

AFRIKAANS IN DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA
A SURVEY OF SCHOLARLY CONTRIBUTIONS
AND TENDENTIOUS REPORTING REGARDING
THE STATUS OF AFRIKANS AND THE OTHER
OFFICIAL LANGUAGES OF SOUTH AFRICA

2001

FRANESH KHALWAN



A0302807A

Afrikaans in Democratic South Africa

**A survey of scholarly contributions and tendentious reporting regarding
the status of Afrikaans and the other official languages of South Africa**

By

Pramesh Khalawan

A dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the Requirements for the degree of

D. Litt in Communication Science

University of Zululand

Durban Campus

2002

Promoter: Prof. Rembrandt Klopper

Department of Communication Science

University of Zululand (Durban Campus)

External Examiners:

Prof. F.A. Ponelis (University of Stellenbosch)

Dr. J.A. Smit (University of Durban-Westville)

Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that the contents in this thesis
Constitute my own original work, which has not
Previously been presented to another institution,
Either in part or whole for the purposes of
Obtaining a degree.

R. Halawan

SIGNATURE

28/02/2003

DATE

University of Zululand

Abstract

AFRIKAANS IN DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

A survey of scholarly contributions and tendentious reporting regarding the status of Afrikaans and the other official languages of South Africa

By

Pramesh Khalawan

In this study I looked at the issue of the Afrikaans language, which is most often approached from a position of strong vested interest, either in support or against it. This study was intended as an intellectual response to an intensely debated issue. It is a survey of scholarly and tendentious reporting regarding the status of Afrikaans and the other official languages of South Africa.

As we move into the 21st century the Afrikaans language has once more moved into a position of status, not for ideological purposes but for practical communication. Previously it was associated with the struggle for survival, and with an image of kitchen patios. As it takes its rightful place in our multilingual country, one in which the playing fields are levelled for all indigenous languages, major processes in society will determine its future and to what extent Afrikaans would function as an African language. For this to happen the language has to create a survival niche for itself, on behalf of the other nine indigenous languages. As one of the official languages it needs to create a space beyond hegemony and social legislation. By ensuring that it is always 'ahead and to the side' (rather than 'on the side') of English and the other nine languages, the Afrikaans language will experience a growth phase continuing to interrogate its own traditions

where people are empowered to use the language of their choice. The Afrikaans language must not be continually punished for its perceived complicity in apartheid politics but should be protected and advanced with an overarching structure of multilingualism.

The downgrading of Afrikaans has not affected the language adversely; on the contrary it has triggered stronger support from influential persons and the rest of the population. It has found a new identity and status alongside the other ten official languages. Each of these languages should be encouraged to flourish with political will and patience. Afrikaans has a significant role to play in the 'African Renaissance' and remain an important language of all South Africans.

Its role as a South African language can be redefined in terms of the constitution. In the words of President Thabo Mbeki, "when the sun rises, it must show a rebirth of South Africa, driven by the enormous talents of all our people, and made possible by the knowledge and realisation that we share a common destiny".

Writing conventions

I wish to draw the attention of the reader to the following conventions that I am following in this study:

I am using the abbreviated Harvard style of referencing, for example:

Limit the use of footnotes

1. In consultation with my promoter I consciously tracked down relevant information relating to verbal and nonverbal small group and public communication, and included the relevant material in my thesis, accompanied by the website address (URL) of the websites where I found the material. Such website addresses are included in my thesis, both for verification purposes, and for acknowledging the sources of the information that I have drawn together. An example of a typical website address is:

([Http://: www.ru.ac_ra/affiliates/dsae/MAVEN.Html](http://www.ru.ac_ra/affiliates/dsae/MAVEN.Html)).

In instances where authorship could be established for website contents, or for an electronic document downloaded from websites, the author is given, followed by the website address as in: Nodoba, G.D. Many Cultures, Different Cultures. (<http://www.geocities.com/culdif/nodoba.htm>). 26/01/2002

Dedication

This study is dedicated to
My Mother,
For educating me
So that I could face the challenges of life
And for being the little voice in my head.

Acknowledgements

I wish to extend my honest gratitude to the following persons:

Prof. Rembrandt Klopper, my supervisor, for his invaluable knowledge, constructive guidance and endless patience throughout this research study.

My family: Shano, Tashvir and Yashica for your sacrifice, encouragement and support throughout this research.

The National Research Foundation (NRF) for the bursary, which made this study possible.

All those whose generousities of spirit and expertise have helped me complete and present this dissertation.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1.....	10
Introduction	10
Overview of Chapters	10
Conclusion.....	11
Chapter 2.....	12
Statement of problem & research procedure.....	12
Introduction	12
Statement of problems	12
Aims.....	13
Research methodology.....	13
The envisaged value of my research.....	14
Chapter 3.....	15
Language in Society	15
Introduction	15
Language And Culture.....	15
Language And Identity	17
Language And Political Ideology.....	18
Language And Society.....	19
Language Attitudes.....	24
Language Death.....	25
Language Planning	25
Language Prestige.....	28
Language Shift	29
Vitality Of Language.....	31
Conclusion.....	32
Chapter 4.....	33
The rise of English as a global language	33
Introduction	33
The rise of English over the past two millenia.....	33
The privileged position of English in South Africa.....	37
Conclusion.....	40
Chapter 5.....	42
The Rise of Afrikaans as a local language.....	42
Introduction	42
The development of Afrikaans between the 17 th century Cape settlement and the Anglo-Boer War at the end of the 19 th century	43
Post-Anglo-Boer War movements to rehabilitate the status of Afrikaans.....	53
Conclusion.....	63
Chapter 6.....	66
Afrikaans in Democratic South Africa	66
Introduction	66
Politicians On The Future Of Afrikaans	68
Afrikaner perspectives on the future of Afrikaans	72
Promotion Of Afrikaans In The New Political Dispensation.....	77
Sympathetic reporting on Afrikaans in the local South African English press.....	81

The Language Issue At the University of Stellenbosch.....	90
Conclusion.....	95
Chapter 7.....	97
Official languages in democratic South Africa.....	97
Introduction.....	97
Afrikaans enters democratic South Africa burdened with the legacy of Apartheid.....	97
English in Democratic South Africa.....	100
Afrikaans, English and the indigenous languages of democratic South Africa.....	103
Conclusions.....	114
References.....	118
Authored References.....	118
Authored references from websites.....	122
Non-authored references from websites.....	124
Newspapers & magazines.....	125
Index.....	127

Chapter 1

Introduction

In this chapter I will outline the general content of this study for prospective readers. I will briefly indicate what the focus of each chapter is. This chapter can be thought of as a roadmap for the reader.

Overview of Chapters

In chapter 2 I will identify the problems that prompted this study, the aims that were formulated to resolve them, as well as the research methodology that I employed.

In chapter 3, I will briefly outline the role of language in society. I will carry out my study, based on the key concepts identified in chapter 3. The purpose of this chapter and the subsequent chapters are to set the stage against which I shall reach my conclusions.

In chapter 4, I will look at the rise of English as a global language. The purpose of this chapter is to outline the privileged position of English in South Africa.

In chapter 5, I will look at the rise of Afrikaans as a local language. The purpose of this chapter is to trace the development of Afrikaans in South Africa.

In chapter 6 I will look at Afrikaans in democratic South Africa. The purpose of this chapter is to outline the future of Afrikaans and its fight for survival in institutions of higher learning.

In chapter 7, I look at language in democratic South Africa. The purpose of this chapter is to observe changes in language behaviour in South Africa.

Conclusion

The above is an outline of my study that I here present as a roadmap to the reader. In the next chapter I present the statement of the problem to be analysed in this study and the research methodology that will be used.

Chapter 2

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM & RESEARCH PROCEDURE

INTRODUCTION

The status of Afrikaans as one of the official languages of South Africa has been at issue since the 1976 Soweto riots that heralded the beginnings of a populist challenge of Afrikaner control of the organs of state. It is common knowledge that the status of Afrikaans as language of learning was a central issue during the uprising because it was seen as being emblematic of Afrikanerdom.

Since the beginning of the new democratic order in 1994 English has become the *de facto lingua franca* of South Africa, thereby relegating Afrikaans to a language with equal status as 10 other indigenous official languages.

Prior to the implementation of the eleven official languages policy in 1994, Afrikaans along with English, was commonly used as a higher domain language—a language used for the drafting of legislation, as language of record in parliament and the courts of the country, a language of literature, learning and scientific research.

The question arises whether the above-mentioned relegation of Afrikaans to being a *de facto* non-higher domain language is based on principled constitutional and cultural reasoning or on political and economic expediency.

STATEMENT OF PROBLEMS

This dissertation is a survey of scholarly and tendentious reporting regarding the status of Afrikaans and the other official languages of South Africa against the background of the eleven official languages policy enshrined in the new South African

constitution. There are four substantive problems regarding the status of Afrikaans as a higher domain language that will be analysed:

1. The relegated status of Afrikaans, which in the previous political dispensation attained the status as language of record;
2. The impact of market forces on the status of Afrikaans, including the *de facto* status of English as language of global communication in the emerging new world order, popularly known as “the global village”;
3. The impact of ideological and economic imperatives on the status of Afrikaans as expressed by influential persons;
4. The future functional status of Afrikaans in relation to the other indigenous languages.

AIMS

1. To analyse factors that led to the elevation of Afrikaans as official language with higher functions in Apartheid South Africa and those that led to the relegated status of Afrikaans in post-Apartheid South Africa;
2. To determine the impact of market forces on the status of Afrikaans as a higher domain language;
3. To determine the impact of ideological imperatives on the status of Afrikaans as a higher domain language;
4. To characterise the future functional status of Afrikaans in relation to the other indigenous languages.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

My study constitutes a critical analysis of the redefined status of Afrikaans in post-Apartheid South Africa, based on a comprehensive survey of scholarly analyses of Afrikaans, the *de jure* relationship between Afrikaans and the indigenous South African languages against the backdrop of constitutional provisions for 11 official languages in

post-Apartheid South Africa, the de facto relationship between English and the other 10 official languages of South Africa, as well as reports in the print media on these matters.

THE ENVISAGED VALUE OF MY RESEARCH

The value of the research will lie in its documenting the present public debate around the status of Afrikaans as higher domain language in relation to the other ten official languages, in foregrounding the survey of scholarly contributions and tendentious reporting in this regard and in determining the impact that language policy planning and implementation have on social and cultural change in South Africa. The implementation of language policy can shed light on important political agendas and the actual process of political change.

Chapter 3

LANGUAGE IN SOCIETY

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I focus on the changing dynamics of language as a means of communication that provides a rationale for the study of languages. I begin by quoting Neville Alexander. -

An English-only, or even an English – mainly, policy necessarily condemns most people, and thus the country as a whole, to a permanent state of mediocrity, since people are unable to be spontaneous, creative and self-confident if they cannot use their first language

Neville Alexander – “Where English can Serve but not Empower”

LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

Herbert (1992) sees language as one of the indispensable and universal features of the cultural systems of all societies. The centrality of language in culture and social systems is such that it has come to be seen as an evolutionary and structural prerequisite for human interaction.

Mangena (Sunday Times, 22 September 2002) maintains that our cultures are inextricably bound together by our languages. He goes on to state that we cannot be our most creative, productive and imaginative if we forget our languages. When you suffocate the language of a people, you also smother their customs, rituals, music and dances. Because different people around the world speak different languages, have their

own music and manner of dress, culture also gives us our identity. Identity is important for the individuals, families, communities and nations alike.

Giles cited in Muysken et al (1988:11) maintains that language is not only an instrument for communication of messages. This becomes especially clear in multilingual communities where various groups have their own language. With its language a group distinguishes itself. Its language transmits the cultural norms and values of a group. Group feelings are emphasized by using the group's own language, and members of the out-group are excluded from its internal transactions. Therefore it is a common assumption that languages carry social meanings or social connotations. In Deprez et al (2000:16) language is not only an essential component of culture but also serves as a vehicle for the exchange of ideas and information. As a cultural component language rights are intrinsically related to a minority's right to identity.

Du Plessis et al (1999:34) quoting Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, "From the cultural values 'springs a community's consciousness; it's world and lifestyle, the collective and individual self-image of its members and their identity as people who look at themselves and their relationships to the universe in a certain way. Language serves as a vehicle to express their consciousness'. " Let us rather build a language with which all South Africans can identify, because it will be based on values, norms and a people's language will usher in a new day when all of us, workers, young people, black and white, will speak with one mind and in one language after the tragic fragmentation caused by apartheid." (Du Plessis: 1999:41)

Wade (Sunday Times: 29 September 2002) points out that instead of seeing languages as a mystical force enabling the survival of static cultures, it is more useful to see them pragmatically as tools to allow people to communicate with each other.

LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

Willemsse (1992:5) argues that language is a prime marker of an individual's identity. It is a powerful means of claiming or disclaiming association. Herbert (1992) aptly suggests that language is central in the ascription of a common identity to individuals and groups of people.

According to Arbeit (1997), identity is a bridge between culture and language. It is important because we communicate our identity to others and we learn through communication. National identity is a set of views that a community, considering it to be a nation, holds about itself. The elite groups of the society establish these beliefs through an ideology that gains support in the wider population.

Wardhaugh (1987:1) maintains that it is a well attested historical fact that languages are born and die and experience periods of ascendancy and decline. Today, some languages appear to be prospering: they are acquiring many new speakers and extending their influence far beyond their original bounds; however, others appear to be in retreat before the advance of rivals who may eventually overwhelm them. People seem now to be more conscious than they once were of the importance of languages in daily living. The emotions and competition surrounding language survival are associated with the fact that language is ideology and culture bound and often "territorial" in usage.

Ager (1997:26) holds the view that, if language is a means of expressing and symbolising the society in which an individual lives, it is a short step to believing that the only form that society can take is that represented through its language, and, in the opposite sense, that a specific language can represent only one form of human society. The identity of a society, of the individuals within it, and of the way they think, is thus

determined by their language; and consequently, every language and its set of meanings is unique.

Language is seen as an integral part of a group's identity and the identity of the individual within the group. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985:236) state that when a group's identity is threatened, they may make claims about the social importance of maintaining or resurrecting 'their' language.

Crystal (1997:115) argues that language is the most immediate and universal symbol of an individual's identity. People have a natural wish to use their own mother tongue, to see it survive and grow, and they do not take kindly when the language of another culture is imposed on them.

Ngubane (Focus: 2002) articulates the fact that mother tongue instruction is important for the preservation of a language and traditions because a linguistic minority cannot hold on to its identity unless the use of its language for educational purposes is guaranteed.

LANGUAGE AND POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

Grillo (1989:196) states that language is seen as an important vehicle for the transmission of ideology, as something through which ideology is embodied, and in which, it is embedded.

The impact of political ideologies is also another factor that influences language-spread. For example, the persistence of neo-colonialism has entrenched the dependency that goes along with the choice of a particular language. Long after the dissolution of many colonial empires many nations are still tied to their linguistic influence.

Hodge et al (1979) states that language is given to the individual by the society in which he or she lives. It is a key instrument in socialisation, and the means whereby society forms and permeates the individual's consciousness.

The problem of how to deal with ideological pressures of the past is felt by former colonial continents such as Africa. African leaders are confronted with the serious dilemma of whether to maintain the precarious status quo with all its drawbacks to the quest for equity or whether to identify a language of historic importance to the country that can be modernised and spread. But other alternatives it has had to grapple with are whether one or more of the indigenous languages should be developed and given some preferred status, or whether preference should be accorded to a widespread second language, one that is not necessarily European but linked to trade. What could emerge is a pidgin or creole form of a language, which develops its own character.

Phaswana (1998:30) believes that language is an empowering tool that gives people from different backgrounds equal opportunities to meaningfully express and communicate their ideas.

Wardhaugh maintains (1983) that language is a powerful tool of both social control and political identity. Different groups in society will attempt to control use of that tool. The majority group see it as a means of bringing minorities to heel into the fold. Minorities see it as a means of preserving what collective rights and powers they have.

LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY

Language is a major means of communication between people and is one of the identifying characteristics of a country. Weinstein (1990:11) maintains that a language, before being a means of communication, is a way of thinking, of belonging to a community and therefore of existence and creation. According to Herald Comment

(Sunday Tribune, 21 November 1993), languages are more than a means for efficient communication. They are the glue, which binds a people with its culture, traditions and past. Each language is the result of centuries of refinement and evolution. Each one has its unique powers of description and beauty. As any multilingualist knows, each language is able to give unique expressions to thoughts and concepts, feelings and phenomena that no other can capture in quite the same way. Pennycook (1998), citing Ndebele (1987), states that the problems of society will also be the problems of the predominant language of that society. It is the carrier of its perceptions, its attitudes, and its goals, for through it, the speakers absorb entrenched attitudes. Mnguni (2002) states that language is a guide to our social reality, and that all societies in the world, consciously or unconsciously, are built upon the language of their groups. Prinsloo (1993) quoting Motau states that language may be defined as a medium of communication between humans in relation to other humans, and to their environment. The possession of a language is essential to the maintenance of group or community identity.

Muller on website (<http://www.Litnet.co.za>) states that it is commonly believed that by the beginning of the 21st Century (that is three years ago) at least half of the world's 6 000 languages would be extinct. According to Ostler, as cited by Muller, on website (<http://www.Litnet.co.za>) languages become extinct twice as fast as other threatened mammal species and four times faster than threatened bird species. Moreover languages become extinct for the same reason that bird and mammal species do: their habitat is threatened. In case of languages it happens by commercially, politically and technologically aggressive languages.

In the words of ex-president, Nelson Mandela (2001), language is the highest manifestation of social unity in the history of mankind and it is the inherent right of each group of people to use its language without restriction.

Every era or civilization, in conformity with the whole of its knowledge, its beliefs, and its ideology, has responded differently, and has seen language in relation to the matrices, which constitute that civilization. Up until the eighteenth century the Christian era had a theological view of language and investigated above all the problem of its origin, or strictly speaking, the universal rules of its logic. The nineteenth century, dominated by historian, considered language and development, change, or evolution through the ages. Today, views of languages as system and the problems of the functioning of this system predominate. Therefore, in order to understand language, we must follow the train of thought that, through the ages and even before the constitution of linguistics as a specific science, outlined the different visions of language. (Kristen: 1989:5)

Being allowed to use language is a human right and a basic need in life. Marais on website (<http://www.Litnet.co.za>), states that it enables humans to acquire the most basic resources. Language in society is a basic tool for human survival, for development and advancement. People interact, through language, with their own world at social, cultural, political, religious or economic levels. Language makes it possible for people to cooperate, share ideas and reach consensus and understanding so that they are able to work towards common goals or objectives.

