against Apartheid.⁴⁶ The statement by Kloss that most "Coloureds" and Indians dread Bantu majority rule based on one-man-one-vote and the other one by Fatima Meer that : " He (an Indian) has today reached a point where he considers Afrikaaner nationalism to be preferable to African nationalism"⁴⁷ are therefore incorrect and misleading and should not be taken as a true reflection of the South African political situation.⁴⁸

2.2.3 Afrikaans

Afrikaans is an offshoot of the Dutch language. The two are still to a limited extent, mutually intelligible. A century ago, in August 1875, in Paarl, a small town near Cape Town, the founding meeting of a "Language Society" took place behind drawn curtains in a private

house. The main aim of this rebel society, called the *Fellowship of True Afrikaners*, was to create an awareness amongst the speakers of Afrikaans, that Afrikaans, and not Dutch nor English, was their mother tongue and ought to be their written language. The vigour and enthusiasm of this fellowship kindled a flame which was nurtured for many years by the present speakers of Afrikaans. In 1876 the members of the *Fellowship of True Afrikaners* published a manual in their mother tongue. A history book appeared in 1877 and the first issue of an almanac, textbook and little anthology in 1878. In these early stages an emphasis on expository prose is notable.

Amongst later landmarks we mention only the following: In 1906 the first novel was published; in 1908 the *Suid Afrikaanse Akademie vir Taal , Lettere en Kuns* (South African Academy for Language , letters and Art) the first doctoral thesis in Afrikaans appeared in 1910 and Afrikaans was introduced in the primary schools for the first time in 1914 ; later in 1917 Afrikaans was used as medium of instruction in secondary schools. In 1918 the first chair of Afrikaans at university level was introduced. In 1922 the *Tydskrif vir Wetenskap en Kuns* (Journal for Science and Art) was founded and eventually in 1925 Afrikaans was recognised by Parliament as one of the official languages of the country equal to English and Dutch. The African languages were again left aside. The first Bible in Afrikaans was published in 1933.⁴⁹

All these developments of Afrikaans could in actual fact be traced as far back as 1821 when the Afrikaners published their first newspaper called *Die Patriot*. With the coming into power of the Nationalist government in 1948, the pro-English moderates like Smuts and Hofmeyer were silenced. In 1961, the new constitution declared English and Afrikaans as the only two official languages and Dutch was no longer seen as applicable. Afrikaans was the medium of instruction together with English at six universities : University of Potchestroom, Rand Afrikaans Universiteit (soon to be part of Johannesburg University), University of Pretoria , University of Port Elizabeth and University of Stellenbosch , the latter being the stronghold of Afrikanerdom and the universities which traditionally produced the Afrikaner leaders. In the other formerly white universities in South Africa Afrikaans shared

the same status with English, with the exception of the four English Universities : University of Witwatersrand , Rhodes University , University of Cape Town and University of Natal , where Afrikaans was being taught as a subject. Even in these English universities Afrikaans was not regarded as an inferior language for we had in them the Afrikaans departments , which were well attended.⁵⁰

According to Heinz Kloss, during the period 1900 – 1966 a total of 18 699 books were published in this new literary language. The chief librarian, at the State Library in Pretoria gave a report in 1973 that between 1965 and 1973 a total of 1 383 newsletters and periodicals appeared in Afrikaans.⁵¹ The small and still relatively Afrikaans boasts several encyclopaediae. The selections from major languages and literary works testify a desire not to be isolated from the world. In the literary world Afrikaans, as a young language has made considerable strides. The Afrikaners have amongst them outstanding writers and poets, such as Elsa Joubert, Breyten Breytenbach, Langenhoven, Andre Brink and many others. Some years ago, the Afrikaners depended mainly on oral literature and this meant chiefly sermons, speeches and lectures delivered face to face to specific audiences. In this sector, the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) played the most important role. As to the development of the Afrikaans language and Afrikaner Nationalism this church always played a pivotal role and still is. According to Kloss, the 20th century, numerous new literary languages have come into being and a smaller but sizable number or archaic standard languages of long standing have been reshaped into vehicles of modern thought and feeling. The growth of Afrikaans in the field of learned prose is remarkably well beyond the local context . Afrikaans is the only non-European and non-Asiatic languages to have attained full university status. According to Heinz Kloss :

“ There is no such indigenous language in Oceania , Australia, in the Americas , nor even in the rest of Africa, even though Swahili bids fair to become a university tool in the very near future “ ⁵²

This alone, according to Kloss, places Afrikaans in a category of its own. While in Asia nearly as many indigenous languages

serve as teaching tools in universities as in Europe, most of them are restricted only to humanities and very few are being used to teach engineering or bio-chemistry . On the other hand Afrikaans can be used for all the domains in teaching. Most of the science and technology books found in their libraries are translations from European languages. In the legal field in South Africa Afrikaans is still second to English, although most magistrates, judges, prosecutors and even ordinary civil servants are of Afrikaans origin. Almost all the law courts in the Orange Free State used Afrikaans as their language. Some of the former homelands especially Qwa-Qwa and Bophuthatswana used Afrikaans. In Natal, the Cape Province and the Transvaal the English language was dominating in the courts. The Government gazette, circulars and law journals were produced in both official languages. The past trend in South Africa, encouraged by Afrikaner academics, was to try to produce more material in Afrikaans so as to overshadow the English language. As it will later on be shown in this article, any attempt to overshadow the English language only proved to be a useless and futile exercise.

In the commercial field again, English, is still leading with Afrikaans as a runner-up. Public auctions are held in English and Afrikaans. Advertisements, road signposts are written in both English and Afrikaans, in public places like national parks , town parks , shopping centres, hotels and in many places where people come together, notices are still written in both Afrikaans and English.⁵³

Television, a new medium in South Africa, is expected to influence the language scene. It is an open secret that Afrikaners hesitated to have television introduced chiefly because they feared that English language programmes, because of the enormous potential at their disposal, would overshadow and eventually crowd out their Afrikaans competitors. A solution was found by starting a television in 1976 with a single channel, giving equal time between the two official languages, English and Afrikaans. Even the Africans were to be induced to listen to Afrikaans broadcasts. The direct opposite took place, for the majority of Africans who had television sets then would only switch theirs on when they knew it was time for English programmes. Their negative attitude towards Afrikaans was later demonstrated by the June 16 student uprisings

in the same year. Later in 1982, the television language race was entered into by five African languages namely isiXhosa, isiZulu, Sepedi, Setswana and Sesotho. On the radio, Afrikaans, English and all Bantu languages are represented. In spite of the 1976 student uprisings against Afrikaans, Afrikaans was still being forced as a medium of instruction in most of the African primary and secondary schools. This enforced language medium was a “time-bomb” for future language conflicts where Afrikaans again would form the pith of friction.⁵⁴

The *Human Sciences Research Council* (HRSC) was founded in 1968, taking over the functions of two older bodies, the *National Bureau of Educational and Social Research* and the *National Council for Social Research*. The HRSC has many divisions, one of them being the Division of Sociolinguistics. The *corpus* of data collected by this division was utilised for a number of major projects, including sociolinguistic analysis and interpretation. The division was consulted in any discussion concerning basic issues on language policy in South Africa. Close collaboration exists between the HRSC and the *South African Academy for Science and Art* in Pretoria. The latter body was founded in 1909 to foster the cause of Afrikaans as a literary language. Since 1914 it has bestowed an annual literary award, originally only for poetry and fiction, but since 1942, equally for achievements in the field of scholarly prose. It has also been instrumental in settling the spelling of Afrikaans and in founding in 1950, of the *Vaktaalbuuro* for the systematic enrichment of the technical vocabulary in Afrikaans.⁵⁵

There are certain factors which are to be considered concerning Afrikaans, and how it affects the other languages in South Africa especially English. In the first place, very few native speakers of English chose to become teachers, while a teaching career was highly popular amongst Afrikaners. Consequently, it was often Afrikaners from whose lips Afrikaans-speaking children learnt English. Even in schools for English-speaking children it was not uncommon to have staff partly composed of Afrikaans speakers. As a result of this, the pronunciation of the children was considerably affected. Secondly the Afrikaner English teachers had a negative attitude towards the language they taught because of

historical and political reasons. This attitude, unfortunately was passed over (aware or unaware) to the children. Consequently the quality of English, spoken by the younger Afrikaner generation was decreasing tremendously.⁵⁶

One of the contributory factors was that the exposure to English had diminished with the increase, in quantity as well as quality of Afrikaans literature, which had made Afrikaners less dependant on English reading materials. There was also an increase in Afrikaans radio and television broadcasts. The stated factors seemed also to be leaving their marks on the Afrikaans speaking “Coloured” population both in South Africa and Namibia.

With the coming into power of the Nationalist Party in 1948, all schools were declared state schools. Before this, there existed in South Africa what was called dual-medium schools. The use of Afrikaans and English in these schools was in equal proportions. Students leaving these schools could handle both languages with almost equal ease. The outcome of the state take-over has been that the dual-medium schools had been replaced by Afrikaans medium schools and English medium schools retaining the other official language merely as a subject. This shrinkage of dual-medium-schools had been deplored by many white intellectuals as: “Apartheid within the white camp”.⁵⁷

In the Civil Service 45 to 50 years ago, official documents were usually drawn up in English, often by Afrikaners, but even then in excellent language and style, and then had to be translated in Afrikaans. In the apartheid era the majority of documents were first drawn up in Afrikaans and then translated into English by Afrikaner officials, whose command of English language left much to be desired.

The influence of Afrikaans can also be heard in languages of secret societies e.g. the Tsotsi-taal (Tsotsi-language) draws most of its vocabulary from this language. In some secret languages used by prisoners the usage of Afrikaans words could be heard, although their actual normal meanings are deliberately twisted to confuse, in this case, a prison-warder who may ironically be an Afrikaner. For instance *graaf* in Afrikaans means “spade” whilst in Tsotsi-taal *graaf* means “spoon”.⁵⁸

Another factor is that amongst the Blacks, although they hated Afrikaans, motivation to learn it was very high because of Afrikaaner dominance in the administrative field and its strength in the business sector. In the work situation, a Blackman's promotion was highly dependant on his mastery of Afrikaans. The learning therefore became a matter of life and death for the Black worker. In both white and black schools, the teachers of Afrikaans were Afrikaner; thereby guaranteeing correct pronunciation and effortless conversational practice. Above all, compared to English, Afrikaans is relatively easy to learn with its strictly phonemic spelling and simplified morphology. For Anglo-Saxons access to the language is made easier by many cognates.⁵⁹