Lemmer (1995:34) citing Ovando (1989) states that language is a crucial means of gaining access to important knowledge and skills. It is key to cognitive development and can promote or impede scholastic success.

Acceptance of one's language is a concrete way of showing acceptance of other peoples' humanity. Accepting the language of others means accepting their cultures and equality. It is in essence giving people their right to hear and to be heard in their language.

Weinstein (1990:3) states that for many reasons language tends itself as one of the most important distinguishing symbols of groups, and many people around the world are convinced that choice of their language as a symbol of political identity and an instrument in schools, the media, and the civil service will improve their material and political well-being and their place on the scale of regard.

Language, any language in society, represents power. Nodoba quoting the president of Aazpo, Mosibudi Mangena (at www.geocities.com/culdif/nodoba.htm) states:

Language, just like knowledge, is power. If you take away or cripple the language of a people, you take away their power to interact with their situation effectively.

Mangena posits the view that any language has a dual character: it is both a means of communication and a carrier of culture. Language implicitly enables people in society to convey messages to each other and plays the role of a window through which members of society can view the world and themselves. Participatory democracy (Sunday Times: 22 September 2002) cannot be built anywhere without effective communication with the general population through the languages they understand best.

According to an unidentified author in Mail & Guardian, 23 June 2000, language is the lifeblood of culture and nationhood. It is the most durable cultural component in

peoples' lives, irrespective of the historical soil and political context of its development. After a period of time it assumes a logic and momentum of its own, almost detached in a sense from its genesis or history, which can withstand many great storms in the life of people. Even if marginalized it will never disappear because of its deep root in history.

Bruthiaux (2002:135) maintains that all languages have the potential to fulfil any communicative role. In practice, languages are shaped to some extent by their context of use. Like all natural organisms, languages consist of a set of characteristics evolving slowly over time, partly randomly and partly in response to changes in the communicative needs of their speakers as these rearrange themselves geographically and socially.

Tony Leon¹ (1998:60) holds the view that a language does not become a living, breathing, growing thing merely because it is officially recognised. A language lives because it is used and respected; and if it is not used and respected it can die despite all the constitutional guarantees in the world, choked by the restrictions of 'practicality'.

Meintjies (date unknown) argues that language reflects, entrenches and creates ideology, that is the way in which individuals and social groups understand themselves and their relationship to the world. It is imbued with and upholds values and worldviews. In the words of Ngugi wa Thiongo, language is "a totality of people's experience".

Hoffman (1996:32) states that a shared language is widely seen as highly important in the shared public culture, and in the functioning of the state and the economy.

¹ the leader of the South African Democratic Alliance.

LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

De Klerk and Bosch (1994:50) state that language attitudes include attitudes to language and to speakers of that language. Citing Schmied (1991:185) they go on to say that language is seen as a means of expressing, together with a message, a personal and/or group identity. Language and identity are highly susceptible to social forces, and speakers use language and associated phenomena to signal identity.

Attitudes play a major role in the way languages are considered and used. Language attitudes takes into account the individuals' perceptions and views as well as values assigned. One of the most important factors in changing an individual's attitude can be the influence of particular individuals or a combination of events. Attitude is a dynamic phenomenon that can be described as self – description or self-perception. As life experiences are encountered language attitudes may be constructed through inspection of ones own actions. Individuals are said to observe them-selves speaking Afrikaans, for example, and consequently they infer that they must possess a favourable attitude to Afrikaans. This is regarded by Bern (Baker, 1992) as parallel to inferring the attitude of other people by observing their behaviour.

A favourable attitude motivates language learning and can be regarded as a vital input in language achievement. A weak attitude can thwart the implementation of a language policy.

The direction of an attitude provides an indicator of current community thoughts and beliefs, preferences and desires. Language spread depends to a large extent on the attitudes and perceptions of speakers and learners.

Ager (1997:36) states that identifying a particular social group within society as the 'best', as a group of people in some sense superior to others, encourages all members of

the community to identify as closely as possible with them and to regard their language as the best, purest and most refined form.

LANGUAGE DEATH

Crawhall (Mail & Guardian, 30 May 1997) maintains that communities do not voluntarily give up their languages. Circumstances in the external environment, usually economic or political, cause people to lose confidence in what they know, and give in to the dominant culture.

Throughout Southern Africa, the main cause for language death has been peoples' displacement from traditional lands and related economic practices. Almost all Khoi and San people suffered from land encroachment. Namibia seized land occupied by the Kxoe people. Land-related civil rights abuses against the /Gwi, //Ana and !X'o in Botswana and Zimbabwe have endangered these communities and their languages.

Educational institutions treat indigenous communities as if they have no knowledge of their own. Saving the language is part of restoring confidence and dignity in traditional knowledge and skills within communities. By deriving practical applications of theoretical concepts in a curriculum from a community's cultural experience, the learning process gives the languages associated with that community a new purpose and future.

LANGUAGE PLANNING

Weinstein (1980) described language planning as a government authorized, long-term, sustained, and conscious effort to alter a language's function in a society for the purpose of solving communication problems. Fishman (1987) cited by Kamwangamalu (2000) maintains that 'language planning remains the authoritative allocation of resources to the attainment of language status and language corpus goals, whether in

connection with new functions that are aspired to, or in connection with old functions that need to be discharged more adequately’.

Weinstein (1990:9) states that language planning can protect the existing and society by strengthening identity and patterns of access or by barring change. Weinstein (1990) continues by stating that to adequately understand the many factors that impact on the growth or decline of languages would require applying academic intervention through language planning. In the process, factors that would need to be studied are: - religious expansion, migration, economic policies, geographical isolation, urbanisation and administrative convenience. These factors, either separately or in combination, influences the fate of languages. The affect of these factors might be limited to a specific area or be universal. As time and places change, the factors impacting on language-spread either change or relate differently to one another.

Language planning is a form of social planning, in which an account of the social status of a language, its use in varying social contexts, its relation to the identity of various groups of speakers, etc., must play a primary role. Webb (1995:63) focuses on seven of the many principles that may play a role in the formulation of a new language policy: -

- Equity, which demands that all languages be considered;
- Legal recognition be given to different languages;
- The principle of commonality points to the use of the major languages by all authorities, centrally, regionally and locally;
- A future language policy has to promote communication;

- Every language has its constituency, and therefore all languages should be accommodated in a language policy;
- Human rights, including language rights, are based on the principle of equality.
- A policy should be practicable under certain specific circumstances.

Government institutions tasked with language planning have to choose national languages, develop or cultivate it to make it more useful for various communicative needs, foster it to spread and make decisions with regard to the position of minority languages. Language planning should always have the aim of uniting people and not allow a minority language to become obsolete.

Language planning is always subservient to language and ideology. The ruling elite of the day determines the priorities for language planning. In South Africa during the apartheid era, all language planning was focused on the development of Afrikaans, entrenching Afrikaans as a higher domain language particularly with regard to science. One can refer to the Vakaalburo, which was there for the development of Afrikaans to the exclusion of the other indigenous languages. In the new political dispensation we have got Pansalb, which is supposed to oversee the even handed development of all the eleven official languages. So Afrikaans had to find a new place, vis a vis, the other official languages. So language planning is always subservient to language and ideology. A lot of the language planning efforts of the apartheid era may become unbalanced if Afrikaans, de facto, does not remain a language of science. A lot of effort was spent to create language dictionaries and terminologies for astronomy, chemistry, agriculture, etc. It maybe that those efforts would have been miss-spent if we look back from the

perspective of the new reigning ideology which says that all the eleven languages should be developed.

LANGUAGE PRESTIGE

Willemsse (1992:6) contends that mastery of any language translates into the ability to use it in multiple ways and in the case of English, for instance, it would allow speakers integration into a prestige culture.

The influence of history also has to be considered in academic intervention in language matters. Languages can gain historical and cultural prestige. They can be endowed these characteristics, sometimes retrospectively, through attempts at revival. Especially in the case of minorities who perceive their languages to be under threat, past glories are used as justification to asserting their language rights. Prestige also has an important effect on the maintenance of a language. However, while its relevance is strongest in the spread of standard languages, for example, English and Afrikaans, it has been found that sometimes a language such as Swahili has considerably less prestige than English can possess greater possibilities for expansion than the latter.

The impact of economics on languages has become evident through shifts in the internal linguistic balance in societies that have several languages. For example, the dominance of English and Afrikaans in South African society is linked to the existing economic system and patterns of trade, banking and finance. However, a country like Japan, which is a strong trading nation, but whose language has not spread beyond its boundaries, demonstrates that the prevailing economic system alone is not sufficient leverage to spread a language.

Economic changes, that is, modernization, industrialization and urbanization, are important variables in the description of language maintenance and shift. Where groups

of minority language speakers have a relatively low economic status, there is a strong tendency to shift towards the majority language.

Social status is very closely aligned to economic status, and it is probably equally important with respect to language maintenance. A group's social status or self-esteem depends largely upon its economic status. Language and social status are closely related in the sense that the latter influences the former.

Providing governmental or administrative services in the mother tongue can stimulate maintenance. In modern societies every individual has to interact frequently with representatives of local, provincial or national authorities. If the medium of communication is always the majority language, it will diminish the usefulness of the minority language.

Associated with language prestige, individuals also have 'pride' in one's language. Wardhaugh (1983:191) states that this pride in language exists mainly at a cultural level and not at the functional level. It is at this cultural level that much concern about language maintenance exists: one seeks to preserve a language not merely to be able to talk to one's grandparents but also to remain in touch with the best (or the essential) in the culture of those who speak the language.

LANGUAGE SHIFT

According to Muysken (1988) language shift is the redistribution of varieties of language over certain domains. If the shift is towards the majority language, this language will conquer domain after domain via the intermediate stage of bilingual language use. When a minority language is spoken or used in fewer domains, its value decreases. This lessens the motivation of younger people to learn and use it. Language

shift is not inevitable. It may come about slowly and go on for several generations, but in a changing social situation it maybe a fast process.

Language shift and language loss go hand in hand. The two processes reinforce each other with the ultimate result of language in question. But also if the language does not die, because it is still in use somewhere else, for a certain community it may become a dead language. The community loses a strong symbol of identity, which will influence the social-psychological conditions and the social life considerably. (Muysken et al. 1988)

Ager (1997: 27) states that language shift is a phenomenon, not of language, but of individuals and communities. It is people who adopt a new language, shift their allegiance from one language to another, and allow a language to fall out of use. In some cases, the relevant community is forced to change loyalty and pushed into adopting a new identity. In other cases, the attractions of the new language outweigh the disadvantages, and the move is made voluntarily: the 'pull' factors outweigh the 'push' ones.

Ager (1997:28) states that individuals can be forced to change their language allegiance, or can adopt a new language because they wish to demonstrate their desire to be part of a political community.

The nature of languages and of how it could spread or decline, results in the choices made being controversial. Such choice would have its own attendant problems, disadvantaging some and advantaging others. Each choice will be bound to affect the status of the other languages that exists within the same society.

VITALITY OF LANGUAGE

On website www.fathom.com/feature/122144, it is stated that the vitality of a language can be evaluated if the community, be it big or small, continues to speak the language and transmit it from one generation to another. A language is successful if it has an ability to absorb the language around it. A case in point is that of Swahili. The Arabs adopted Swahili as the language of trade, and as trade expanded inland, toward the hinterland of Africa, they adopted Swahili as the language of colonization. The association of Swahili with western colonization gave Swahili more power and prestige. Swahili achieved its vitality because it acquired the connotations of urbanism, of modern life, next to the European languages. This implies that high vitality leads to maintenance (or even shift towards extended use) and low vitality will result in shift towards the majority language, or, in some cases towards another more prestigious vernacular.

Finchilescu and Nyawose (1998:53) identified the following factors as contributing to etholinguistic vitality: -

- The demographic factor: - moving to urban areas;
- The status factor: - the prestige of the group or the language;
- Institutional support: - the power and control the language has within society.

Wardhaugh (1983) maintains that it is necessary to classify languages for different purposes so as not to create unnecessary friction. He gives the example of India where language is classified for home language; link language; regional language; national language; official language; library language; literacy language and world language.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have shown that languages experience a mixed fate: some prosper and spread their influence far beyond their origins while others decline or die because they are overwhelmed by the strength of other languages. Today, people generally seem to place more emphasis on language and are more conscious of its importance in daily living. While some actively concern themselves with speaking particular languages at the expense of their own languages others attempt to protect their languages from dominance.

The rewards of knowing and using languages are immense. Language is a symbolic process and therefore changes over time as people's understanding changes of the world that they live in. The functions that languages serve for particular communities change as well. As the process of transition unfolds some people in society gradually but readily castaway old practices, change their perceptions about other people and about life in general (while others resist change by changing to old practices and attitudes). For the former, a new ethos is evolved while the latter experience stagnation. Whatever the judgement, each group believes that what it is doing is appropriate and sound.

All these aspects of language and society that I have analysed per se pertain to the status and function of Afrikaans in South African society over the past two hundred years. To this effect I will characterize the rise of Afrikaans in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

THE RISE OF ENGLISH AS A GLOBAL LANGUAGE

*“ We may speak English at the free market bazaar, but
our moral choices and the trials of our daily existence
birth, death, worship, celebrations and so on – are
locked up in our mother tongue.”*

Kole Omotosa

INTRODUCTION

English at one stage was a language of communication that was taken to the brink of almost extinction by having French and Imperial language super-imposed on it. It survived in the mouths of the Serfs, the lowest of the lower elements in British society between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries. For a period of two hundred years, French was the only language that was spoken in high circles in the higher domains. Today, almost a thousand years later, English is the de facto language of global communication both as far as the world economy and Internet communications are concerned. In this chapter I sketch the rise of English, from the vernacular used by the lowly in Britain, to the language that is used to coordinate information age economies worldwide at the beginning of the 21st century.

THE RISE OF ENGLISH OVER THE PAST TWO MILLENIA

Kunene (1995) points out that the English themselves were once slaves of the Romans who spoke Latin and whose poets and writers declaimed that so long as there is the world so long shall the language of the Romans be spoken. But the English language

re-surfaced and it was rediscovered by the upper classes. Playwrights and poets redeemed the status of the language. They showed that the English language was a language of exquisite expressions that could be used in all kinds of domains. These writers, among them William Shakespeare, played a major role in inventing English words that are commonly used today. At one stage their contributions were unrecognised. After that English became the language of expression in both higher and lower domains of expression.

During the colonial era it got exported all-over the world, for example, the United States of America, Canada, South Africa, India, Australia, New Zealand, the Caribbean, etc. In these countries the higher status language started to influence the other languages. In South Africa, one can see its effect on Afrikaans and Zulu. Today we are in the situation where it the imperial language that is supplanting minority languages. One can then say that the English language is in a reversal of roles; from being a victim to that of an aggressor.

Because of globalisation it seems as though English has become the de facto global language of communication in at least areas of diplomacy, of commerce and trade and as far as most electronic forms of communication are concerned. English is spoken in all continents of the world and it has become the pre-dominant language of the world.

Walsh (2001) on the website http://www.guardian.co.uk/GWeekly/Global_English/.8458,400340.00.html explains that speakers of minority languages cannot afford to be against learning the dominant language surrounding them. They have no choice in the matter, as this language is essential for communication with their neighbours, sometimes literally in the next house Using English as a lingua franca in Europe does not inhibit

linguistic diversity, and it unites more than it divides, simply because it may be "owned" by all Europeans - not as a cultural symbol, but a means of enabling understanding.

Modern English, according to Stevens (1992), which began humbly as the native tongue of the inhabitants of England in the fourteenth century, has now become the most popular lingua franca around the globe. The main reason for the incredible spread of English was that it passed through several stages. The first stage, between 1350 and 1600, may be described as the development of modern English as a national language, when the influence of 300 years of Norman French occupation had been assimilated onto a basis of Germanic dialects, with some additions from the Norse of Scandinavian invaders. For 250 years, until 1600, English was spoken in England, probably not even by all the seven million inhabitants.

The second stage, between 1600 to 1750, may be described as the spread of English as a result of explorations and colonization. During this period the seeds of the global spread of English were sown by explorers, traders and settlers in overseas colonies.

The third stage of the development of English as a global language, between 1750 and 1900, may be described as the development of English as a national language in the colonies. The fourth phase, between 1900 and about 1950, maybe described as the spread of English through education. During this period the colonies began to offer education in England to indigenous populations, thus spreading the language to increasing numbers of local inhabitants. It was the fifth stage, from about 1945 until the present that maybe described as the development of English as a global language.

Nist (1976: 176) maintains that in the latter half of the twentieth century the English language was at a pinnacle of linguistic prestige and power. Most of the civilised world looks to the Western tongue for leadership in the expression of every form of human culture. Outside of Mandarin Chinese, English outranks every other language in the number of native speakers. The importance of English has been established through a complex set of factors: commercial, military, linguistic and cultural. As the most vigorous and economical language on earth, present-day English is the product of centuries of energy. Nist (1976:27) goes on to state that British and American troops have taken the language to common folk everywhere. With the language, they have taken ways of living, with emphasis on mass production of goods and mass media.

Crystal (2001:24) explains that people all over the world, in many walks of life, have come to depend on English for their well-being. The language has penetrated deeply into the international domains of political life, business, safety, communication, entertainment, the media and education. The convenience of having a lingua franca available to serve global human relations and needs has come to be appreciated by millions. Several domains have come to be totally dependent on it – the computer software industry being a prime example. A language's future seems assured when so many organisations come to have a vested interest in it.

Price (1997) points out that it is interesting to note that some of the worlds' strongest economies, such as Japan and Taiwan (with the largest foreign reserves in the world) and West Germany (with the highest per capita trade surplus) are in essence monolingual. However, these countries have realised the need to master the English language in order to trade successfully with their powerful English speaking trading partners.

The last decade has seen an exponential increase towards a merging world economy. New sophisticated communication networks girdling the planet mean that it is possible to do business hundreds of thousands of miles away through the click of an icon. Domestic markets such as our own, once impervious to outside intervention, now welcome foreign investors and trading. In the midst of all this, English has emerged as the key common medium. Sign on to the Internet and note what the dominant language is!