Competition between English and Afrikaans can also be observed in the teaching in South African White secondary schools of German and French. Competition between these languages (i.e. French and German) is to an extent conditioned by the medium of instruction. At English-medium-schools and universities French is stronger than German, whilst the reserve holds for Afrikaans – medium institutions of learning. With Afrikaans students outnumbering English students, this gave German a slight edge over French. Afrikaner preference for German stems chiefly from the close kinship between the two languages. In the universities, German is also helped by the presence of a small but significant body of students of German mother-tongue, mostly from Namibia, but also from South Africa, where we find four German private schools, one in Cape Town, Hermansburg, Johannesburg and Pretoria. The close affinity between the German and Afrikaans language also stands out when we look at translations into Afrikaans of high quality books from other languages. The German language again seems to be having an edge over the other European languages. It should also be noted that this close affinity between Germans and Afrikaners, which could be traced as far back as the building of the Afrikaans language, could not be taken as a surprise. The existing strong cultural ties between the South African Government and the German seemed to be an encouraging factor.⁶⁰

2.2.4 English

South African English (SAE) is an English variety which bears in it the influence of all the other South Africa languages. The history of the development of English in South Africa can be studied from the socio-political view in three phases:

1. The enforcing of English as dominating language during the first occupation of the Cape by the British (1795 – 1802). This period was later on followed by the imperialistic colonial expansionism of the British in South Africa from 1806 until the Union of South Africa in 1910.
2. The period between 1910 to 1918 where English remained the official language with Afrikaans and Dutch playing second. From 1948, when Afrikaans as the main language of Apartheid dominated, the English language remained the language of power and on the other side the language of emancipation.
3. From the sixties the position of English as a language of emancipation was more and more entrenched. In the seventies, with the emergence of the Black Conscious Movement (BCM) in South Africa, English remained the language of both liberation and protest.

English was first brought to South Africa with the first occupation of the Cape by Britain in 1795 to 1802. After the Peace of Amiens of 1802, the British handed back the Cape to the Dutch from whom it had been taken in 1795. In 1806, during the Napoleonic Wars, Great Britain annexed the Cape for the second time. From there onwards, English developed as the language of dominance and power. In South Africa, like in all other British colonies. There was cultural oppression. At all levels of communication the native languages (African) were ignored and downplayed.⁶¹

In the missionary schools, which were responsible for the education of the Africans, African languages were banned. It was an offence for African children in those schools to communicate in African languages. English became the language of culture and social elevation for the natives. The British settlers

in South Africa unlike in other African British colonies were faced with the problem of the Dutch language as a rival. Because of the existing situation the colonial administrators became very strict on the question of English becoming a language of power. The language uniformity which was established between 1778-1870 by the Dutch settlers in the Cape was broken down. English and isiXhosa became the main languages of communication and education in the Cape, a role that was previously played by the Dutch language. In the religious field, the colonial government in the Cape remained intolerant on the question of language. In the vicinity of Cape Town and in the towns which were later on established, English became the language of trade and commerce. The Afrikaners, who were angered by the occupation of the British moved into the interior where their language remained “pure”⁶².

Sir Loring Cole in 1928, passed a law which was known as Ordinance No. 50, which put the slaves in the Cape on the same footing with whites. The freedom of the natives was asserted. On ideological grounds, all that which was established by the Dutch settlers in the Cape and the government in the Netherlands was broken. English then became the only language of education. The young Dutch who were now no longer in apposition to be taught in their own literature and language, were forced and integrated into the English culture and language. To add to this, the British colonial government in the Cape in 1820, brought the British settlers who occupied the whole Eastern Cape. These 1820 British settlers brought with them the English culture and language and the establishment of new towns which up to this date remain British in both language and culture. They remained like that, preserving their unity and culture.

Their language was heard in churches, in their schools and in all sectors of life in the Eastern Cape. Today, Rhodes University and the City of Grahamstown are still some of the most important strongholds of the British language in South Africa. The French Huguenots who had come to the Cape during the occupation of the Cape by the Dutch were already assimilated to the Dutch when the British took over the Cape in 1806. The German settlers who were brought to the Cape by Sir George Grey in 1857 had no chance to preserve their language and they were simply swallowed into

the English dominated culture of the Cape. Later on in the Eastern Cape, English became the only language of religion, sermons in the church being held only in that language.

The Anglicisation of the Cape was completed in 1853 when English became the only language of the parliament and the only language of the courts of law. From 1806, it was the intention of the British colonial government in the Cape to anglicise the Cape completely. In 1813, Sir John Cradock founded the *Bible and School Commission* (BSC) through which possibilities were investigated to make English the only language of the Church and School in the Cape. In the same year, the BSC received their funds straight from the colonial budget. Within the building of the English state subsidised schools, the Dutch schools whose fees were paid for by the parents, were forced to close down.