Muller (2002) on website (<http://www.Litnet.co.za>) states that despite new affection for smaller languages globalising and the technological development create problems that often negate the smaller language. Therefore the large and technological strong languages dominate the techno sphere. Muller continues by stating that Information Technology has also changed the nature of work. Less and less job opportunities are created for the traditional labourer, but more or more for the new elite, the knowledge/information workers. Such a serious shortage exists for highly skilled knowledge workers that they are allowed to travel the world without a visa and are allowed to work anywhere – provided that they are conversant in the lingua franca of information technology – English.

THE PRIVILEGED POSITION OF ENGLISH IN SOUTH AFRICA

Price (1997), citing Chisanga (1997), viewed English with South Africa as a neutral language, which does not cause ethnic tension and has the least emotion attached to it. Price (1997) continues by stating that if English is to be the lingua franca of business communication in South Africa, then the onus rests on business to level the linguistic playing field so that all can participate equally.

Searle² (1983) in Pennycook (1998) contends that we must be clear that the English language has been a monumental force and institutions of oppression and rabid exploitation throughout four hundred years of imperialist history. It attacked the black person with its racist images and imperialist message; it battered the worker who toiled as its words expressed the parameters of his misery and the subjection of entire peoples in all continents of the world. It was made to scorn the languages it sought to replace, and told the colonised peoples that mimicry of its primacy among languages was a necessary badge of their social mobility as well as their continued humiliation and subjection. Thus, when we talk of ‘mastery’ of the standard language, we must be conscious of the terrible irony of the word, that the English language itself was the language of the master, the carrier of his arrogance and brutality.

Silva on website (http://www.ru.ac_ra/affiliates/dsae/MAVEN.HTML) explains that the history of English in South Africa dates from the arrival of the British at the Cape in 1806. English has evoked differing reactions in the different language communities. The official status of English is a highly charged issue; and yet practical considerations usually result in the choice of English, with no apparent struggle and little argument. English is the mother tongue of almost 3.5 million (Census 96) South Africans of all ethnic backgrounds; yet it is often perceived only as a ‘neutral’, colourless lingua franca, not as a cultural and community language.

² In ‘A common language’, *Race and Class*, 1983, 34(3)

Black South Africans see English as the language of upward mobility and empowerment; yet it is the historically disempowered (and particularly the black rural poor) who are least likely to have access to this resource. As Vivian de Klerk (1996:7) writes:

Alongside its growth because of its perceived neutrality and its high status, and despite a pragmatic recognition of what English can offer, there is a very real possibility that elitism, domination and social injustice, as well as personal language loss could result from the spread of English... and this is particularly true of South Africa. As Albie Sachs puts it ... the omnipresence of English can be inconvenient and suffocating and induce a sense of disempowerment and exclusion. In a sense, all language rights are against English, which in the modern world is such a powerful language that it needs no protection at all.

The status of English as an international language, and as one, which is politically more neutral than any other South African language, and its choice by the ANC, seems to ensure its ever-increasing dominance at a national level. At this level English is a national asset and 'liberator', in that it offers international access and a tool for communication between language groups.

Giliomee (2002) on website (<http://www.litnet.co.za>) states that the insistence/demand to use English and the other universal/colonial languages in Africa come almost exclusively from the elite in commerce and from the political class (Politicians and officials). This gives the elite and their children the advantage in the race for employment opportunities, locally and overseas. It concerns them little to none that the rest of the population are taught in other languages than their mother tongue and by the fact that all the development plans of the international agencies are drafted in colonial languages.

The latest edition of the Concise Oxford Dictionary shows that even a dominant language like English can be accommodating of other languages. This dictionary, the collection of about 1500 local South African words adds a new flavour with a mixture of African, Afrikaans, English and Indian languages. The words are commonly used in everyday South African conversations. (Mercury, 10 September 2002)

The Gerwel Advisory Committee on the languages of instruction policies of institutions of higher education (Mail & Guardian, 21 September 2001) states that English is to be granted a special status as South African lingua franca. In support of this principle, it is argued that South Africa is “a leading country in the anglophone world”, that English is the key to competitiveness in the global economy, and that it is a “major binding language” in South Africa. Brand (Mail & Guardian, 21 September 2001) believes that these arguments are not persuasive. South Africa has economic, historical, cultural and linguistic ties, not only with the anglophone world, but also with many parts of Africa, Asia and Europe. Our indigenous languages give direct access to countries like the Netherlands, Belgium, Suriname, Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Lesotho and Swaziland, where the same or related languages are in use. Moreover, it does not follow from the economic value of proficiency in English that the latter should dominate the other official languages in South Africa. Brand (2001) goes on to say that the use of other languages (like Afrikaans in South Africa) has never prevented anyone from learning English. On the contrary, an advanced understanding of one’s mother tongue is a proven prerequisite of acquiring any other language at a sophisticated level, a fact that is often ignored in the South African debate.

CONCLUSION

The English language almost came to a dead end in the 11th century after the Norman French conquest. It survived that process and readily built its capacity as a

language of higher domain functions. It is now the de facto language of communication worldwide. English has got a magnificent body of literature and therefore people learn English to enrich themselves. The process of the colonial era had disseminated English to many countries, among them, the United States of America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and India. When these areas became functionally independent, they opted for the retention of English as the language of communication.

Many individuals in South Africa perceive English as an open sesame that guarantees upward social mobility. English is favoured in all higher domains of language use. It has become a major national language or lingua franca in public life and needs no protection. At the same time the attitudes of policy-makers and influential persons do not help the cause of Afrikaans and the other indigenous languages. English is often seen as a language of 'modernisation' in that it is perceived by many as a language of development. This perception leads many to believe that it is the language of power, of upward social mobility and of access to learning, employment and an improved quality of life. The effect of this on the other ten official languages is obvious – they lose status, identity and role, in spite of being spoken as a first language.

THE RISE OF AFRIKAANS AS A LOCAL LANGUAGE

INTRODUCTION

Afrikaans entered the 20th Century as a language of low regard, with an image of a kitchen patois. It engaged in a three-corner fight for survival against English and Dutch, the official languages of the day, but after four decades briefly attained the status of a higher domain language, a language of culture and science, eventually supplanting Dutch as a language of parliamentary and legislative record, along with English. According to Luthuli (2000), at the turn of the 20th Century Afrikaner academics consciously set out to rehabilitate the poor image of Afrikaans, realising that it was partly due to attitudes towards hybrid varieties of Afrikaans, such as the Dutch-Malay-Portuguese vernacular used by slaves in the early Cape, and the form of broken Dutch spoken among Khoi labourers and between them and their masters.

In discussing the rise of Afrikaans it is apt to begin with a quote by Pienaar (1964: 164) of Dr D.F. Malan:³

People and languages are born together and die together... Give the young Afrikaner a written language which is easy and natural for him, and you will thereby have set up a bulwark against the anglicization of our People ... Raise the Afrikaans language to a written language, make it the bearer of our culture our history, our national ideals, and you will raise the People to a feeling of self-respect and to the calling to take a worthier place in world civilization....

³ Reported in Moodie (1975: 47).

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AFRIKAANS BETWEEN THE 17TH CENTURY CAPE SETTLEMENT AND THE ANGLO-BOER WAR AT THE END OF THE 19TH CENTURY

Theories about the origin and development of Afrikaans predominated Afrikaans language studies in the first half of the 20th century. These theories centred on the issue whether the development of early Afrikaans in 17th century Cape society constituted a natural, spontaneous development of steady trends of language change that had been taking place over a period of centuries in the Germanic languages, or whether the development of proto-Afrikaans was sparked by a rapid process of creolization due to contact between speakers of 17th century Dutch, Malayo-Portuguese, sailor slang and the broken Dutch of the Khoi (see Bosman 1916, 1923, Nienaber (G.S.)1949, 1953, 1964, Van der Merwe 1964, 1968a, 1968b, Valkhoff 1972, Raidt 1974, 1976 and Hofmeyer 1987).

Hofmeyer⁴ (1987) states that Afrikaans originated from a historical trajectory of the lowland Dutch dialects spoken by seventeenth century settlers. In confronting the language of the slaves – Malay and Portuguese creole – along with Khoisan speech, this Dutch linguistic cluster had partly creolised. In later years it picked up shards of German, French and Southern Nguni languages and after 1806, some English.

Van Rensburg (1997) states that from the beginning of the eighteenth century, about fifty years after the predominant use of Dutch, there were three other significant groups that contributed to the formation of early Afrikaans:

The slaves originally spoke Cape Afrikaans.

Orange River Afrikaans originally spoken by the Khoi.

⁴ In *The Politics of Race, Class & Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa*, 1987 - 96

Eastern Frontier Afrikaans spoken by the cattle farmers of the interior. It was the Dutch of the unsophisticated.

The speakers of these languages did not live apart from one another. They perpetually came into contact with one another, such as happens in a multilingual country. It was inevitable that their dialects would influence one another. The Cape Afrikaans of today still shows the influence of the languages spoken by the slaves, and similarly the Orange River Afrikaans still contains Khoi (Griqua) words and expressions. Van Rensburg points out that new languages invariably originate in colonies when the adult has to acquire an additional language. Afrikaans came into being in the same way and is a compilation of all its' various dialects.

On the website Crow's Nest at [www.geocities.com/Paris_/2920/afrikaans] an unknown author states that Afrikaans 'began' when Dutch settlers settled at the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa over 300 years ago. At that time the official language of the Cape was a form of Dutch. Slaves from the East and traders from the rest of Europe settled in the small colony. Dutch and French farmers began moving inland and Dutch was still the official language. This 'Dutch' became mixed with sailor's language, slave language, inland tribe language, and other European languages.

Ponelis (1993:25) maintains that Afrikaans is a form of Dutch and not of French, Khoi, German, Malay or Portuguese. This indicates that a Dutch speech community was formed out of the linguistic mix at the early Cape. Dutch won the day as a transactional language for the whole Cape settlement, and Afrikaans eventually became the first language of every member of Cape society. Cope (1982:22) states that it was in this fusion of languages, races and cultures that a simplified common form of Dutch came about so that they could readily understand one another. African and Malay slaves and

particularly the Khoi⁵ servants and nursemaids in the homes picked up with imperfection and with words added from their original languages and that of the children they nursed and helped to raise.

The officials of the Dutch East India Company served the Cape Colony a specific term of duty before they were transferred, either back to the Netherlands, Batavia or other places where the Dutch East India Company had offices. They had higher levels of education than the artisans, soldiers and labourers. While many artisans, soldiers and labourers opted to settle down in the Cape at the end of their terms of duty the officials invariably left on transfer by Dutch East India Company. The settlement at the Cape of Good Hope took place at the time when Dutch was in the process of being standardised in the Netherlands. Although the process was not complete, the officials mainly used the dialect of the Amsterdam region, which became the basis of standardised Dutch.

When Dutch was standardised in the 17th century (Raidt 1976: 37-56) language planners used the dialect around Amsterdam as the basis for Standard Dutch. In this dialect they started reinstating some of the inflectional morphemes that had been deflected during the Middle Ages.

The artisans and manual labourers, the lower class people, would not have been exposed to forms of education where they would have learnt what the restored grammatical structure of standard Dutch was. They all would have spoken the particular non-standardised varieties of Dutch characteristic of the regions where they had grown up.

⁵ The term "Khoi" collectively refers to the Khoi-Khoi (Hottentots) and the Khoi-San (Bushmen). A third group, the Griqua, were closely related to the Khoi-Khoi.

By contrast, the people who would have received training in the Dutch that was being standardised in 17th century Holland, would have returned to the Netherlands or proceeded to other colonial outposts. The people who settled therefore would have been uneducated people, who spoke in their Dutch and Low German regional dialects, and as they moved as Trek-Boers, their way of talking would have become the subject of quite significant influences by the Khoi-Khoi with whom they had progressively associated. There was a good relationship between the Trek-Boers and the Khoi-Khoi. Ponelis (1993:40) writes that Whites and Khoi cohabited, that Khoi servants interacted closely with Whites in households, and that Khoi rubbed shoulders with Whites in Commandoes.⁶ In these exogenous relations between white men and Khoi women, the men were the deciding cultural factor: the children spoke Afrikaans and were frequently baptised. The hallmark of acculturated Khoi was that they bore Afrikaans names and used Afrikaans as their primary language, though Afrikaans-Khoi bilingualism persisted for a long time.

In summary, the people who settled were artisans and labourers, usually from the working class with little or no formal education, and speaking a variety of non-standard Dutch and Low German dialects. It would have been this interaction among speakers from a variety of non-standard Dutch and German regions that accelerated the process of deflection,⁷ which took place right through the Middle Ages in Germanic languages like German, Dutch and Old English.

Nist (1976:106/107) provides clear evidence that language contact provides the impetus for deflection and other forms of language change. Nist states that under the

⁶ The Commandoes were self-instituted self-defence units on horseback.

⁷ The term "deflection" refers to the process of language change during which inflectional suffixes that marked gender and case progressively disappeared and were replaced by independent lexemes that marked gender and case in the Germanic languages.

influence of Norman French Old English (which up to then had been an inflectional Teutonic⁸ language like German and Dutch), had lost so many of its inflectional morphemes over a short span of 200 years, that it could be characterised as:

When the court and its aristocratic supporters did finally pay attention to the native language of the land they dominated, that language was no longer the basically Teutonic and highly inflected Old English but the hybrid becoming, Romance-importing, and inflection-dropping Middle English.

While the loss of English inflectional morphemes was triggered and accelerated by contact with Norman French, the loss of Dutch inflection morphemes and other language changes were accelerated by the simultaneous use of a variety of non-standard Dutch and German dialects in early Cape society.

Marks and Trapido (1988), citing Hofmeyer (1987), maintain that this linguistic interaction led to loosely related dialects which spread out with master and servant into regional economies that migrant farmers set up in the Cape and subsequently the two republics. In addition, dialect tended to modulate according to social class. The poorer the community, the more their language varied from that of the 'civilised' Western Cape. This social differentiation expressed itself in upper and middle class who spoke English. Included in their number were wealthy Dutch families who manipulated a variety of linguistic registers. These stretched from what was passed for High Dutch, through more informal discourse to a language of servants, workers and farm labourers. These workers, along with 'the poor', were rapidly accumulating in jumbled racial communities, in

⁸ The terms "Teutonic" and "Germanic" are used interchangeably when referring to the original peoples that settled the mid-western part of Europe and most of the British Isles during the 5th century A.D.

which the language 'Afrikaans' was emerging quite clearly. The variety of terms by which Afrikaans was known all pointed to a strong association with poorness and 'colouredness'. Some of these terms included 'hotnotstaal' (Hottentot language), 'griekwataal' (Griqua language), 'kombuistaal' (kitchen language), 'plattaal' (vulgar language) and 'brabbeltaal' (patois / lingo).

On the website *Afrikaans Crow's Nest* at [<http://www.geocities.com/afrikaanse/watis.html>] it is stated that although Afrikaans was used in print such as newspapers and political and religious pamphlets as early as 1850, the real boost came in 1875 when a patriot group of Afrikaans speakers from the Cape formed the *Genootskap vir Regte Afrikaners* (Society for real Afrikaners), who published several Afrikaans books, including grammars, dictionaries, religious material and histories. They also published a journal called *Die Patriot*. This was the first publication to use 'Afrikaner' systematically and it was the second highest 'Dutch' paper in the Cape.

Ponelis (1993:52) writes that the work of the *Genootskap vir Regte Afrikaners* ('Society of Real Afrikaners') or GRA was the first serious attempt at the cultivation of Afrikaans. The Society was strongly opposed to the dominance of English and wished to promote Afrikaans as a language of culture alongside English and Standard Dutch. The GRA's most important contribution was the founding of a publishing firm (*De Paarsche Drukkers*) dedicated to producing only works in Afrikaans.

Following this, Hofmeyer (1987) continues, they set up a loosely related set of cultural organisations, debating societies and a language conference, to give the issue of Afrikaans some institutional visibility. All of this activity was subsequently to be called the First Language movement. It was in the space opened up by the *Patriot* that the Second Language movement was to begin.

Moleah (1993:314) states that the South African War, 1899 – 1902, and the resultant defeat was a traumatic experience for the Afrikaners. All seemed lost as they beheld their shattered dreams and their destroyed hopes and dreams. The Afrikaners resisted and countered with the founding of private schools for Christian National Education. Milner's policy of anglicization was not successful because Afrikaner parents were not educational enthusiasts, making their children to attend school irregularly and for a short time. In the end schools had too few Afrikaner children to anglicise. Many Afrikaners saw Milner's anglicization policy as a moral threat. It was an insult in its daily operations. It compounded the trauma of military defeat and subjected Afrikaners to humiliation as they were daily slighted and their culture and language scorned. In the schools set up by Milner, Afrikaner children were humiliated for being Afrikaner as Serfontein illustrates (314): "It was the time when many an Afrikaans school child came home with tears in his eyes because he had been punished by the unilingual English teacher for daring to speak Afrikaans on school grounds. Such punishment not infrequently included walking around with a board sling on your neck that read: ' I am a donkey. I spoke Dutch'. Out of their humiliation came resistance and a more determined will to assert their Afrikanerness, especially the equality of their developing language, Afrikaans.

Moleah (1993) continues by stating that Afrikaner Predikants (Ministers) spearheaded the resistance to Milner's anglicization policy and program. Its ministers included some of the ablest and most highly educated Afrikaners. During the war, they had ministered to the commandoes, and after the war they used their immense prestige to act as a bulwark against anglicization assaults of Milner, and to preserve the culture, language and religion of the Afrikaners, that is, their identity as Afrikaners, separate and distinct.

It was the Predikants who organised the private schools for Christeljik–Nationaal Onderwijs. In these schools, Afrikaner national consciousness was promoted, and both English and Dutch were used as media of instruction at the primary level. Dutch was the language of the church, but increasingly Afrikaners spoke Afrikaans, and different versions, which was becoming a language different and in its own right. But in 1902, Afrikaans was still only a spoken language: it had no standard written form and virtually no literature.

Ponelis (1993:52) states that two developments at the turn of the nineteenth century radically affected the political, economic and social context of Afrikaans speech community: (a) the shift in the economic base from farming to mining after the discovery of diamonds and the hugely productive main gold reef on the Witwatersrand (1886); (b) the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902. Rapid urbanisation not only changed the territorial distribution of Afrikaans but also placed it squarely within a multilingual society where the dominance of English could not be escaped by moving away. The ideological battle involving Afrikaans that had started in the course of the nineteenth century intensified, and Afrikaans became the focus of Afrikaner nationalism and competing ideologies. The elevation of Afrikaans from a vernacular to a language of culture had a profound linguistic and social impact.

Van der Merwe (1994:15) reveals that after the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902 many books of an Afrikaner-nationalistic and anti British trend were written in Afrikaans. For instance, many diaries of Afrikaners who participated in the war were published. These books reminded the reader not to forget the suffering of the past, and served as stimuli for a new upsurge of Afrikaner nationalism.

In 1904, the Zuid-Afrikaanse Taalbond (South African Language Union) adopted a simplified spelling of Dutch which was soon recognised by the educational authorities in all four colonies. The need to develop Afrikaans was taken up by the Afrikaner journalists, authors, poets and other intellectuals. Organisations were founded in the Cape Colony, the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal to promote the writing of Afrikaans; to convince Afrikaners that it should be used as their written, as well as their spoken language, and to obtain official recognition for it. Eugene Marais, Louis Leipoldt, J.D. du Toit (Totius), and Jan Celliers began to publish their poetry in Afrikaans. Moodie (1975:45) states that the work of these writers proved that Afrikaans could be a language of true artistic worth and beauty. For many Afrikaners Eugene Marais' "Winternag" must have come as startling illumination, awakening a realization of the lyricism and essential linguistic validity of the patois of home and hearth. Hofmeyer (1987) maintains that Celliers turned writing in Afrikaans into a national duty. In 1907 he wrote: -

But it is clear to every Afrikaner that only our own literature, steeped in the Afrikaner spirit and intelligible to Afrikaners, through and through in language and content, that only such a literature is really calculated to hit the mark here. Who wants to help us build up such a literature for our people? We have a people to serve, we have a nation to educate; we cannot wait!

It can be seen that the Afrikaner nationalism was a twentieth century construct. The Afrikaans language which grew out of a patois, which until the late nineteenth century was associated with the labouring poor of town and countryside. Afrikaans was a diverse set of poor Dutch regional dialects creolised by Khoisan (Hottentot and Bushmen) and the Malayo-Portuguese languages spoken by slaves in the seventeenth and eighteenth century Cape Colony. Language reflected the inextricable connection between

Dutch/Afrikaner settlers and those they called 'kleurling' ('coloured'), throughout the expansion of European settlement. By the nineteenth century the patios had several local forms in the regions of the Cape and inland republics. It was the language of exchange between masters and servants, and between the poor themselves. As Marks and Trapido (1988:12) states, if English and High Dutch were the languages of the contractual world for men of property, the several variation of 'Afrikaans' provided, even for many of them, the language of daily communication. There was also a widespread condescension among the upper classes for whom Afrikaans was a kombuistaal (a kitchen language). It was the achievement of the lower-middle-class intelligentsia that they reconstructed these vernaculars, eliminating those elements reflecting poverty and lower-class origins. Instead, they manipulated the language and its literature to suit their cultural-cum political tasks. In so doing, they not only transformed the language but also attempted to shape the entire cultural identity of the Dutch-Afrikaans population.

At the beginning of the 20th century Afrikaners were embattled, having lost independence to the British Empire during the 2nd South African War (also popularly known as the Anglo-Boer War). However, Afrikaners continued their struggle for independence on the ideological plane. In the onset phase of the ideological struggle Afrikaner activists mobilised solidarity around a common Afrikaans culture, the Protestant religion, the Afrikaans language and an emerging body of literature, disseminated through the newly created Afrikaans mass print media. After the Afrikaners had achieved political dominance with the Nationalist Party's unexpected victory in 1948, they set up an Afrikaner dominated state hegemony that systematically used state resources to set up and fund language bureaus within the various parastatals to develop domain specific Afrikaans-English and English Afrikaans terminological dictionaries. At the same time the Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns directed

committees of experts in particular disciplines to compile bilingual Afrikaans-English terminological dictionaries for their specific scientific disciplines, or developed by lexicographers working for the Vaktaalbuuro (Terminology Bureau), all funded with money from state coffers. In the late fifties and early sixties it seemed that the Afrikaner had achieved an ideological victory over English imperialism. The Afrikaner's dominance seemed to have been established beyond doubt when South Africa became a republic in 1961, and that the Afrikaans language was well on its way of being installed as language of science and technology on par with English and other European languages at South African institutions of higher education. However, the Soweto insurrection in 1976, and the rejection of Afrikaans as language of learning in African communities, was the first straw in the wind that would eventually become a hurricane of civil unrest in the mid nineteen eighties. With the installation of the new democratic political order in South Africa in 1994, the stage was set for the redefinition of a humbler role for the Afrikaner and Afrikaans alike.

POST-ANGLO-BOER WAR MOVEMENTS TO REHABILITATE THE STATUS OF AFRIKAANS

Ponelis (1993:47) states that between the early nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, there was a renaissance of Standard Dutch in South Africa, stimulated by the tightening of social structure and the aggressive anglicisation effected by British colonial rule. The Afrikaans speech community was compelled to resort to standard Dutch to keep its own vernacular in focus against the relentless pressure of English.

Brink (1996) in his novel *Reinventing a Continent* contends that The Anglo-Boer War gave impetus to the language struggle, and from the early years of the twentieth century Afrikaner poets and writers were in the forefront of a movement of Afrikaner conscientisation. Broken militarily, economically and politically, Afrikaners resorted to

culture – specifically to the promotion of their language – as a means of rekindling national pride.

After the Anglo-Boer War Afrikaners felt that they had lost their self-respect to the British along with their beloved Boer Republics. Particularly in the form of verse, prose and other forms of personal narratives the Afrikaans language and culture were used as a rallying point to boost the morale of the Afrikaners and to rehabilitate their self-image. In the 1930's the Afrikaner Nationalists used the symbolic Second Great Trek between Cape Town and Pretoria to mobilise Afrikaner solidarity.⁹ All along the way from town to town between Cape Town and Pretoria Afrikaner parents would bring their infants to the symbolic Trek wagons to have them baptised and consecrated to the cause of Afrikanerdom.

During a radio interview on the SABC English radio station in the late nineteen seventies the well-known South African author Allan Paton¹⁰ recounted how English speaking South Africans, bemused by the excitement among Afrikaners about the Second Great Trek wagons, also went to the town square when the wagons arrived, however soon realising that they were unwelcome and treated as intruders in this exclusively Afrikaner event.¹¹

Marks and Trapido (1988: 101) goes on to state that in 1910, *Die Brandwag* (The Sentinel), a magazine was started by another group of men who did not like the way things were going. These men included journalists, clerks, and the like. Some, like Marais, had taken up Afrikaans as a language issue, both to expand their constituency

⁹ There in effect were several mini-treks, going through different regions, converging on Pretoria on *Geloofedag*, the Day of the Covenant, one of the most auspicious Afrikaner religious holidays.

¹⁰ Paton is the author of among others the novel *Cry the beloved Country*.

¹¹ This is a personal communication from my promoter, which I have not been able to verify at the time of writing.

and to make certain points to the Dutch middle class about the linguistic propinquity of the 'landzoonen' (sons of the soil).

Slighted by the British in not providing favourable legislation on Dutch, they looked at the Afrikaner intelligentsia for support, Hofmeyer (1987). Educated Afrikaners involved themselves actively and often humanely in welfare work of ministering to the poor and fashioning them into workers. But this educated class had an over-riding interest to create Afrikaner workers who would refill Afrikaner churches, attend Afrikaner schools and buy Afrikaner books.

On the website *Afrikaans Crow's Nest* at [<http://www.geocities.com/afrikaanse/watis.html>] it is also mentioned that after the Great South African war 1899 – 1902, a second and a third language movement started in two different places in South Africa. According to Hofmeyer (1987) the Second Language movement involved a petty bourgeoisie in search of a wider audience that could turn language and educational broking into a new professional avenue for a group of people who feared marginalisation. Their endeavours were to pay off handsomely in the end, and the Afrikaans and literary industry were to expand remarkably during the first two decades of the century.

Hofmeyer in Marks and Trapido (1988:103) continues by stating that by 1905 journalists in various centres throughout the four colonies had started using 'Afrikaans' in their papers, many, like Marais to expand their circulation. These various developments were first systematically drawn together by Gustav Preller in his famous series of articles: 'Laat 'T Ons Toch Ernst Wezen' (Let's take this matter seriously)'. In these pieces he pointed the gap, which separated the spoken and written language of Dutch Afrikaners. The latter was a type of high Dutch, the former, according to Preller,

was 'Afrikaans' and he argued strongly for its adoption as a professional, written discourse. He also referred to the Patriot's high readership figures, and finally pointed to the tantalising possibilities in terms of markets and circulation. Preller's attempts to professionalise Afrikaans were no small task. Before this goal could be attained, a number of preliminary battles had to be fought on various fronts.

The first of these was to make Afrikaans respectable, to reinvent it as a standard language, 'n algemeen beskaafde taal (a standard language). To accomplish this aim one had to shake off the very strong association of poverty and particularly 'colouredness', which clung, to the language. The second task entailed giving the language some substance by creating books and written material in Afrikaans. These, in turn required markets, publishers, printers and distributors.

What follows traces the development in some detail, first between the years 1905 and 1914, and then from 1914 to 1924, mainly based on Marks and Trapido (1988)'s account of this phase of the development of Afrikaans.

According to Marks and Trapido (1988) the columns of Preller's newspaper *De Volkstem* increasingly carried articles that were written with the intention of making Afrikaans respectable. Subsequent articles began to emphasise the links between Dutch and Afrikaans, which made the latter a 'white man's language', and gave it an entrée via Dutch into that font of civilization. Through these debates carried out in various journals, the people involved attempted to standardise a middle-class variant of Afrikaans. The insistence on sanitising Afrikaans of anglicisms (English-isms) and expressions from Cape Coloured Afrikaans, and replacing them with Dutch language forms was not only an attempt to make it more civilised and middle class, it also reflected the extent to which these early Afrikaans initiatives had to shelter under the powerful lobby, which wanted

Dutch recognised as the official language. The Afrikaans grouping had tried to give them an independent identity by congregating together in the northern region of South Africa in the Afrikaanse Taalgenootskap (Afrikaans Language Society) (ATG), set up in 1905. The southerners joined together in the Afrikaanse Taalvereniging (Afrikaans Language Union) (ATV), the following year.

Afrikaans only made significant advances after the unification of South Africa. It was in 1910 that the magazine, *Die Brandwag*, got off the ground.

The ATV and ATG spawned a series of related organisations (post 1910), which united their constituency of teachers, clerics and small farmers on a consistent basis which the columns of *Die Brandwag* put these people in touch with each other. In 1911 Dutch–Afrikaans student bodies formally added their support to Afrikaans. In 1914 the provincial councils promulgated a ruling allowing Afrikaans to be taught up to Standard IV. This, in turn, required material production for schools; linguistic engineers to produce a standard language; printers, publishers and distributors. Afrikaans, too, found a fertile base amongst the many Afrikaner women’s organisations, which had arisen both during and after the Anglo-Boer War.

Ponelis (1993:53) states that the use of Afrikaans as a written language during the nineteenth century was the first step towards elevation, but the elevation of a vernacular involved considerably more than using it as a written language. Enormous social energy had to be generated, by ethnic mobilisation, to sustain the lengthy and complex process of elevation.

Post-Union political development also aided the cause of the language lobby. When, in 1914 General J.B.M. Hertzog formed the National Party (NP), the language

lobby flocked to join the new party. Hertzog had courted the language men throughout and in the NP they found something of a political home from whence they could continue with their work of forging a language and a literature.

Moleah (1993) mentions that an organisation was born in 1918, *Jong Suid Afrika* (Young South Africa), which soon changed its name to the *Afrikaner Broederbond*. One of its principles was to strive to have their own Afrikaner language recognised everywhere.

The outbreak of the First World War also fuelled the language issue. The pattern of competitive donation used in this campaign helped set up Nationale Pers (NASPERS), the publishing house sympathetic to the political manifesto of the National Party (NP). In addition, the canonisation of Jopie Fourie, the executed rebel, led to a spate of orally circulated poetry. Within the organisation shelter afforded by these institutions, it became immeasurably easier for the Afrikaner petty bourgeoisie to press their claims for a language and literature. Their successes soon assumed the shape of a rapidly rising graph as dictionaries and books appeared in great numbers. In 1918 Afrikaans became a subject in two universities. In the same year Afrikaans achieved legal recognition as a type of third language when legislation was passed to the effect that the word 'Dutch' in Article 137 of the constitution included Afrikaans for all state and official purposes outside, but not inside the House. The Nationalist coalition victory in 1924 improved the prospects of Afrikaans considerably. Dr Malan steered through legislation that conferred full official status on Afrikaans and on 8 May 1925 both Houses in an atmosphere of goodwill and *toenadering* (*rapprochement*) carried the motion unanimously.

But Afrikaans lobby groups continued to face opposition from various quarters. English-speakers dominated state positions and commerce and the first Supreme Court

judgement in Afrikaans was delivered only in 1932. Certain Dutch-speaking members of the middle class continued to scorn what they saw as an upstart language and its protagonists. In church circles Dutch opposition to Afrikaans remained fierce and helped to delay the translation of the Bible, which eventually appeared in 1933.

The manufacture of an Afrikaner literary culture was no simple task. Hofmeyer, citing Celliers (1987:108), stressed that it must surely be apparent to every Afrikaner that we can only reach our goal through our own literature, nurtured in Afrikaans soil, permeated by an Afrikaans spirit and thoroughly accessible to Afrikaners in language and content. The Second Language institutions used a variety of techniques. They assiduously cultivated any emerging or established writers not already involved. They instituted innumerable literary competitions and prizes, which overtly and subtly encouraged people to write about 'Afrikaans' subjects. The general idea seemed to be to build as broad a base as possible, which could then attract a wide spectrum of readers. The diversity of Afrikaans literature arose from the variety of regions, intellectual tradition and even social class from which its authors came. Many writers had been exposed to different European literatures and they mobilised this knowledge in their work. Hofmeyer (1987:109) states that every war spawns a literature of its own since it has a ready-made market. After the Anglo-Boer war writers set to work to stitch together an 'Afrikaner' history which could become a myth of national origin.

The Afrikaans cultural organisations devoted considerable energy to devise ways of supplanting the movie mania with something more moral and something more Afrikaans. Part of this was done in literature and historical writing, but most of it was carried out in debating societies, drama associations, reading circles, coffee houses, some schools and the columns of Afrikaans magazines. The pages of *Die Brandwag* and *Die*

Huisgenoot carried articles, advertisements, pictures and stories, which took every imaginable phenomenon of people's worlds and then repackaged these as 'Afrikaans'. All of this redefinition formed part of a broader intellectual movement known as *volkskunde* (folklore studies).

Celliers (1987) cited by Hofmeyer (1987:112) wrote that every Afrikaner was an essential element in the struggle for our language and volk. The national writer must ... ferret out every single Afrikaner, find him a school, a teacher, a book that he can understand and which uplifts and educates him. To reach these people, the language purveyors and their magazines expanded the concept *leeslus* (love of reading), which had first been elaborated in the pages of the Patriot. No issue of *Die Brandwag* or *Die Huisgenoot* went by without extensive discussion on 'hoe om leeslus op te werk' (how to arouse a love for reading).

Die Brandwag folded in 1922 but *Die Huisgenoot* went from strength to strength. In 1923 it became a weekly magazine and by the mid-1920's it was said to be the most popular magazine in South Africa. According to Marks and Trapido (1988: 113) *Die Huisgenoot* carried so many educational and self-improvement features that it came to be known as 'the poor man's university' and in an age when education was becoming the key to advancement; many people would go to considerable lengths to 'improve' themselves.

In a comprehensive survey of the contributions of various linguists to the study of Afrikaans sentences patterns during the 20th Century, Luthuli (2000) showed that the first fifty years were dominated by attempts of academics studying Afrikaans to demonstrate that it essentially was a pure member of the Germanic language family that spontaneously developed in South Africa over the previous 300 years. In order to

function as an emblem of White Afrikaner identity Afrikaans was consciously standardised round the time of the Nationalist Party takeover in 1948. This was achieved by the development of a uniform writing system, by eliminating anglicisms (words and expressions of English origin) and barbarisms (code for words and expressions borrowed from local indigenous languages), by developing Afrikaans literature, by lobbying for Afrikaans to be recognised as an official language along with English and Dutch, and by consciously developing Afrikaans scientific terminology once Afrikaans had achieved the status of being an official language.

Cope (1982:68) states that the size and scope of the Afrikaans literary scene made it impossible to treat in detail the slow movement of change that was taking place within it during the World War 2 and in the post war years. Cope (1982:69) continues by stating that in the early term of the Nationalist regime under Dr Malan was relatively bleak period for Afrikaans writing. The paternalist tie between writers and the 'system' was patched up. Publishers and magazine editors, under the watchful eye of the church and other fronts, saw to it that nothing 'undesirable' was printed, an effective and even crippling form of control.

After the Nationalists won the 1948 election and apartheid was launched, Afrikaans literature published internally was normally free from restriction, though subject to back-room inducement. The writers, aware that Afrikaans was increasingly regarded as the language of the oppressor, sensed the further dangers inherent in apartheid and began to voice their views. Public demand for reading matter in Afrikaans was growing and new publishing ventures sprang up (Cope 1982:74).

Gerwel (1983), cited by van der Merwe (1994:7), mentions that the policy of apartheid after 1948 was foreshadowed by the racism of the Afrikaner prose, which

stayed true to its functions of propagating Afrikaner nationalism, or at least of staying within the boundaries of the dominating Afrikaner ideology. Afrikaans prose prepared the policy of apartheid, as Gerwel suggests; it also prepared the way for the dismantling of official apartheid announced in 1990.

Holtzhausen's (1990) study shows that traditional Afrikaner ideology was still supported by the light reading of the eighties – no fundamental changes since the time of the 'Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners' are reflected. In serious literature, on the other hand, dramatic developments took place during that time.

Van der Merwe (1994) maintains that the study of Afrikaans literature was one of changing values. Not only did the values in Afrikaans literature change; in the political crises of the seventies and the eighties, Afrikaans literature was used as means of changing values prevalent in society. Afrikaans literature not only reflected some of the changes in Afrikaner ideological thinking, it also helped to effect the changes desired.