In the 1824 through the “*Report on the State and Prospects of the government schools*”, it was established that the government had succeeded in its plans to make English the only language of education. The non-English speakers in the rural areas were not only dissatisfied with the language problem but with the whole system of education which was solely based on the English education system which they were not conversant with. Teachers of English were offered very good salaries and most competent ones were encouraged by being offered extra bonuses. English schools concentrated their teaching mainly on reading grammar, legal terminology, legal literature and rote learning. It was only towards the end of the nineteenth century that the teaching of English literature was introduced in the teaching of the English language.⁶³

The Anglicisation policy of the British was very detrimental to the Dutch school children. In 1865, English was formally forced as the only language of education. As a result of this system the Dutch children had a high drop-out rate in the primary school level. The Dutch were now forced in all spheres of life to use English and they were now beginning to feel the strain – Adjustment to the new dispensation was a matter of must. Firstly, even if they understood no English they were not exempted from their duties as lay magistrates. Secondly, court – interpreters on whom they were dependant were “Coloureds” from whom loyalty to the British was always

expected. Because of these reasons, the Dutch were totally subjugated by the English language system and as I said before they were forced to learn English.⁶³ Proclamations, ordinances and Parliament decisions were published in both English and Dutch until 1853. But from 1853, all debates and discussions, journal, entries, minutes and proceedings of the legislature were to be in English⁶⁴.

English was also mainly used in the church services of the Dutch Reformed Church especially in the *Groote Kerke* in Cape Town. In 1829, the *South African College of Higher Education* was founded, and in all the courses English was the only medium of instruction. This College was in 1918 integrated into the University of Cape Town which is to this day predominantly English⁶⁵.

In 1843, Great Britain annexed the colony of Natal. Five years after the annexation, two English schools in Natal were opened in Pietermaritzburg and Durban. Half of the white population in Natal lived in these cities. From the beginning, English became the language of the majority of the Whites in Natal. In 1858, the governor of the Cape who was also responsible for the administration of Natal, called to life what he called the *Chief Central Board of Education* whose duties were to put education in Natal under the auspices of Cape Education which was now predominantly English. In 1879, the Board was replaced by a *Council of Education* which immediately, following the examples of the Cape imported English and Scottish teachers into Natal. In 1863, an important event took place in Natal, when famous Maritzburg High School was founded. English language became the language of instruction in all sectors of education in Natal from private schools, public schools and up to the university. All the schools were modelled according to the British public schools. Most of the British settlers in Natal came from the British upper middle class and they brought with them British culture. They were very conservative in outlook and the preservation of the English language became a very important task for all of them.⁶⁶

After the so-called discovery of gold in 1886, a huge number of British immigrants came to the Transvaal. Before the discovery of gold, the Afrikaner government of the Transvaal Republic under the leadership of Paul Kruger

resisted with great success the dominance of English in their schools. Most of the schools in the Transvaal were in a way on a 50 - 50 basis for both Dutch and English. Later Paul Kruger stood firmly against the Anglicisation policy of the British and as a result he decided to replace all the English schools in the Transvaal with Dutch schools. The English miners protested vehemently against his action and consequently the British government started to subsidise all the English schools in the Transvaal which were deliberately neglected by the Kruger government. Kruger also attempted to replace English teachers in the Transvaal with Dutch ones. In 1851, he imported teachers from Holland. In 1866 the *Volksraad* of the Transvaal founded a *General Commission for Education* whose work was to investigate the possibilities of bilingualism in schools.⁶⁷

Cecil Rhodes tried on many occasions without success to put the Afrikaner Republics (i.e. the Transvaal and Orange Free State) under the British flag. The struggle for power and linguistic domination continued until the outbreak of the Anglo-Afrikaner War in 1899. After the Anglo-Afrikaner War, English became the only official language in South Africa with Dutch playing second. English and Dutch became the official languages and later, in the twenties, were joined by Afrikaans. Irrespective of all this, English remains the most important language in South Africa until today. The function of English in South Africa surpasses that of all the other languages in South Africa.⁶⁸

Years after the foundation of the Union, English continued to function as a Lingua-Franca in almost all the cities in South Africa. It was spoken by almost all the white immigrants at that time, except fundamentalists of Afrikaner nationalism. In the industrial areas of South Africa, it was the language of trade and commerce. Even the cities of the Afrikaner Republics like Bloemfontein , Pretoria and Pietermaritzburg became British in language and way of life. For work seekers in the industrial areas , knowledge of English was important. These linguistics developments became a serious language-barrier for the Afrikaner workers and work-seekers. In 1912 , 85 % of government officials and civil servants were English speaking. Later on Afrikaans and Dutch were introduced but in real practice English was still dominating. It was only after

1925 when Afrikaans was allowed to become one of the official languages that slight differences were noticed.

Although there was segregation, there was a tendency amongst the missionary schools for Africans, to replace teaching in vernacular with English. In non-segregated schools the situation remained the same, that is, English continued its role as the medium of instruction. Some English segregationist and Afrikaners in Natal insisted that in the schools for Blacks vernacular should be a medium of instruction. They forced the government through petitions to define its stand on the issue. The Afrikaners, coming from the rural areas to the industrial cities where prospects for life were better, exerted a strong influence on government policy. These Afrikaners were forced by circumstance to look for work shoulder to shoulder with Africans whose knowledge of English was better than theirs. These Africans were a threat to them. Hence they raised an outcry for mother-tongue instruction in the African schools. When the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948, efforts were made to curb the influences of English in the Black schools.⁶⁹

After 1948, English speakers in South Africa, fearing language-nationalism of the Afrikaners were drawn closed and closer to the Africans for the survival of their language. The Africans also reacted more positively to English than before, although it is an undeniable fact that English was (and still is) an instrument of acculturation. It is also true that globally English was seen as the language of Imperialism. Whatever may be said about this language, within the South African context it remained the most important means of communication. After 1948, English assumed new roles in South Africa. It became the language of the white elite and also of the “progressive” black elite. It became a protest medium for both all the South African anti-Apartheid and anti-racist organisations. English was used as their medium of protest. It was the most used language in the political scene and it is through English that the international world registered resistance against the Afrikaner regime.