Brink (1996) states that for many years the language was intimately associated with the 'Afrikaner cause'; since the thirties it was used increasingly as a vehicle of individual expression; since the sixties, in the hands of a new generation of fiction writers among whom Jan Rabie was a key figure, it became, more and more consciously, a language of dissent, breaking down the stereotyping of the ruling Afrikaner establishment. Brink (1996) goes on to quote the president of the Afrikaans Writers Guild, Chris Barnard, "The Afrikaans language is our only real achievement, the only thing that keeps us together. There is nothing else: neither politics nor religion nor anything else".

Van der Merwe (1994) continues by stating that as the Afrikaner nationalists moved away from the centre of the South African political scene, the language of the Afrikaner, “standard Afrikaans” was in a more vulnerable position. Afrikaans would be regarded as the language not only of the whites, but of the coloured too. Once more a ‘kitchen Afrikaans’ could move into a position of status – but this time not for ideological purposes, but for more “practical” communication.

Sachs (1990) states that Afrikaans should be reclaimed as language of liberty for all. He mentions that at one level Afrikaans culture was the popular Creole language of the Western Cape, referred to in a derogatory way as kitchen Dutch, spoken by slaves and indigenous people who taught it to their master and mistresses. Later it was the language of resistance to British imperialism. Afrikaans literature evolved around suffering and patriotism. Many of the early books, written to find a space in nature to make up for lack of social space, have since become classics of world ecological literature. At another level, the language had been hijacked by proponents of racial domination to support systems of white supremacy, and as such been portrayed as the language of the “baas”(master). In principle, there is no reason at all why Afrikaans should not once more become the language of liberty, but this time liberty for all.

CONCLUSION

The openness of Afrikaans can be a factor that can bring about an extensive influence to multilingualism in South Africa. Afrikaans persisted over two centuries because it became everyone’s language, that is, every labourer’s or educated person’s language. Afrikaans was associated with the struggle for survival, with community, with learning, with Christianity, with a system of trade and laws and with its ability to adapt to the conditions with which it was freed. It ceased to an extent for these uses when the government of the day put its ideologies ahead of local needs.

Now at the dawn of the 21st century the wheel of fortune has turned three hundred and sixty degrees for the Afrikaner and the Afrikaans language. The Afrikaners yet again find themselves embattled, yet again engaged, via cultural organisations and pressure groups, in an ideological battle to create a survival niche for itself and the Afrikaans language in the new political landscape.

The future of Afrikaans lies in the super-structural contribution it continues to make in South Africa. As one of the languages of this country, Afrikaans needs to create a space beyond hegemony and social legislation, a fiercely protected domain for the avant-garde, the outrageous, the dissident, the experimental and the individual. By ensuring that it is always 'ahead and to the side' (rather than 'on the side') of dominant social discourses, the Afrikaans language will experience a growth phase while continuing to interrogate its own traditions where people are empowered to use the language of their choice. Once more the Afrikaans language is at a stage where it has become an issue.

As Ryan (1996) points out that present-day attitudes to Afrikaans exist within strongly predetermined ideological positions, thereby infusing the language issue with a high degree of emotional, political and ethical energy. As political and governmental policies continue to contribute to the marginalisation of Afrikaans in the South African arena, the battle over language becomes, increasingly, an acrimonious battle over culture and power. Ryan goes on to ask the questions: Will Afrikaans continue to recede as an embattled minority discourse? And for how long will the language be punished for its perceived complicity in apartheid politics?

In this regard Leon (1998) states that Afrikaans belongs to all South Africans, not just whites, and it is in inclusiveness that its future lies. Leon (1998) concludes by citing

Alexander, Afrikaans can only be protected and advanced within an overarching structure of multilingualism. He metaphorically calls for “a Gariep¹² nation where the tributaries flow together to constitute the mainstream without any of them washed away by the hegemonic overflowing of any of them”.

¹² Griqua name for the Orange River, which winds its way through seven of the nine provinces on the Atlantic West Coast of South Africa.

AFRIKAANS IN DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

*“The future of Afrikaans is guaranteed because
it is not a ‘white’ language”*

Allan Boesak

INTRODUCTION

Nodoba on website (<http://www.geocities.com/culdif/nodoba.htm>) states that as the process of transition unfolds some people in society gradually but readily cast away old practices, change their perceptions about other humans and about life in general while others resist change by clinging to old practices and attitudes. For the former, a “new ethos” is evolved while the latter experience stagnation. Whatever our judgement, each group believes what it is doing is appropriate and sound.

Van der Merwe (1994:9) sees Afrikaans within the context of political developments and ideological changes, as a gripping tale, moving like a Greek tragedy, with a combination of human guilt and inevitably, of hubris and downfall. The drama may be approaching its end; but the beginning of another Afrikaans struggle may be at hand. Again, as in 1875, the future seems open; and options rejected at the end of the nineteenth century may now be accepted.

Edmunds (Mail & Guardian, 28 June 1996), quotes Alexander, “We need to appeal to the Afrikaner leadership to see Afrikaans as one of the most powerful languages of a number in Africa rather than as a competitor against English, a world

language ... Once they accept that, they would have made the epistemological break with the Afrikaans past ... I think the new generation is accepting this.”

Van Rensburg (1997) postulates that there are a number of important aspects, which will determine the future of Afrikaans. One of these is that South Africa is a multilingual country. Another aspect is that the Apartheid era has come to an end. The proverbial playing fields have now been equalled for all indigenous languages. Major processes in the community are going to determine the future of the various languages and to what extent Afrikaans will function amongst the other languages.

In the following pages some of the determining forces and appearances that would have an impact on the future of Afrikaans will be discussed.

Alexander (1989) states that Afrikaans will undergo two major changes in future, one relating to its corpus and the other to its status. In a post-apartheid South Africa, Afrikaans will undoubtedly lose its present most-favoured language status. In future, as the social structure changes and more blacks move into managerial positions or become employers of labour, the need to know Afrikaans will diminish since knowledge of Afrikaans will no longer be open sesame to employment. Afrikaans will play a less socially important role except in those regions where mother tongue speakers of these languages predominate. The corpus changes in Afrikaans will be influenced by the changed social circumstances in which people who do not speak ‘Algemeen Beskaafde Afrikaans’ but are nonetheless mother tongue Afrikaans speakers will acquire enhanced socio-economic status.

Since Afrikaans – like other South African languages but unlike English – is not necessarily shaped by international standards of speech or writing, it can be assumed that

changes in the morphology, syntax, lexicon and phonology of what will come to be Standard Afrikaans are inevitable. Alexander concludes by stating that this is the modest status of Afrikaans. As a South African language, it will be as important as all the other major languages in facilitating the growth of national unity, assuming that this is one of the goals on which some consensus is possible.

Du Plessis (1990) maintains that since language is the most important group marker there will be room for a broader Afrikaner identity. Afrikaans will continue to exist even without having official status. An important point to keep in mind is that no progressive language disposition would be able to safeguard a stagnant Afrikaner nationalism. Referring to Alexander's language plan, du Plessis states that this should provide Afrikaans speakers with a sufficient guarantee that Afrikaans would continue to exist and flourish in a South Africa where it is no longer an official language. The language plan offers an opportunity for Afrikaans to become part of the national solution, and not part of the national problem caused by an ethnic- national political system.

POLITICIANS ON THE FUTURE OF AFRIKAANS

Mandela (1978), while in prison, in reply to a Black Consciousness Movement's demand that Afrikaans must be scrapped, stated that Afrikaans is also the language of a substantial section of the country's blacks, and any attempt to deprive them of their language would be dangerous. It is the home language of 95 % of the coloured population and is used by the Indians as well, especially in the country dorps of the Transvaal. It is widely spoken by the African youth in the urban areas, and to tamper with their medium of expression will finally drive them into the opposition camp. Even if Afrikaners spoke the language, it would still be unwise to abolish it.

Mandela (2001) states that the abolition of Afrikaans will not only be out of step with progressive developments in the enlightened world, but also it would be inviting endless strife. Mandela (2001) goes on to highlight that today South Africa has almost three million Afrikaners who will no longer be oppressors after liberation but a powerful minority of ordinary citizens whose co-operation and goodwill are needed in the reconstruction of the country. One can think of no better way of turning South Africa into turmoil than to heed to the call for the abolishment of Afrikaans.

Mbeki (1999) [Statement by President Thabo Mbeki to the Afrikanerbond, Pretoria, 27 July 1999 – on website <http://www.icon.co.za/~abond/>] stated that in our present situation, we are faced with the challenge of ensuring that our different cultures, languages and religions cease to make us islands unto ourselves but instead enable us to understand the basis of all our people's fears, anxieties, love, hopes and dreams. While we pay tribute to people's cultures and languages as their own and worthy of the utmost respect and protection, a right which our constitution takes very seriously, in order to enhance these cultures and languages, we must also build bridges that connect one with the other, and thus create the basis for mutual understanding, instead of the walls that for centuries have kept us apart and prevented our full flowering as one people. It is clear that our languages and cultures demonstrate our diversity as a people through a celebration of all our interwoven heritages. At different times in the evolution of the Afrikaans language as well as in our own history, this language has played different roles in the ever-changing power relations. Afrikaans literature has over the years expressed the suffering of people who saw themselves as oppressed, who were a patriot people, who in poems declared their love for nature and for the land in which they lived. At another time as the language of those in power, the majority viewed it as a language of domination. Today Afrikaans proudly takes its rightful place as a South African language

among other languages whose use and encouragement is part of the process of deepening our democracy and continues to shape our identity as South Africans. The use of Afrikaans and other languages is not simply about cultural revival, the reminder of a former, glorious past through its re-insertion into the present, but about the emergence of new ways of doing things, and finding new, creative ways of expressing ourselves and our plans for the future.

ANC chairman Patrick Lekota's (The Citizen, 16 February 1998) description of the Afrikaner as "an eminent and critical part of our society" is apt. In the police, judicial system, the public service as a whole and in business, the Afrikaner plays a vital role. To say that our success or failure as a country depends on Afrikaners is no exaggeration.

Leon (1998) states that Afrikaans speakers – especially white Afrikaans speakers – in this country today feel they are being treated unfairly. The lesson of our past is that if a group is left for too long with the idea that it has been treated unfairly and that it has been discriminated against, we will never succeed in solving conflicts and avoiding future antagonisms. Leon (1998) goes on to refer to the letters pages of Die Burger (national newspaper) in which discussion of a Quebec scenario, a 'vrye Kaapse staat', is being aired. This would be a disaster for South Africa, a match to rekindle the flames of group hatred, and must be avoided.

Leon (1998) continues by stating that the future of Afrikaans and other African languages in South Africa will not be determined by legal and philosophical debates about group or individual rights. It will be determined by the actions and decisions of the government, business and those who hold the language dear. The future of Afrikaans is in the hands of those who speak it – South Africans of all colours; those who would deny this can only hasten its demise. However, politicians, advertisers, educationalists and

others respond ultimately to public pressure – a fact that the Afrikaans community has not been slow to recognise. Afrikaans is a tough and adaptable language, spoken by tough and adaptable people: ‘n Boer maak ‘n plan, and the plans are being made. Part of this planning must to include other African languages in the fight against the hegemony of English – Afrikaans owes its support to those languages that are just beginning the process of growth, which Afrikaans experienced in the 1920’s.

Sachs (1993:109) states that in South Africa, Afrikaans is a language that is used by millions of South Africans, and it has been fought for and enjoys a strong position. It is part and parcel of the identity, the personality, the culture of an important section of the South African population, and that has to be acknowledged and respected.

Sachs continues by stating that Afrikaans for the ANC is one of our languages. It is not ‘their’ language; it is one of our languages. The real reason why Afrikaans will survive and not just hang on in there, but survive and flourish in this country, is not because of any constitutional prescription. It will survive because it is spoken by millions of South Africans. It is deeply rooted in this country. It is part and parcel of the character and personality of South Africa. Sachs (1993) believes that it will survive and flourish more powerfully when it is not associated with the state. When it is associated with the state and with police stations and with a government that is bearing down on people, then it is seen as a language of ‘them’. The minute it is freed from that association with the state and with power, and became a right of the people and is used by the people – black people and white people – then it can flourish beyond anything what we have seen before. Sachs (1993) continues by stating that we are fortunate that there are many brilliant writers, speakers and users of Afrikaans. It is a lively, functioning language. It is not fossilized, it is not dead. It is creative and it’s got a very very powerful future that

will recognise that future. It will be the people of South Africa that will play an active role to ensure that Afrikaans continues to flourish in this country, continues to be used by millions of people, continues to express itself in multiple different forms and to have its full and secure status as a language associated with freedom, peace and development in South Africa.

AFRIKANER PERSPECTIVES ON THE FUTURE OF AFRIKAANS

Ponelis (1998) states that the cultivation of Afrikaans was embedded in Afrikaner nationalism. Apartheid cut deep into the fabric of the Afrikaans speech community. Many people, both speakers and non-speakers of Afrikaans, were alienated from Afrikaans by racist stigmatisation. The rapid and comprehensive standardisation of Afrikaans is an achievement benefiting not only the Afrikaans speech community but also the country as a whole. Standard Afrikaans empowers: it gives access to modernisation, and as such it is a national asset. In the next decade or two, speakers of Afrikaans will face the serious challenge of furthering the development of this important national asset by tapping the liberalising potential of the new democratic dispensation. Institutions will have to be established and maintained where Standard Afrikaans can flourish and be presented to South African society at large as a means of empowerment together with English and the emergent standard of the country.

Brand (2001) at website (<http://www.litnet.co.za>) in citing Boesak, strikes a difference between the empowerment of Afrikaans and the empowerment of the people who speak Afrikaans. Boesak states that the majority of Afrikaans speakers will not be excited about the empowerment of Afrikaans until the people are empowered first. The people can only be empowered if we ensure therefore that the people are empowered in such a way that we do not ourselves contribute to the marginalisation of the language, because in doing that, we will damage the empowerment of the people who speak the language.

Brand (2001) continues by stating that among language activists in Afrikaner circles there is serious disappointment about the lack of drive for the cause for Afrikaans among the brown Afrikaans speakers, which is manifest in their tendency to anglicise. Several commentators have ascribed this to the fact that brown people see the maintenance and promotion of Afrikaans as a white domain. They also consider it as being nostalgic of Apartheid. In addition hereto the issue centres on Standard Afrikaans, which negates the spoken Afrikaans to a large extent.

Brand (2001) continues by stating that in South Africa of all places, Afrikaans has become a liability, not for those who switch comfortably into English, but for the large number of poor people who know no other language. It is today unthinkable that any academic congress, other than at Afrikaans institutions, would be conducted in any other language but English. In this climate the young 'brown' academic feel inferior and incompetent. Different to the many Afrikaners who had the opportunity during the twentieth century to participate in cultural life in their mother tongue.

Thomasson (The Mercury, 29 June 1998) cites Moeller, the curator of the Afrikaans Language Museum and Monument in Paarl, as stating that Afrikaans would not die out. Moeller (1998) goes on to state that the future of the expressive language could lie with the South Africa's coloured community, many of whom abandoned Afrikaans as a political gesture during the apartheid years and who are now reclaiming it as their own. "A lot of people are going back to Afrikaans now. The struggle is over and they feel proud of it because it is their language".

Thomasson (1998) quotes Achmat Davies, "The slaves and the Khoisan were the creators of the language, but it was appropriated by the Afrikaners". "Afrikaans will

survive. Eventually a new variety of Afrikaans is going to emerge that will become a new bridging language in South Africa.”

Coetser’s (1993) study showed that most Afrikaans speakers in the former Transkei have a very positive attitude towards their mother tongue. The high frequency of Afrikaans use is an indication that Afrikaans speakers in the former Transkei make use of their mother tongue especially in those spheres of life where they have maximum choice. As far as institutional structures are concerned where maximum choice does not prevail (for example, the state machinery, business and industry activity, education, etc.) Afrikaans speakers adapt quite easily to, for instance, English. The research also found that although the frequency of Afrikaans usage in the former Transkei is limited, Afrikaans speakers make use of Afrikaans on personal levels frequently. Although Afrikaans speakers find themselves in a Xhosa dominant environment, they make no special effort to learn or use Xhosa as frequently as one might have expected. Thus, what holds for this area should per se also hold for similar areas in the rest of South Africa.

Vosloo (2002) on website (<http://www.litnet.co.za>) states that if Afrikaans was allowed to be shunted out either by our own doing or by neglect, all the other Afrikaans issues/demands will have failed. Vosloo (2002) continues by stating that the most important road to travel is to see Afrikaans as a mixing/binding agent. We must learn to reach out to others. The narrow definition of ‘volk’ must be broadened in our thoughts and in practice. We must learn not to make colour and religion the definition. What is important to Afrikaans is what language your compatriot speaks and the higher the number of Afrikaans speakers the better. We must invite compatriots who speak the language into our inner circle from across the colour bar and to show our values and behaviour in such a way that they will find it attractive and will want to associate with us.

Vosloo continues by stating that in a short period of Nation building, since 1994, a unique opportunity has come into being for the Afrikaans speaker, viz. to play his part in society. The Afrikaner has risen after been shamed in 1902 by an imperial power, by the strength of his faith and his inherent ability to adapt and survive. This time we have not been shamed but sidelined because of our negligence to come to terms with the coloured majority while we still held the power. Once again we have a divine opportunity

As part of a nation to play an important role in building this nation. Vosloo concludes by stressing that the challenge in that inner core in our homes has to be Afrikaans if we want to survive amongst eleven official languages. It will become a self-fulfilling crisis if we do not accept the delicious challenge to be Afrikaners in the new regime.

Small (1996) sees the strength for any language as nothing more, nor less, than the spirit of the people, all the people, who, over long, long years – indeed over centuries – shape the humanity of their place on God’s earth in and through the language concerned and the way they use it. It seems as if the ultimate test of inherent strength for a language would be the capacity of those who live by the language for a sheer “tragic acceptance” of life. Small goes on to state that Afrikaans may have a long road to travel, judging by the strange seeking-for-each-other-still-of the different people who live by it! But we are shaping in this post-apartheid time ... Afrikaans is growing in inherent strength. Jenkins (1992) points out that when it was realised that the policy of the ANC was to allow Afrikaans to have the same rights as other languages, a new spirit of assertiveness took over. Therefore Gerwel (2001) calls for the development of an Afrikaans presence characterised in its main discourses by inclusiveness and a more liberal open-

mindedness. Gerwel (2001) goes on to state that the mood is predominantly one of insecurity, distrust and insular mobilisation.

Den Hartigh (2001) on website (<http://www.litnet.co.za>) in quoting Ester [Chairman of the South Africa Institute – Catholic University Of Nijmegen – Netherlands] states that Afrikaans literature is undergoing a dynamic, hitherto unknown revolution, and now everybody is speaking the ‘taal’. This revolution has not only happened in Afrikaans-rock-music, but also in poetry and other literature. The youth is now proud of their language and want to make it their own. As mother tongue Afrikaans has gone through difficult times and many Afrikaans speakers were of the opinion that the ‘taal’ is dying. According to Ester Afrikaans has a bright future. ‘Language is part of a ritual of enrichment and also serves as an emancipator; literature is liberating and lets one see other things, learn other languages and opens up new worlds’. According to Ester, Afrikaans is not dependent on official support. The political change as well as the reduction in public recognition of Afrikaans as language has not affected the language adversely; on the contrary it has triggered a stronger movement for support. Ester concludes by comparing South Africa’s situation with that of the Netherlands – a society such as that in the Netherlands where all stumbling blocks have been removed, cannot function. It is his opinion that South Africa and Afrikaans as language, now functions more productively than ever before. ‘Afrikaans has attained a new status in South Africa. The language has attained an individual identity, it is enjoyed to be spoken and is exquisitely intimate’. South Africans must have a positive attitude to the future of Afrikaans in this country. Afrikaans has a significant role to play in the South African ‘Africa Renaissance’.

Ryan (1996) believes that the future of Afrikaans lies in the super structural contribution it continues to make in South Africa. And, within this broad range of institutional participation – in the law, culture, and the economic community – it is within cultural production that Afrikaans may find a strong future voice. In literature, Afrikaans has become both the language of hegemony and the language of dissidence. It has become too deeply embedded in a broad spectrum of literacy – political articulations for anyone to declare Afrikaans literature as being ideologically monolithic. Strong academic and cultural links with a range of European communities – French, Dutch, Flemish, German (and even English) have resulted in an ongoing literary experiment. At a time in which the Afrikaans language is deeply implicated in large – scale political and social change, the phenomenon of Afrikaans literature will experience a growth phase while continuing to interrogate its own traditions.

PROMOTION OF AFRIKAANS IN THE NEW POLITICAL DISPENSATION

Siegrühn (1992) report that a new campaign to promote Afrikaans as a functional and friendly language was announced in the press. This campaign was co-ordinated by Die Stinging vir Afrikaans – SVA (Foundation for Afrikaans) – created solely for this purpose. The SVA aims to promote Afrikaans as a functional language for all South Africans, with the slogan Afrikaans, die vriendelike taal (the friendly language). The SVA, however, does not wish to compete with other languages. According to the SVA the loss of official status for Afrikaans will be a disaster, since this status guarantees the use of Afrikaans in the higher functions, such as state affairs, education and culture.

Prinsloo (1993) summarized the reaction of the Afrikaans-speaking community to the attempted scaling down of their language by the new political powers as follows:

The repositioning of Afrikaans;

Dissatisfaction over the scaling down of language being transformed to mobilisation;

Stimulating various new language projects and energies;

Accentuating signs of determined resistance against the scaling down of Afrikaans in areas of significance importance;

Obtaining international support;

Compilation of a comprehensive language plan for the Afrikaans community.

Siegrühn continued by stating that the SVA proposed the launch of a campaign to encourage Afrikaans because they enjoy using their language. This campaign was to be conducted through pamphlets, brochures and the mass media. Education was to be a high priority, especially mother tongue literacy and medium of instruction at schools. The SVA aimed to set a standard for literacy programmes, and to co-ordinate and provide financial support for existing projects. Afrikaans culture, especially contemporary music and theatre, was to be promoted, through a national Afrikaans Festival. The use of Afrikaans in the business world, where English was seen to be becoming the norm was to be encouraged by the SVA. Finally, the SVA will try to strengthen links with the Dutch and Flemish interest groups who are deeply concerned about the survival of their languages, as well as with other international institutions interested in Afrikaans.

Kruger (1996) states that a snap survey of periodicals reveals that Afrikaans is not only selling well – it is selling extremely well. Huisgenoot, at more than half a million copies weekly, is the most popular local publication. Afrikaans women's magazines outsell their English rivals. It is only by reading their readers' minds that Afrikaans

magazines managed to flourish. Selling Afrikaans to the non-Afrikaans market may be more difficult, but it is attainable if a niche market is created with the focus on the inherent attractive qualities of the language.

Steyn (1996) on website (<http://www.litnet.co.za>)

states that since 1994 the new rulers in South Africa have seriously harmed the position of Afrikaans. It almost seems as if the present regime expects that in the process of reconciliation Afrikaans-speaking people should reconcile themselves to the fact that their language is being eradicated. Many Afrikaans-speaking people already question their own loyalty towards government acting as though it were bent on destroying everything that the Afrikaans community has established. Steyn goes on to give the example of the television where Afrikaans suffered the most serious derogation. Even though there may valid objections to an Afrikaans satellite channel, such a channel offers the best opportunity for Afrikaans to continue playing a meaningful role in the television industry.

Silva on website (www.ru.ac_ra/affiliates/dsae/MAVEN.Html) states since 1994 Afrikaans has severed its intimate connection with power and oppression, and there is a new emphasis being placed by Afrikaners on the fact that Afrikaans is the community language of blacks as well as whites. The public use of Afrikaans (in government and the media) has shrunk dramatically, and its symbolic role has changed from being the language of power to being one of a number of community languages, leading (understandably) to insecurity and considerable anger amongst many Afrikaans – speakers. It is notable that some Afrikaners have recently identified themselves in public forums with speakers of the African languages, ‘standing together’ against the perceived threat of the juggernaut, English.

Roodt (2002) states that safeguarding the “higher functions” of a language, such as its use in scientific and academic circles, as well as its official status, is key to its survival. In support of this Roodt provides the following statistics: there are 300 Afrikaans schools left out of more than 2 000 in 1994; at Stellenbosch University, 68% of undergraduate classes are still held in Afrikaans, as opposed to 31% of post graduates ones; only 27% of academic publications at Stellenbosch are still produced in Afrikaans, including theses and dissertations. Roodt concludes by stating that if we do not arrest the process of Anglicisation now, Afrikaans will soon join the ranks of the 5 000 languages predicted to become extinct during this century.

The Group of 63 (Daily News, 2 July 2002), an eminent Afrikaans pressure group, also added its voice to criticism of what was perceived as a lowering of Afrikaner’s status as an academic and public language. The Group of 63 maintains that Afrikaans should be “a point of destination” and that “all students should complete their studies at Stellenbosch able to speak Afrikaans”.

Schoeman (1999) on website (<http://www.litnet.co.za>) in a media release for the Afrikanerbond made the following demands:

We are concerned about the disparaged and reduced use of Afrikaans, especially in the public service;

We feel strongly about the continued use of Afrikaans as a scientific and teaching language at the traditional Afrikaans universities and other tertiary institutions;

We feel there is a need for the confirmation and maintenance of Afrikaans as a juridical language.

We want the assurance of high quality mother tongue education on all levels.

Schoeman (1999) goes on to strongly oppose the pressure exerted from time to time by government institutions, in particular by some legal practitioners and lately by some judges, to ban Afrikaans as a language of record in our courts. Afrikaans is a fully developed legal and science medium. The other nine indigenous South African languages need similar development to serve the judicial community fully. The view that English should be considered the only legal language is considered simplistic and insulting. Resources to provide proper interpreting and translation services will promote justice in our courts and will be an investment in nation building.

SYMPATHETIC REPORTING ON AFRIKAANS IN THE LOCAL SOUTH AFRICAN ENGLISH PRESS

During my research I have noticed a tendentious pattern of reporting of Afrikaans in English newspapers. In contrast with Afrikaans newspapers, these newspapers did not only report in another spectrum but also in a sympathetic response towards Afrikaans. The focus of research was restricted to newspapers in the English medium in order to prevent the influence of emotion and bias articles carried in the Afrikaans press.

Forrest (Mail & Guardian, 29 July 1994) states that the ultimate aim, most Afrikaner intellectuals argue, must be to strip Afrikaans of its apartheid prominence while recognising its stature as a language, the profound sensitivities which surround it and the fact that it is not the exclusive property of right-wing whites. Forrest goes on to quote Brink, "Afrikaans was language of apartheid in some perceptions, but it also played a role in the downfall of apartheid." "It is time it lost its privileged status. But there is ample scope for it to remain an important language of our country."

Pearce (Mail & Guardian, 4 April 1996) stated that representatives of Afrikaner cultural and political parties joined together across political lines to approach the

Constitutional Assembly to secure constitutional guarantees for state funded schools which teach only in Afrikaans, and which preserve an Afrikaans “culture and ethos”.

Gebhardt (Mail & Guardian, 23 August 1996) writes that a cultural battle is taking place at Potchefstroom University, where white student leaders are resisting any change to language policy. Afrikaans-medium universities are living on borrowed time. The South African Student Congress (Sasco) this week placed Afrikaans tertiary institutions firmly in the firing line after the clashes at University of Potchefstroom. Sasco is clear – it would not accept Afrikaans universities, which use language as a means to exclude other racial groups from tertiary education. Gebhardt (1996) quoting Allais (Sasco’s education officer) “The use of Afrikaans makes these institutions inaccessible to a large percentage of black students. This is unacceptable for a public institution.” Gebhardt goes on to state that Sasco do not want people to feel there is any attack on Afrikaans, but that no language should dominate another. What they would like to see is Afrikaans universities and colleges implement a dual-or-parallel-medium of instruction where students are offered lectures in either English or Afrikaans. Gebhardt (1996) concludes by citing Currie (Wits Law School) who believes that the days of strictly Afrikaans-medium tertiary institutions are numbered. “They are just not palatable in today’s current political climate.”

Owen (Mail & Guardian, 6 December 1996), at a gathering of Afrikaans intellectuals discussing the future of Afrikaans, stated that Afrikaans has never seemed to be more secure than since the ruling class of Afrikaners stopped courting the enmity of all mankind. The language is both modern and indigenous, and has important lines of support. Owen goes to state that this support base is sound. Speakers of Afrikaans encompass a proletariat of (mainly coloured) urban workers, peasants and country-folk, a

powerful intellectual community, and a prosperous (mainly white) middle class. These elements are complementary: if the intellectuals provide the angst, the proletarians and the peasants provide stamina and durability, and the middle class provide the newspaper readers and theatre audiences. It is a formidable alliance.

Owen (1996) continues by stating that the outlook for Afrikaans is altogether rosy, provided one does not confuse it with the career interests or the status of the dispossessed white elite. Afrikaans failed to capture Southern Africa because it divided Afrikaans-speakers by race. Owen (1996) concludes by stating that one defends one's language by using it, by writing, by teaching, by singing, by offering it in service of South Africa. Some things English does well, other things Afrikaans does better, and for some purposes Zulu is essential. We are a polyglot of people and we must learn to use our richness of languages.

Rossouw (Mail & Guardian, 6 December 1996) reported on the initiatives to form a new Afrikaner organisation whose ultimate aim was an overarching Afrikaner organisation to co-ordinate the disparate actions of the existing 200 organisations serving the language group. Rossouw cited Mamdani (Professor of African Studies – University of Cape Town) who cautioned to guard against turning its language struggle into a bid to retain privilege. Rossouw goes to cite Alexander who stated that he did not believe the time was right to launch an organisation to promote Afrikaans. “It could be dangerous if it is done in isolation from the other language groups. Racial conflict could be disguised as linguistic conflict”. “We do not want to see a situation where we advantage a small group rather than everyone in the country. All this would serve to do is deepen the trenches in South Africa”. At the same gathering, Van Zyl Slabbert stated that he was “ambivalent” about the movement. Van Zyl Slabbert went on to ask: “Who are

Afrikaners? I have not yet worked that out. We come from different worlds.” Gerwel stated that he had a basic suspicion of an attempt to organise Afrikaans speakers. He questioned whether the initiative was in response to the Afrikaner’s loss of political power in South Africa. Gerwel goes on to state, “among working class communities on the Cape Flats, where people also love the Afrikaans language, I have not picked up a need for an Afrikaans organisation”. Gerwel goes on to state that these people had a legacy of being ostracised in South Africa, but would continue speaking Afrikaans for many years.

Edmunds (Mail & Guardian, 18 October 1996) cites Momberg (ANC –MP), who argued that the law which protects Afrikaans at the university should be amended, and all post-graduate classes should be in English, and English instruction should be available in the more popular disciplines.

Thiel (Mail & Guardian, 27 June 1997) reported that the who’s who of Afrikaner intellect and business, among them, Vosloo (Nationale Pers), Daling (Sanlam), and Giliomee (Political Scientist), headed a steering committee charged with launching an umbrella organisation to co-ordinate the disparate actions of the existing 200 organisations serving the Afrikaans language group. The group stated, “ We have encountered opposition from existing Afrikaans groups and it would not make sense to alienate these people”. Giliomee stated that Jewish, Flemish and Belgium models are being considered as options for the compilation of an Afrikaans blueprint.

Barrel (Mail & Guardian, 24 July 1998), stated that the danger in the formation of such committees fails to see a new spirit is abroad among a significant cross-section of Afrikaans-speaking opinion-formers. This movement may come to involve a fundamental redefinition of what it is to be an Afrikaans-speaker. In the process, it may

come to be formative in a (hopefully benign) re-awakening of ethnic cultures across South Africa. As any committee of intellectuals is prone to do, this one engaged in self-conscious wordplay. Some in its politically diverse membership had difficulty in using words like *groepe* (groups) or *gemeenskappe* (communities) to describe the different sets of Afrikaans-speakers they wanted to bring together. These terms were too resonant of apartheid. Barrell (1998) goes on to state that the committee added to the currency of a new term, *Afrikaanse*. It is intended to be a more inclusive term than “Afrikaner” which, because of its historical baggage, has come to imply someone who is not only an Afrikaans-speaker but who is also white, socially conservative, protestant and probably politically aggressive. The term *Afrikaanse* tries to take account of the heterogeneity of Afrikaans speakers: they include different races, different classes and different political outlooks. Barrell concludes by stating that the committee’s greatest contribution may come, ironically, via its willingness to help foster mother-tongue instruction in other smaller South African languages such as, for example, Venda. Giliomee, among others, believes that struggling for the advancement of Afrikaans alone is not an option; all the smaller South African languages must seek to deepen their roots and to grow, and must be helped to do so. The prospect on offer is that Afrikaans-speakers will come to feel the struggle for their language is one of a number of parallel struggles, rather than one in which they believe they are struggling alone for cultural survival. If so, then the sense of alienation and disempowerment felt by many of the whites among them could ease. In the process, the temptation to which *Afrikanerdom* has succumbed in the past- to wage an all –or-nothing struggle and very nearly to lose everything in the process – could become a pattern of the past.

Nel (Mail & Guardian, 19 March 1999), on the issue of Afrikaans being debated in Parliament, stated that he does not like being treated as an endangered species or as a

“problem” that is in need of attention. “Afrikaners” may constitute a problem, but Afrikaans and Afrikaans speakers are doing well. Nel (1999) goes on to state that Afrikaans literature; music and theatre are among the most vibrant on the continent. The language and its users have been enriched by their liberation from the shackles of apartheid and previous attempts at standardisation and entrenchment. The more Afrikaans celebrates its Africanness, it seems, and the more it flourishes. The more the language is re-appropriated by groups marginalized in the past, the more exciting it becomes. Nel (1999) states that it may be argued that we may not know who or what the Afrikaner is, but at least we should be aware that there are political problems pertaining to Afrikaans speakers. One of these problems flows from the fact that a sizeable number of Afrikaans speakers, both white and coloured, feel marginalized in the new South Africa, because they have lost political power. Because of this, some Afrikaans speakers withdraw from public life, or they leave the country, or mobilise around issues such as the death penalty, own schools and, for a few, an Afrikaner homeland. Nel (1999) goes on to state that contrary to what many national idealists say, one language can carry and maintain many diverse cultures. This is the richness of English and Spanish, but on a smaller scale it is also the richness of Afrikaans. It is understandable that Afrikaans speakers are concerned about its survival. Nel (1999) maintains that Afrikaans is under much less of a threat than is sometimes made out. Nevertheless. The encroachment of English on so many levels of society does pose a threat to the survival of Afrikaans. To turn this concern into a morally just demand, the claim for protection must be universalised. That means, it should be made on behalf of all indigenous languages in South Africa.

Bengu (Mail & Guardian, 15 July 1997) announced a new schools language policy which allows pupils to choose their preferred language of tuition while avoiding forcing

schools to cater to more than one language group and moving away from compulsory study of black languages. Bengu continues by stating that he had resisted pressure to force students learning in English or Afrikaans to learn an African language, but added that they should be encouraged to do so.

Mail & Guardian (21 July 1998) reported that the official record of Parliament will in future be published in four languages, rather than just in English. Hansard will be published in English and Afrikaans with immediate effect. Later it will also be produced in one Nguni language and one Sotho language.

Mail & Guardian (25 March 1999) Deputy President Thabo Mbeki announced the establishment of a special office in the presidency to oversee minority language and cultural rights. This was in response to the concerns of Afrikaans leaders – that Afrikaners are being marginalized by government action or inaction on language issues, education, affirmative action, crime and the economy.

According to Streek (Mail & Guardian, 25 February 2000), The Pan South African Board¹³ had accused state railway company, Spoornet, of acting unconstitutionally and unlawfully in banning the use of Afrikaans in the workplace. In an unprecedented ruling, the board stated that no institution is “allowed to restrict the use of a language between users of the same language”. Streek (2000) states that this ruling will have far-reaching implications for Afrikaans-speakers in the public sector and the right to use other official languages, apart from English.

Mail & Guardian (9 May 2000) a new group designed to protect Afrikaans interests was established. The 63 people attending the meeting decided to form Group 63.

¹³ Appointed under the 1994 South African Constitution

Projects to be undertaken by the group include the establishment of an Afrikaans magazine on the internet, informing its readers of language and minority issues. The body aimed at creating economic empowerment for the poor and unemployed Afrikaans-speaking person.

Mail & Guardian (15 October 2001) reports that the Freedom Front was considering obtaining a court interdict against Statistics South Africa because census forms were only available in English. This was in response to complaints received from people who could not be provided with Afrikaans census forms on their request.