From 1912, up to today, English is the language of the African National Congress (ANC) and all the other political organisations who broke away from it. The ANC and the Pan

Africanist Congress (PAC), who had observer missions in the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), chose English as their language. It is through this language that the whole international community and the whole of Africa could be reached. It has both international and Pan African functions. English on the other hand is the second language of the middle-class of Africans who do not use English as their mother tongue in South Africa. Inside South Africa the forces of the BCM, Azanian People Organisation (AZAPO), United Democratic Front (UDF) and the National Forum (NF) were still operating. English was the only language used, in the public speeches and also in their written documents and literature. Most of South Africa's outstanding black writers and poets like Ezekiel Mphahlele, Dennis Brutus, Alex La Guma, Lewis Nkosi, Siphiso Sipamla, Mirriam Tladi and many others, write in English. In the late sixties when the South African Students Organisation (SASO) broke away from the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) it was decided that English, and only English, would be the language of the newly formed political organisation. Throughout the seventies, young writers and poets emerged and never before was English so popularized as in this era in the South African political arena. Through *Staffrider*, a monthly cultural magazine, new works of poetry and other forms of fiction were published. This magazine is closely connected with the Department of English, of the University of the Witwatersrand. Explaining the position of English as an official language of both SASO and BPC (Black Peoples Convention), Steve Biko had this to say:

“The point at issue is that we have something like ten languages. We cannot speak all ten languages at one meeting. We have to choose a common language.”⁷⁰

The common language referred to by Steve Biko was English and even today the situation is still the same in the BCM. Steve Biko further explained how English as a foreign language can help in the development of an inferiority complex amongst blacks both in the political and education areas:

“An example of this, for instance, was again during the old days of NUSAS

where whites students would be discussing something that you , as a black man , had experienced in your day-today-life , but your powers of articulation were not as good as theirs You may be intelligent but not as articulate. You are forced into a subservient role of having to say “yes” to what they are saying , even when talking about what you have experienced , and which they have not experienced , because you cannot express it so well. This in a sense also inculcates in may black students a sense of inadequacy. You tend to think that it is not just a matter of language. “⁷¹

Steve went further to explain that : “ In the learning process, this is what really happens. Because of language difficulties one cannot grasp enough and therefore cannot articulate enough. When one is side by side with people who are more articulate than oneself, one tends to think that it is because they are more intelligent.”⁷² When Steve Biko was making this statement, he was not in any way advocating the rejection of that language but merely stating a fact , created by the abnormal situation the black people are forced to live in , in that country. In actual fact , the English language is being forced by the racist regime to assume this role.

Throughout this article we have realised that none of the indigenous languages has emerged as a lingua-franca in a country where a number of indigenous languages are widely spoken. None of these languages has been elevated to the status of an official language. Local languages remain established in the home domain and are employed for social communication. Where these languages are used in the educational field, this is done with intentions of promoting and entrenching the Apartheid-system (i.e. where they play roles of official languages in the Bantustans). Multi-lingualism is a clearly established feature of the South African language situation. It is also clear that English will remain the only language in South Africa which will be effective in all spheres of life.⁷³

Whilst it is a difficult task to predict the future language situation in South Africa, Afrikaans will remain in use in South Africa for a considerable time - if not forever. This is all the more likely in as much as Afrikaans is the

mother tongue of most Coloureds and Afrikaners. Another point which is becoming a reality is that some Indian communities, for practical purposes, are beginning to speak Afrikaans as their second language. One more reason is that a lot of official documents and other papers in the South African libraries and other centres of information are in Afrikaans and therefore Afrikaans will remain a pre-requisite in the learning process in the country.

It will be remembered that South Africa has to date capitalized on and exploited the existence of various languages both in Namibia and South Africa. It has deliberately magnified minor differences and even manufactured others. It has used language differences to create ethnic divisiveness. It has attempted to drive the people to focus to lingua-tribal affiliations and differences instead of a national unity. A policy, which is meant to isolate the black people from the outside world. According to the United Nations , in *Towards a Language Policy for Namibia* a list of eight possible criteria is offered which would lead broadly from national to an international perspective of requirements for an official language. In this treatment, I propose the same criteria and applying them to the current linguistic situation :⁷⁴

1. The language must be a unifying tool
2. The language chosen should be wholly accepted by the people by the people of South Africa. (As entrenched in our constitution) A language that has positive rather than negative associations - that would mean avoiding languages that may be associated with oppression.
3. The language chosen should be the one South Africans have some familiarity with.
4. The question of feasibility should always be in the minds of those involved in the implementation and planning of a chosen language. Are the materials books and programmes in that language readily available ? Are there enough professional people trained in that language or will there be a need for professional expatriates in that language or will expatriates

- fluent and well-trained be available for recruitment in the chosen language.
5. The language should facilitate bonds between South Africa and the other African countries , especially the OAU (now known as the AU).
 6. The language should facilitate wider communication in the country itself and outside.
 7. It should facilitate and harness the resources of modern technology and science. South Africans of all races would in this way be made to receive and contribute to the international world of science and technology.
 8. It should be able to be used in international political arenas like the United Nations and Organisation for African Unity (Now AU).