Mail & Guardian (3 April 2002) reports on a study conducted by MarkData (Pty) Ltd, commissioned by the Western Cape Language Committee, to gauge the performance of the provincial government in meeting its language needs and requirements among its staff, stakeholders and the general public. The study showed that while there had been a significant strengthening of English and a mild growth in the use of Xhosa, a mild to strong decline had been noted in the use of Afrikaans in the Western Cape provincial government. The report stated that the strengthening of English pertained to it being perceived as a bridge-builder between the three official provincial languages. "This is most marked in formal aspects of communication between divisions and departments and tiers of government," the report continued. Afrikaans tended to be strong in oral communication in the immediate working environment and in contact with the general public and business, as more than 50% of the staff was Afrikaans speaking. The report concluded by stating that interviewees indicated that despite the strength of Afrikaans, the language had weakened and was still "weakening Rapidly" in the keynote areas of communication. Most Afrikaans speakers did not react negatively to the "soft, steady erosion" of their language in public use because of their fluency in English. The

study found that Xhosa, and to a lesser extent Afrikaans, are perceived to be languages that are good to understand but not so necessary to speak. This is unfortunate because it may help to perpetuate the enhancing of one language, namely English, as a dominant medium of communication.

(Daily News, 28 January 2003), the Freedom Front¹⁴ (FF) intended taking legal action the Speaker of Parliament for failure to replace English-only notice boards with boards reflecting the other languages of the country. The FF proposed that four languages should appear on the notice boards at parliament: a Nguni language, a Sotho language, Afrikaans and English. The party goes on to state that the practice does not comply with section 6(3)(a) of the constitution, which stipulates that the government must use at least two official languages. It further contends that Parliament should set an example to the rest of the country.

According to Sithole (Daily News, 24 October 2002), Afrikaans as a language of record used by the country's courts of law could soon be a thing of the past. The department of justice has proposed that only English be used as the official court language. The department contends that the proposed move was not aimed at undermining section six of the country's constitution, which encourages the use of all official 11 languages, or to disparage Afrikaans as a language, but suggested the cost will be cost effective. Porogo (2002) stated that although everybody was allowed to use his or her own language in court, the use of Afrikaans, as a language of record was a major problem. Sithole goes on to quote Porogo as saying, "It (Afrikaans) comes with baggage of the past, and arouses in people's minds apartheid atrocities, as it was used in courts to unjustly condemn our people. Using English as a language of record will also have some

¹⁴ A political party in the South African Parliament

problems, but they would not be major". Setsetse (2002) stated that at some point only one language would have to be used to record court proceedings. It would not be cost effective to have all languages used as languages of record. Setsetse (2002) goes on to state that this is for purely for practical reasons, and not because we undermine Afrikaans or any other indigenous languages.

According to an unidentified author (The Citizen, 16 February 1998), Afrikaans is increasingly under attack by the African National Congress (ANC). The author states that a new language policy is proposed in Parliament in which Afrikaans is to be downgraded and for Hansard¹⁵ to be published in English only. These proposals were motivated by budgetary considerations, as well as by a need to adhere to the constitution's stipulation that all official languages be promoted.

THE LANGUAGE ISSUE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF STELLENBOSCH

Van der Merwe (Daily News, 2 July 2002) stated that while Afrikaner groupings have complained that Afrikaans is being disenfranchised and has been persecuted ever since 1994 – when the language suddenly had to share its official status with 11 other languages instead of one – national Education Minister Kader Asmal has raised language activist's hackles anew when he announced that all historically Afrikaans universities should present parallel medium courses to broaden their accessibility, especially to black students.

According to van der Merwe (Daily News, 2 July 2002), language activists are calling for Stellenbosch University to stay true to its roots by lecturing and publishing in Afrikaans. Van der Merwe continues by stating that while retired academics and anxious alumni of the university have the leisure to bemoan the peril in which the language seems

¹⁵ Publication of debates held in Parliament

to find itself, faculty deans at the university have to face up to the realities of globalisation, increasing international collaboration in research and the internationalising of the companies employing the university's graduates. An academic at the university stated that lecturers teach in the language in which they are most proficient, and in which they would be best able to explain the work – if they are English speaking, they teach in English, and the same with Afrikaans. This shows a de facto as well as an ideological shift in the language policy at Stellenbosch University.

According to Brand (Mail & Guardian, 21 September 2001), the National Plan for Higher Education, stated that Afrikaans "... continues to act as a barrier to access ..." at some universities. The Minister of Education, Kader Asmal, convened a committee under the chairmanship of Professor Jakes Gerwel, to address this issue by advising him on "... ways in which Afrikaans ... can be assured of continued long-term maintenance, growth and development as a language of science and scholarship in the higher education system without non-Afrikaans speakers being unfairly denied access within the system".

The raging debate of Afrikaans at the University of Stellenbosch must be seen in a wider context. Asmal (2002) states that there is more at stake than the inherent dangers of Afrikaans. It is more about living together, about multilingualism, human and language right and democratisation. Giliomee (2002) questions why the University of Stellenbosch has remained Afrikaans at under – and post –graduate levels while 19 of the 21 universities have already changed to double medium. It could be because of the abstract value of a language. In the long term a double medium system threatens the lesser language (Refer Laponce: Language and Territories, 1987:170). While the governments' proposals seem to encourage language diversity, it however does not aim at giving Afrikaans an opportunity at universities that remain single-lingual rigidly. A survival test

for Afrikaans is proposed where speakers of stronger languages, such as French in Canada and Dutch in Belgium firmly declined such an option because it leads to certain demise. Giliomee (2002) continues by stating that the demand for single medium Afrikaans is not merely clinging to privileges from the past. Quoting researchers of note, such as Charles Taylor of McGill University - Montreal, to whom liberalism in the cultural arena provides freedom for minorities, sees it for instance as a logical insistence on language democracy and survival.

Asmal (Sunday Times, 28 July 2002) states that the debate on the language policy for higher education has reached new lows in recent days. The insults hurled by those opposed to Afrikaans-medium universities becoming dual medium (teaching in both English and Afrikaans) or offering parallel sessions have become more heavy-handed, personalised and vulgar, despite our attempts to understand the reasons for these concerns and to allay fears that the Afrikaans language is under threat.

The University of Stellenbosch challenge is to empower students from all Afrikaans communities, especially the brown students who show the lowest participation of 3,5% in tertiary education. This understated demand will have to be met with proactive strategies aimed at the school system, bridging courses and new facilities to smooth the chasm between school and university. White, brown and black Afrikaans speakers will have to take-on the responsibility to ensure that the University of Stellenbosch remains an Afrikaans university on the whole.

Van Louw (2002) states that both the University of Stellenbosch and Afrikaans are national assets. The University of Stellenbosch as partner within the broader South African Community is asking that Afrikaans enhance partnerships. Afrikaans must help other languages in the multilingual society.

Delegates to a conference strongly felt that the language issue at University of Stellenbosch cannot be left to or be determined by market forces. The prediction that the University of Stellenbosch will be anglicised in 30 years time will have a domino effect of primary and secondary education. Therefore guarantees were required from the University of Stellenbosch regarding Afrikaans, as well as active financial steps and a language policy that will protect Afrikaans. If Afrikaans is not maintained at tertiary level, no other language will ultimately survive. The University of Stellenbosch is the grand patron in this regard, but not the sole mandatory discretioner.

Gouws (2002) saw it as the University of Stellenbosch's mandate to promote Afrikaans as a science language, as result of its responsibility towards Afrikaans, towards Stellenbosch and towards multilingualism. If the University of Stellenbosch does not promote Afrikaans, it will not be done elsewhere.

The Suid Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns en Kultuur (South African Academy for Science and Art) warned (Daily News, 2 July 2002) that by not clearly declaring Afrikaans as the language of tuition, it was weakening the position of Afrikaans in relation to English and paved the way for discrimination.

Satyo (1997) on the merger of University of Cape Town's African language and Afrikaans departments stated that since Afrikaans is an African language, it makes sense for it to be taught and researched together with other African languages in a department of languages of Africa. Furthermore Snyman (1997) states that it is an event of great significance in the development of university language teaching in the country. University of Cape Town is the first in the country to merge with a Department of African Languages. Without denying the roots of Afrikaans in Europe, it recognises that Afrikaans developed in Africa and should be seen as one of the languages of Africa.

Snyman concludes by stating that the department see this merger of departments as an enhancement of multilingualism and the recognition of the rightful place of all African languages in South Africa, including Afrikaans.

Alexander on website (<http://www.litnet.co.za>) states that the constitution enjoins the government to ensure that all the official languages enjoy “parity of esteem” and are “treated equitably”. It also vests the right to choose the language of tuition in the individual and stipulates that the state has to ensure that such tuition is provided in public educational institutions, unless there are insuperable obstacles. On the other side of the coin, the constitution prohibits the use of language by any institution or person to discriminate against or to exclude any person from any public institution.

Alexander on website (<http://www.litnet.co.za>) continues by stating that the demand for a predominantly Afrikaans-medium university is, therefore, based on a proper reading of the constitution of South Africa. It is also based on the universally recognised right of linguistic communities and of individuals to educate themselves and their children in their “mother tongue”, if they choose to do so.

Progressive Afrikaans-speaking people are demanding that one university in the south of the country and one in the north be accorded the right to provide predominantly Afrikaans-medium tuition at undergraduate level. They are motivated by, among other things, the realisation that any language ceases to be useful for advanced scientific, technological and other analytical functions if it is not used consistently as a language of tuition at the level of tertiary education. Alexander on website (<http://www.litnet.co.za>) continues by stating theirs is an eminently reasonable demand and it would be the merest ostrich-like behaviour to refuse to acknowledge this. The ethnic-tribal connotations of language policy in South Africa will not in years to come have the same divisive value

that they have today. In a few decades' time we will in all probability have universities and other educational institutions that will be predominantly Zulu, or Tsawana or even Venda-medium institutions. They will, in this benign sense, have been real voortrekkers!

Alexander on website (<http://www.litnet.co.za>) concludes by stating that this issue represents one of the defining moments in contemporary South African history. It is about our understanding of all those slogans we mouth so thoughtlessly, such as multiculturalism, non-racialism, national unity, democracy and human rights. We should avoid the kind of mistakes that lead to civil wars such as that in Macedonia currently. There, the recognition of the Albanian language as an official language and of three Albanian-language universities is at the heart of the conflict.

While the issue of languages at higher institutions rages on in South Africa, a course that explores the history and development of the Afrikaans language is being offered at the University of California, Berkeley. Van Deusen-Scholl (1997) states that Afrikaans is looked at in the context of society. Van Deusen-Scholl continues by stating that the pendulum is swinging away from where Afrikaans was in the early 1990's. "Immediately after apartheid, people did not see a future for Afrikaans in South Africa. Today, we are seeing a new role for Afrikaans, although a more modest role, alongside the other 10 official languages. The white minority is not as vocal as it was, so the majority speakers are hoping their dialects will someday take on a more central function in the language, replacing standard Afrikaans with a new standard."

CONCLUSION

Multilingualism brings to the fore a rich tapestry of cultural and individual identity. The contribution of each language group in South Africa can weave an indelible richness in a nation's pride. Afrikaans, although it originated as a spoken and written language in

Afrikaans, was never regarded as an African language. Ever since the Soweto uprising Afrikaans had been under the cloud of being the language of the oppressor.

Today, in a democratic South Africa, Afrikaans is beginning to see a corpus change that is being influenced by changed social circumstances. Reports indicate that it will be the people of this country that will play an active role to ensure that Afrikaans continues to flourish alongside the other official languages. The language has attained an individual identity and the people are beginning to use their mother tongue with less reluctance in those spheres of society where they have maximum choice.

The loss of official status is not necessarily to the disadvantage of Afrikaans, but rather to its advantage. The role of Afrikaans as an indigenous language can now be redefined in terms of the space that the constitution gives the indigenous languages. According to Brand (<http://www.litnet.co.za>) without Afrikaans (and the other languages) there can be no reconciliation in South Africa. The reason is that this Reconciliation without justice is impossible whether focused on race or language.

OFFICIAL LANGUAGES IN DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

INTRODUCTION

The South African Constitution gives equal status to 11 official languages, namely Afrikaans, English, IsiNdebele, IsiXhosa, IsiZulu, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, SiSwati, Tshivenda and Xitsonga. All of these languages are capable of development into fully functional modern languages, given the political, social and educational will to see that these languages enjoy their rightful status and role. In this chapter I look at the contribution of English, Afrikaans and the nine indigenous as a resource to the democratisation of South Africa and its nation building process.

AFRIKAANS ENTERS DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA BURDENED WITH THE LEGACY OF APARTHEID

South Africa presents an exciting context in which to observe changes in language behaviour. Language has had a central role in the socio-political history of the country. It has been an important factor in the development of nationalism, in building the Apartheid State, and in the struggle against it. Amongst the Whites, language has maintained the distinction between people of British and Dutch descent. Under British colonial rule, particularly after the Anglo-Boer War, there was an attempt to suppress Afrikaner nationalism through curtailing the use of the Afrikaans language. Later, when the Nationalist Party came to power and established the apartheid regime, Afrikaans was promoted and established as the second language of the country (Finchiliescu and Nyawose: 1998:54).

Steyn (1999) on website (<http://www.litnet.co.za>) states that a struggle for recognition sometimes develops where a government gives preference to one language

above others. The preferential language becomes the dominant language of the state. To this authority the language is superior and equal rights are not bestowed on non-dominant languages. One of the results of such a policy, which is normally referred to as an assimilation policy, is often various forms of discrimination and injustice to the users of non-dominant languages. A secondary result can be that the number of speakers are so drastically reduced that the language dies in due course.

South Africa's history (Bruynse: 1996) shows a cycle of imposed language – of English by the British, Afrikaans by the Afrikaners, and now again English, supposedly by choice. Kamwangamalu (1998) states that English-Afrikaans bilingualism dominated the period 1795-1948, during which the British ruled South Africa; whereas Afrikaans-English bilingualism dominated the period 1948-1994, when the Afrikaners had the reigns of government, and where it dedicated considerable resources to the development of the higher domain functions of Afrikaans, to the exclusion of the indigenous languages, via various parastatal language units, the Vaktaalbuuro (Terminology Bureau) and Die Suid-Afrikaanse Akedemie vir Wetenskap en Kuns (The South African Academy for Arts and Science).

According to Brand (2001) on website (<http://www.litnet.co.za>), one of the few positive legacies of the pre-1994 era was the fact that more languages had access to public life than English- the local languages and especially, Afrikaans. The official use and recognition of these languages (despite use and constitutional language policies) have drastically deteriorated in the last ten years. This limits and voids to a large extent the transformation of our society to freedom, equality and solidarity as well as the realization of the African Renaissance. Brand goes on to quote Boesak's public address 'Farewell to Innocence', in which Boesak contends that, where skin colour earlier was

used as a cruel measure of a person's worth, language is now increasingly used to perform this unworthy task.

Mandela (2001) states that it is better to draw a clear distinction between the oppressive policies of a dominating racial group and the language in which those policies are enunciated. We fight the former and not the latter. Mandela (2001) gives the example of the German language that has been used in committing the greatest atrocities in human history and for the perpetuation of the most offensive theories of race superiority ... yet nobody has suggested the abolition of that language.

Muller (2000) on website (<http://www.litnet.co.za>) states that in Africa the borders were drawn by the colonial powers, without taking into account language and culture. This is why the current generation of leaders often consolidate their positions by undermining ethnicity by the use of languages such as English, French, Portuguese and Swahili as official languages. In South Africa we have eleven official languages, but smaller languages such as Tshivenda and Xitsonga feel themselves seriously under threat because of official neglect. Even Afrikaans is in battle to retain its' higher functions.

Silva (at www.ru.ac_ra/affiliatees/dsae/MAVEN.HTML) states that as in most countries where it serves as lingua franca, English came to be perceived as the language of the social elite. But while it was seen as the language of aspiration and empowerment for black South Africans and for many Afrikaners, among a significant section of the Afrikaans population it was consistently received with hostility as an oppressor, and, from the time the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948, Afrikaans became the openly favoured language. Despite the fact that English was the other official language, the business of government and administration was conducted almost exclusively in Afrikaans. State resources were allocated to the development of Afrikaans while English

was afforded a lesser status and the African languages were ignored (except for some being declared the official languages of the discredited ethnic ‘homelands’)

Whereas in other post-colonial societies English has often been viewed as an interloper, imposed from outside and thus politically suspect, in South African society Afrikaans shielded South African English from this stigma in the period 1948-1994. Afrikaans became known as “the language of the oppressor”: apartheid was enforced in Afrikaans, as it was the language of the bureaucracy and the police force. In contrast, English was chosen as language of communication by the ANC and other liberation organisations during the ‘freedom struggle’, and “has typically been seen as the language of liberation and black unity”(Gough 1996:xviii).

Finchiliescu and Nyawose (1998) go on to state that language was also the catalyst for the upsurge of resistance to apartheid in the 1970’s. The Soweto uprisings of 1976 marked the beginning of a fresh wave of struggle against the apartheid regime that continued on numerous fronts for the next one and a half decades. Thus, while language was central to black people’s assertion of their identity and rights, the struggle did not centre on demands related to their own languages.

ENGLISH IN DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

Chick (1992), as cited in Lemmer (1995), states that English, in South Africa, has escaped the stigma which has been attached to it elsewhere in Africa as part of the colonial heritage and has emerged not only as the language of liberation, but also as the language in which the new order has been negotiated since 1990. Moreover, its role as functional linking language in the new government appears to be assured at least in the medium term (Marivate 1993).

Thomasson (The Mercury, 29 June 1998), states that the Pan South African Language Board said in a submission to parliament that neither Afrikaans, nor any of the other African languages function as a *lingua franca*, and tertiary institutions must require proficiency in English. The board is quoted as saying that, "*Common sense tells us that English is the dominant academic lingua franca of our time, and that our resources should be directed toward ensuring that everyone has equal access to academic proficiency in it*".