English unlike all the other languages spoken in South Africa is the only one qualifying in all the criteria cited above. The choice of English as the main official language seems to be well supported. As to how English will be promoted to such status without causing any friction , would be left to future language-planners of the county . John Spencer , in his Namibian language planning paper maintained :

“ It is rare for language planning to be able to begin in advance of the opportunity for implementing it “ ⁷⁵

It should also be borne in mind of such future language planners that a choice of a western language like English does not mean that all the linguistic problems will be solved, for experience indicated that if is so , questions of potential or existing multi-lingualism may end up being shelved because the use and development of national languages are deemed, in terms of priorities , to be of secondary importance.⁷⁶

In South Africa , where racial integration has been wanting for centuries now , a clear view is needed of the perceived roles of *indigenous* and *imposed* languages and their relationship as the nation aspires integration . As Spencer warns :

“ Finally it is helpful to remember that while language planners may propose , the language user ultimately disposes. Planning for language means planning for social behaviour , albeit in the public ... not merely “ tools” for communication ; they are also means to personal self-fulfilment , and symbols of individual and group identity. Language , politics ought always therefore to be socially and culturally sensitive – and plans for language use in a complex , developing society need to have built in them some reasonable degree of flexibility, and where possible some options which allow for individual choice”⁷⁷

After 1994, the language situation in South Africa changed drastically. It is important to note that we now constitutionally have eleven official languages e.g. *English, Afrikaans, isiXhosa, isiZulu, SiSwati, isiNdebele, Sesotho, Setswana, Sepedi, xiTsonga and TshiVenda* .In addition thereto, the constitution has made specific provision for the protection of the other languages which do not fall under the eleven languages mentioned above, for example, *Khoi-San, Hebrew, Gujrati, Tamil, Hindu, Urdu, German, French* and any other minority languages. The *Pan South African Language Board* (PANSALB) has been established in terms of the constitution to be a watchdog of all these languages and their development.⁷⁸

It should also be noted that the nine African languages which were in the past made to hold an inferior status have now been elevated to be on par with English and Afrikaans as official languages. Although Afrikaans is still maintaining its status of an official language, its speakers feel that it is being marginalised by the government. One of the reasons given is the enforcement of English in former Afrikaans institutions. The English language is by far the most important in the country and the only language that can be used for international and Pan-African communication. The future of African languages seems to be bleak in the sense that most African elite seem to be involved in a language shift were English is becoming their home language. There is a great threat that in the near future there will be

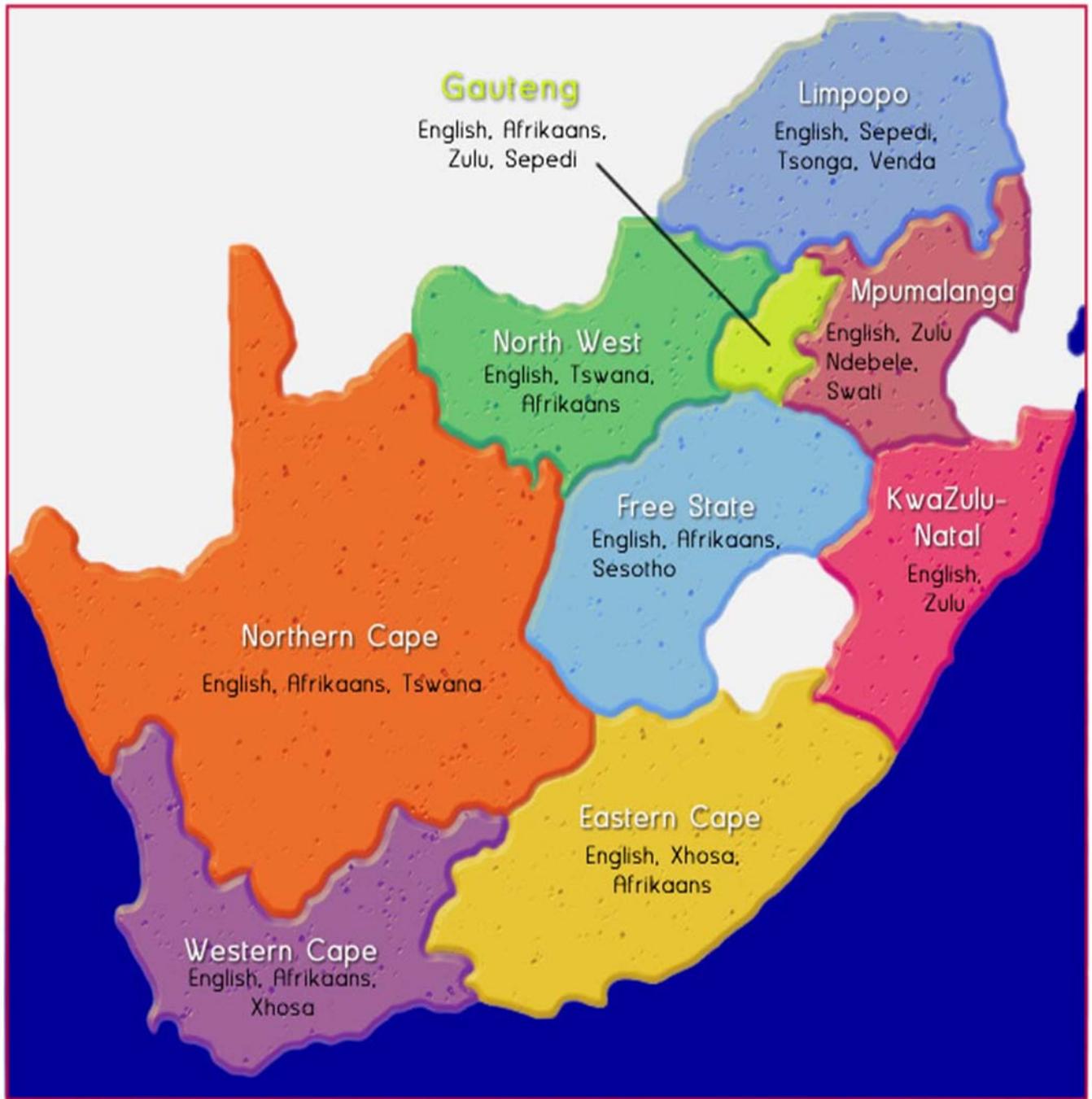
a generation which will not be able to speak let alone communicate in African languages. The South African language planners (PANSALB) and the government are progressively making efforts to preserve these languages.

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South African Language Map

(www.multilingua.co.za)



Source: www.multilingua.co.za

The map illustrates the geographic distribution of languages in South Africa

Total Population Figure for South Africa - 44 819 778 (National Census 2001 Collected by Department of Statistics)

Home Language	Eastern Cape	Free State	Gauteng	KwaZulu-Natal	Limpopo	Mpumalanga	Northern cape	North-West	Western Cape	South Africa
Afrikaans	9.3	11.9	14.4	1.5	2.3	6.2	68.0	7.5	55.3	13.3
English	3.6	1.2	12.5	13.6	0.5	1.7	2.5	1.2	19.3	8.2
IsiNdebele	0.1	0.4	1.9	0.2	1.5	12.1	0.1	1.3	0.0	1.6
IsiXhosa	83.4	9.1	7.6	2.3	0.3	1.5	6.2	5.8	23.7	17.6
IsiZulu	0.8	5.1	21.5	80.9	0.7	26.4	0.3	2.5	0.2	23.8
Sepedi	0.0	0.3	10.7	0.1	52.1	10.8	0.1	4.2	0.0	9.4
Sesotho	2.4	64.4	13.1	0.7	1.3	3.7	1.1	5.7	0.7	7.9
Setswana	0.0	6.8	8.4	0.1	1.6	2.7	20.8	65.4	0.1	8.2
SiSwati	0.1	0.3	1.4	0.1	1.1	30.8	0.1	0.6	0.0	2.7
Tshivenda	0.0	0.1	1.7	0.0	15.9	0.2	0.0	0.5	0.0	2.3
Xitsonga	0.0	0.3	5.7	0.0	22.4	3.8	0.0	4.7	0.0	4.4
other	0.2	0.2	1.0	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.7	0.6	0.4	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

This table illustrates the number of speakers in figures and how they are distributed from province to province and nationally.

NOTES

¹ It should also be noted that, the statistics given above do not reflect the population at the time of writing. They reflect the population figures as stated in the table above. These figures exclude the estimated 3.5 million Xhosa, 1.6 million Venda who lived in the former “independent” TBVC states Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and Ciskei. These are actual numbers in the “South African National Census – 1985”, South African Statistical Service, 1985.

² To avoid some confusion, the term “Bantu” here is used as a scientific word denoting the language family into which these languages are classified. The South African political meaning of the word has nothing to do with it.

³ The word “Coloured” has been used to refer to people of mixed origin. The Author prefers to include in the term “Blacks” people of mixed ancestry.

⁴ D Woods, Biko, p.219.

⁵ Ibid. at p.129.

⁶ This is slowly becoming a thing of the past. The Xhosa now seem to be more attached to their own

language.

⁷ G Fortune , A Practical Ndebele Dictionary (2ndEd) , p.3.

⁸ M L Snail , The antecedents and the emergence of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa – its ideology and organisation , p.55

⁹ G Fortune , A Practical Ndebele Dictionary (2ndEd) , p.3.

¹⁰ For a detailed historical survey of the Ndebele of Northern Transvaal see the introduction in D. Ziervogel

“ A Grammar of Northern Ndebele “ , p. 3 -11

¹¹ Ibhayibili Elincwele , 1978 : Introduction

¹² E C Geraldine , African Scriptures , Vol.2 Mpama-Zulu Indexes , A bibliography of African Scriptures in African Languages , p.455 - 456

¹³ M L Snail , The antecedents and the emergence of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa – its ideology and organisation , p.58

¹⁴ Ibid at p.59

¹⁵ Ibid at p.60.

¹⁶ Ibid at p.60.

¹⁷ E C Geraldine , African Scriptures , Vol.2 Mpama-Zulu Indexes , A bibliography of African Scriptures in African Languages , p. 685-688 .

¹⁸ M L Snail , The antecedents and the emergence of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa – its ideology and organisation , p 61

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ G Wilkes, Bantu Language Studies , in “ Language & Communication Studies in South Africa ” , p. 108

²¹ Ibid. at p. 109.

²² W.A Lanham , An outline History of Languages of Southern Africa , in “Language & Communication Studies in South Africa “ , Foreword

²³ G Wilkes , Bantu Language Studies , in “ Language & Communication Studies in South Africa ” , p. 110

²⁴ M L Snail , The antecedents and the emergence of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa – its ideology and organisation , p.63

²⁵ Ibid at p.64.

²⁶ G Wilkes , Bantu Language Studies , in “ Language & Communication Studies in South Africa ” , p. 110.

²⁷ A.L Behr , New Perspectives in South African Education , p 165

²⁸ Ibid at p. 171.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Troup F, South Africa : An Historical Introduction , p.294.

³¹ At the beginning of the last century many African newspapers appeared in African languages these newspapers were not owned by the ANC as an organization but individuals within it. The leading personalities in the founding of these newspapers were Sol Plaatje, Dube and Jabavu. Mafikeng , Kuruman , Lovedale and Durban became the centres of their printing and publication. Again here, the missionaries played a role in financing them and this also led to the establishment of publishing houses for African literature : poetry , novles and short-stories. For a period of about three decades these newspapers played an important role in the promotion of African nationalism.

³² J Dunjwa-Blaiberg , Sprache und Politik in Sued-Afrika , Stellung und Funktion der Sprachen unter dem

Apartheid Systyem, p.96

³³ Ibid. at p 98.

³⁴ WA Lanham , An outline History of Languages of Southern Africa in “ Language & Communication Studies in South Africa ” , p.25

³⁵ DJ Cole , Fanagalo and Bantu languages , in “ South African Studies ” , Vol. 12 , p.1-2

³⁶ Ibid. at p.51

³⁷ H Kloss , Language Policy : Problems of language policy in South Africa , pg. 26

* Authors Note : Whilst the majority of the so-called “Coloureds” use Afrikaans as their mother tongue, the situation in a predominantly English speaking Natal is different. The so-called Coloreds in that in that Province have English as their mother tongue. The uniqueness of the situation is historical. The first Europeans who came to Natal as traders and missionaries were of British origin. A good example is that of a Scottish trader called John Dunn, who came to Natal during Shaka’s reign. He was given land and many amaZulu women by the King of amaZulu.

³⁸ H Kloss , Language Policy : Problems of language policy in South Africa , pg. 27

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid at p.28.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid at p.29.

⁴⁴ Ibid at p.30.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid at p.11.

⁴⁷ F Meer , Black Nationalism - Homeland Nationalism and South African Nationaism , p.30.

⁴⁸ H Kloss , Language Policy : Problems of language policy in South Africa , p. 29 .

⁴⁹ Ibid. at p.35.

⁵⁰ L Dunjwa-Blaiberg , Sprache und Politik in Sued-Afrika , Stellung und Funktion der Sprachen unter dem

Apartheid Systyem, p. 60 .

⁵¹ H Kloss , Language Policy : Problems of language policy in South Africa , p. 19 .

- ⁵² Ibid .
- ⁵³ H Kloss , Language Policy : Problems of language policy in South Africa , p. 20.
- ⁵⁴ M L Snail , The antecedents and the emergence of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa – its ideology and organisation , p.80
- ⁵⁵ Ibid.
- ⁵⁶ H Kloss , Language Policy : Problems of language policy in South Africa , p. 40.
- ⁵⁷ Ibid , p.38 .
- ⁵⁸ M L Snail , The antecedents and the emergence of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa – its ideology and organisation , p.82.
- ⁵⁹ H Kloss , Language Policy : Problems of language policy in South Africa , p. 35.
- ⁶⁰ Ibid. at p. 36.
- ⁶¹ J Dunjwa-Blaiberg , Sprache und Politik in Sued-Afrika , Stellung und Funktion der Sprachen unter dem Apartheid Systeem , p.102.
- ⁶² Ibid at , p.105.
- ⁶³ M L Snail , The antecedents and the emergence of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa – its ideology and organisation , p.86.
- ⁶⁴ W.A Lanham , An outline History of Languages of Southern Africa , in “Language & Communication Studies in South Africa “ , p.138.
- ⁶⁵ Ibid at , p. 139.
- ⁶⁶ M L Snail , The antecedents and the emergence of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa – its ideology and organisation , p.87.
- ⁶⁷ J Dunjwa-Blaiberg , Sprache und Politik in Sued-Afrika , Stellung und Funktion der Sprachen unter dem Apartheid Systeem , p.131.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid at , p. 132.
- ⁶⁹ M L Snail , The antecedents and the emergence of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa – its ideology and organisation , p. 89.
- ⁷⁰ D Woods , Biko , p.129 .
- ⁷¹ Ibid at , p.129.
- ⁷² Ibid.
- ⁷³ M L Snail , The antecedents and the emergence of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa – its ideology and organisation , p.91.
- ⁷⁴ N K Dugal , “ Toward a Language Policy for Namibia “ in *United Nations Institute for Namibia – Namibia Studies Series No.4* , p. 38 - 39 .
- ⁷⁵ J Spencer , Economic and Technological Implications for Language Planning , MS .
- ⁷⁶ N K Dugal , “ Toward a Language Policy for Namibia “ in *United Nations Institute for Namibia – Namibia Studies Series No.4* , p. 52.
- ⁷⁷ J Spencer , Economic and Technological Implications for Language Planning , p. 8.
- ⁷⁸ The South African Constitution - Act 108 of 1996 , Chapter 1