According to Crystal (2001:39), English has always been a minority language in South Africa, and is currently spoken as a first language by about 3.6 million in a 1996 population survey of nearly 42 million. Afrikaans, which was given official status in 1925, was the first language of the majority of whites, including most of those in power, and acted as an important symbol of identity for those of Afrikaner background. It was also the first language of most of the coloured population. English was used by the remaining whites (of British background) and by increasing numbers of the (70 percent majority) black population. There is thus a linguistic side to the political divisions: Afrikaans came to be perceived by the black majority as the language of authority and repression; English was perceived by the White government as the language of protest and self-determination. Many blacks saw English as a means of achieving an international voice, and uniting themselves with other black communities. Lemmer (1995) states that proficiency in the language of the dominant political group has played gatekeeper to privilege, political power and economic prosperity. For the white authorities, too, English became important as a means of international communication, and 'upwardly mobile' Afrikaners became increasingly bilingual.

Giliomee¹⁶ et al (2002) states that English is not the only common denominator-language of South Africa. The proportions of 'black' people who use Afrikaans and English as their second or third language are about even in size. English is the language mostly used by the public as lingua franca. With regard to the matter of multi-lingualism and a lingua franca for South Africa Giliomee concluded with the following quote of Heugh:

We do not have, nor are we likely to have, a single language which can function as a viable lingua franca in this country. The fact of the matter is that 80% of the population is proficient in languages other than English, ... In other words, no more than 20% has an adequate proficiency of English for communicative purposes in the workplace. ... Yet, the leadership of the country ... persist in one-directional communicative activities through a language that has little meaning for the majority. Thus, the apparently inexorable drive toward a reliance on English as the predominant language for communication means quite simply that we are leaving 80% of people on the fringe, beyond the borders of democratic participation.

According to Burgher (2000/01), the South African Constitution, 1996 (Act 108 of 1996), clearly states that everyone has the right to use the language and to participate in the cultural life of his or her choice, but no one exercising these rights may do so in a manner inconsistent with any provision of the Bill of Rights. It also states that each person has the right to instruction in the language of his or her choice where this is reasonably practicable. The new language policy fulfils the following requirements:

¹⁶ Litnet.co.za

It reflects the democratic content and attitude of the Constitution in that it recognises people's right to exercise their rights and freedoms in their own language; and

It recognises the reality of the linguistic diversity of South Africa. For example, English and Afrikaans are spoken by less than twenty percent of all South Africans as their home language or first language.

AFRIKAANS, ENGLISH AND THE INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES OF DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

To cater for all South Africa's peoples, the Constitution provides for 11 official languages, namely Afrikaans, English, IsiNdebele, IsiXhosa, IsiZulu, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, SiSwati, Tshivenda and Xitsonga. The Constitution makes it clear that the Government must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages. According to the Census 1996 figures, IsiZulu is the mother tongue of 22,9% of the population, followed by IsiXhosa (17,9%), Afrikaans (14,4%), Sepedi (9,2%) and English (8,6%).

According to Henrad (2001) on website (<http://www.org/most.vl3n2henrard.htm>) the constitutional framework concerning the accommodation of South Africa's linguistic diversity is rather promising in that it provides a basis for the enhanced empowerment (Sachs 1994:2) and political participation, as well as equal services (Reagan 1995:320) for the speakers of the 11 official languages. Furthermore, the importance of promoting and ensuring the respect of the other languages spoken in the country is acknowledged (section 6(5)). Simultaneously, the improved constitutional of several of the indigenous languages contributes to the achievement of the principle of substantive equality, which is so vital and central for the new South Africa.

Alexander (2002) states that Afrikaans remains the third largest language in South Africa; it is the mother tongue of 15% of the population and of more than 90% of the brown¹⁷ people. Retention of the language is a matter of principle, which must not be determined by demand in the market. Alexander goes on to state that it is a lie that South Africa could become a great nation through the medium of English. A person cannot be as creative in one's second language. Even if English is used increasingly worldwide, the mother tongue must not be excluded. A smaller language will indeed be swept away by a more dominant language. Therefore Afrikaans needs protection and statutory support.

Prior to 1994, Lemmer (1995) continues, the overall response to multilingualism in contemporary South African society has been a centrally designed policy of state bilingualism, which gave status only to English and Afrikaans as the official languages of government at all levels. This policy, driven by political and ideological motives, was shaped to cater primarily for native English and Afrikaans speakers in the interests of white supremacy, and effectively ignored the needs of speakers of African and other languages.

Du Preez (date unknown) states that while our high society and our broadcasters treat indigenous languages as something tribal and inferior, these languages will continue to wither. South Africa is well on its way to becoming a predominantly English speaking –speaking country, even though English is the mother tongue of a minority of South Africans. We are so much poorer for it.

Kamwangamalu (2000) argues that not much has changed in terms of language practices in the country's institutions. If anything has changed at all, it is that English has gained more territory and political clout than Afrikaans. Crystal (2001:39) argues that

¹⁷ For the cognitive coloureds – the term coloured is offensive because it foregrounds by implication miscegenation.

English was made the official language in South Africa in 1822 and there were attempts to anglicise the large Afrikaans population. English became the language of law, education and most other aspects of public life. Afrikaans speakers used English as a second language, and many of the Dutch colonists took this variety with them on the Great Trek of 1836, as they moved north to escape British rule. An African variety of English also developed, spoken by the black population, who had learned the language mainly in mission schools, and which was influenced in different ways by the various language backgrounds of the speakers.

Kamwangamalu (2000), quoting Gunning (1997), remarks that most provincial legislators use English. He explains that ‘politicians seem to prefer English to other languages, practical circumstances dictate its [English] use, it [English] is used to avoid confusion, and it is the main language of documentation’. Kamwangamalu (2000) continues by stating that Afrikaans may have lost most of the political clout it had during the apartheid era, but it is the only language that seems to compete with English for territory in most of the country’s institutions.

Gardner (1994) noted that English was often seen as the language of liberation, the language that linked oppressed people with the outside world. Schrire (1990), quoting Alexander (undated), mentions that one of the most fascinating twists of fate that through their forty years sojourn in the wilderness of Afrikaner nationalist rule, most black people have come to associate notions of freedom and democracy with the English language and tend to stereotype Afrikaans as ‘the language of the oppressor’. Mda et al (2000:165) maintain that many African language speakers – and other South Africans- perceive English as offering greater socio-economic and educational opportunities and potentially ‘unifying’, a linguistically diverse nation. English is therefore, preferred as a lingua

franca and language of learning. Many people also fear the cost of implications of recognising eleven languages and argue that only English would be cheaper and more sensible since English is a 'world' / 'international' language. Choosing one language, English, may also be a way for African language speakers to ensure that their language is not dominated by another African language. Mda et al (2000) concludes by stating that African languages are perceived to be underdeveloped and unable to cope with scientific, technical and technological subjects. Kamwangamalu (2000) maintains that like most African countries, South Africa does not have a history of successful language planning for African languages. The lack of a bold political initiative to promote the nine official African languages, together with vested interests and conflicting ideologies, ensure that the African languages are associated with their traditional role as vehicles for cultural heritage; while English and Afrikaans are associated with institutions such as the government and administration, the courts, banking, etc.

Jenkins (1992) states that conservative blacks point with pride to the advanced level achieved for the indigenous languages. Unlike most indigenous in former colonies, all the South African languages have a written form and at least some literature, and the main ones are already developed sufficiently to serve a modern society in many ways, although not in technology. Swanepoel et al (1993:48) states that in South Africa, significantly large numbers of people speaks African languages. Indigenous African languages functioned adequately at local or regional levels from time immemorial. Although they were marginalised, they have a long history and a sizeable body of literature.

Msimang (1993:31) argues that in a given society every person should be able to communicate effectively in the dominant language regardless of language background.

Although Zulu is the dominant language (Census: 1996), Msimang believes nevertheless that it would be undemocratic to elevate it to a dominant position. The reasons are that, especially in the economic and scientific scenario, it does not satisfy the requirements of a vehicular language and, despite its size, it is inherently a regional variety, as compared to English, for instance, which to all intents and purposes is a 'national' language in that it has been acquired by a large number of South Africa's literate citizens.

Finchiliescu and Nyawose (1998), quoting Harris (1995), maintain that the black indigenous languages were actively used by the apartheid regime as a means of creating separate 'nations' or 'ethnicities' in a divide-and-rule strategy. Some of the indigenous languages were originally created as distinct languages (out of a range of dialects with similar roots) by European missionaries in the process of committing the oral language to written form. The different missions (often coming from different European countries) controlled different areas of the country, so the languages they established for preaching and teaching became the basis of different area or 'tribal' groups. The apartheid government fostered the diversity of these groups through establishing 'independent' tribal homelands, many of which were accompanied by language differences.

Seepe, in *Mail & Guardian* (August 2001), states that a political, historical and moral case could and should be made for the use, promotion and development of indigenous languages. The promotion and developed of indigenous languages should be linked to the Africanisation process. Instead of affirming African languages, the new elite has tended to promote and perpetuate the dominance of colonial. This is despite paying lip service to promoting African languages as equals of the languages of colonial power. It is this syndrome that allows African politicians to address rural and urban African-language speakers in "foreign" languages: languages that are hardly understood by their

audiences and which they themselves handle with difficulty and grammatical inhibition. Seepe (2001) concludes by stating that unless African languages are developed for research in science, mathematics, technology and commerce, they will be considered irrelevant in the developmental terms and hence poor competition against colonial languages. If South Africa is to join the march to economic prosperity and the social and economic empowerment of its people, the cultivation and development of its African languages is crucial. After all, nature does not write its laws in English.

Msomi (2002) states that eight years after the adoption of the new Constitution, recognising 11 official languages, South Africa's public-service television is still seventy percent English. Languages like Tsonga and Ndebele have no representation on public television, violating the constitutional rights of a large number of citizens to receive information in their mother tongue. The South African Broadcasting Corporation has blamed advertising for its failure to deliver programming in these languages, which are understood by too few, and often too poor, people to appeal to advertisers.

Ngubane (2000) states that IsiZulu and most African languages were given very little chance to develop in the past. English and Afrikaans have enjoyed and still enjoy the maximum usage in the government and all public spheres. English has become the lingua franca in public life and it does not need special protection or development. Msimang (1992) holds the view that the capacity of a language to perform certain functions depends on its level of development. African languages are not seen on the same level of development as English, or even Afrikaans. They cannot be used as media of international communication; as languages of science, commerce and trade. They cannot be used as a common language. Citing Schuring (1991) he goes on to say that when it is reasonable to do so, one or more of these languages maybe designated as the

language to be used for defined purposes at the national level or in any region or area where it is widely used. Msimang (1992) continues by stating that the only way in which the African languages can compete with English and Afrikaans is that they must be elaborated and modernized.

Schuring et al (1996) correctly point out that the metropolitan areas of South Africa are characterised by the occurrence of many different languages whose speakers come into contact with each other on a daily basis. They go on to state that urbanisation and migration are the main factors leading to the development of multilingualism in the metropolitan areas. Migration often spreads the use of urban varieties of language to rural areas as well. Black urban speech communities are characterised by a high level of tolerance for each other's language and a commitment to finding a common medium of communication. Nevertheless, a particular language often dominates in a particular township. Within these communities, each language variety has its own function and domains of use, although some varieties are encroaching on the domains traditionally preserved for specific language varieties.

English and Afrikaans are used in the townships, with English being seen as the language of prestige and something to be aspired to. Afrikaans, on the other hand, has negative connotations in some townships, and this does not bode well for its continued use.

The standard languages, Schuring et al (1996) continue, have traditionally enjoyed the highest prestige of all varieties in the townships. They are regarded by the older generations as the carriers of their traditions and culture, but the younger generations seem to be opting for the use of English in formal domains instead.

Schuring et al (1996) caution that there is some concern about the future of standardised African languages, because many black people in South Africa are opting for English as medium of instruction and are discouraging their children from using African languages, even at home. Added to this is the fact that English is currently being used as the language of academic and business communication. Despite this, the continued usage of the township languages is likely to revitalise the standard languages and add to their rich inheritance.

South Africa's multilingual policy accords official status to eleven languages. Its main objective has been to promote the status of the indigenous languages together with English and Afrikaans. Crystal (2001:39) states that the consequences of such an ambitious policy remains to be seen, but the difficulties of administering an eleven-language formula are immense, and it is likely that English will continue to be an important lingua franca. Enthusiasm for the language continues to grow among the black population: in 1993, for example, a series of government surveys among black parents demonstrated an overwhelming choice of English as the preferred language in which children should receive their education. And in the South African Parliament in 1994 the language continued to dominate the proceedings, with 87 percent of all speeches being made in English.

In a sociolinguistic survey (2000) conducted by Pansalb, there is a widespread perception that English is being favoured as the lingua franca and it therefore enjoys superior treatment to the other languages in both the public service and the business sector. The survey also reveals that South Africans are surprising generous in attempting to accommodate the practical challenges that arise in a country of eleven languages. The results make clear, that substantial proportions of people have to accept less than

adequate communication with their fellow South Africans and have to make difficult adjustments in formal situations and economic interaction.

A case in point is Khalawan's (2000) study in the Durban area revealed unexpectedly favourable attitudes among Black matriculants towards Afrikaans as a matric subject. A surprising 75% of the more than 400 respondents indicated that Afrikaans should be introduced as a second language somewhere in primary school. More than half of them felt that Afrikaans should be introduced in the foundation phase, while a mere 22% felt that Afrikaans should only be introduced in the senior phase. This illustrates a significant deviation from the stereotypical image of Afrikaans as the language of the oppressor. The study also revealed that present day efforts to roll back Afrikaans as a matriculation subject are taking place under the mistaken assumption that Afrikaans is ideologically stigmatised, and that there will be no reaction to its downgrading. Furthermore the results showed that the shadow of the Soweto uprising is still being cast over Afrikaans in the minds of some ideologues in position of authority and trust, but this probably is not the case for most black South Africans, particularly the young ones. Hopefully this study was an attempt at a new approach to South Africa's language policy, to complement existing studies and to stimulate new ones.

Reports from many quarters suggest that the new language policy is not working for all languages in post-apartheid South Africa and that the tide seems to be increasing in favour of English. Kamwangamalu (2000) states that one reason that seems to be obvious is the instrumental value of English (and Afrikaans) vis-à-vis the African languages. Kamwangamalu (2000) continues by stating that all the population groups in South Africa perceive English as an open sesame by means of which one can achieve unlimited upward social mobility.

They see English as a language with no sell-by date attached to it. Accordingly, the majority of parents, both black and white want their children to be educated through the medium of English. Also, the language behaviour of policy-makers does not help the cause of the African languages. Their behaviour favours the use of English in virtually all-higher domains of language use, such as education, the media, the courts, government and administration.

Kamwangamalu (2000) argues that contrary to the constitutional principle of language equity, which stipulates that 'all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably, language practices in virtually all of the country's institutions point to a different reality: the languages are unofficially ranked hierarchically and constitute a three-tier, triglossic, system, one in which English is at the top, Afrikaans is in the middle, and the African languages are at the bottom. Kamwangamalu (2000) calls for a rethink of the new language policy with a view to adopting a more pragmatic approach, decentralized, market-orientated approach to status planning if the country is to succeed in its efforts to promote the African languages.

Alexander (1990) states that it is clear that for economic reasons, knowledge of English and to a lesser degree, Afrikaans, will be integral to the expansion of the South African economy regardless of the particular forms in which economic development occurs. In post-apartheid South Africa, Afrikaans will rapidly lose its most favourable language status and for economic reasons, the promotion of English as the lingua franca will become the most rational policy option.

Du Preez (Daily News, 8 March 2001) writes that English will always be the common language we use in the urban economy and to communicate with the outside world. It is important that every South African is able to speak, read and write English.

But if we achieve that at the expense of our own, precious languages, it is a price too high to pay. Then three hundred years of colonialism would have been completely successful.

However, reports in the Independent on Saturday (4 January 2003) indicate that the government is taking the language issue seriously for the first time. There has been an acknowledgement of the centrality of language policy to a wide range of government programmes to bring democracy and delivery to the full spectrum of South Africa's diverse communities. The report goes on to state that a substantial chunk of President Thabo Mbeki's address to the ANC's Stellenbosch national conference was devoted to the importance of promoting multi-lingualism and he went on to quote the Freedom Charter: "All people shall have an equal right to use their own languages". Mbeki also recently told the National Council of Provinces that multilingualism should not merely be an item on the government's priority list – a sort of add-on after thought. Rather, giving practical effect to multilingualism should become an integral part of setting all government priorities. This represents a sea of change in government thinking on the role and significance of language in effective governance.

President Mbeki (Independent on Saturday, 4 January 2003) also made reference for the first time to a pared-down, less expensive and more manageable language model for official use in South Africa. The new six-language model for use on a national level draws on one of the languages from the Nguni family, one from the Sotho family, Afrikaans, English, Venda and Tsonga. Languages comprising the Nguni and Sotho clusters would be used on a rotating basis, ensuring that members of these groups would always be able to understand official communication.

In a series of statements and announcements of the new cabinet-approved language policy framework (Independent on Saturday, 4 January 2003), Education Minister Kader Asmal has also issued a number of highly significant pointers, guidelines and commitments that reflect government's seriousness of purpose on language matters.

These include the need to develop African languages for scientific and academic use, an end to single-medium educational institutions at tertiary level (which presumably includes English-only universities and technikons), and provision for Afrikaners or other indigenous languages becoming or remaining the primary language at institutions.

If government remains true to these commitments, and is prepared to pay for them, we are in for an exciting new era that should combine celebrating our diversity with growing our economy. (Independent on Saturday, 4 January 2003).

CONCLUSIONS

South Africa's future as a multicultural and diverse nation is indisputably a multilingual one. All eleven languages should be equal in their capacity to serve as a means of communication, thought, and bearers of culture. This may take some time, if not generations. But we need to transform the languages of our country from instruments of division into instruments of national unification. Each language should be encouraged to flourish and political will and patience is required for such encouragement. Leon (1998) states that the constitutional provision for equality for all languages in this country is important and we would be a poorer nation without it.

The South African constitution has thrown a lifeline to all the indigenous languages. The government has put in place enabling legislation in terms of its constitution for the protection of the eleven official languages. Whether a language survives then depends on the whether people are using that language, the extent to which

they remain loyal to that language and the usage they foresee for the language. This is also in the case of Afrikaans. It is impossible for it to have remained or retained its status of privilege and power. With the loss of power, ideological power for the Afrikaners also came the loss of ideological power for the Afrikaans language. Now its got to find its niche in the new political dispensation, which got to remain intelligible to whoever wants to speak Afrikaans as a home language or whoever wants to have access to the language or serve as a means of communication for cultural enrichment.

Du Preez (Daily News, 8 March 2001) aptly points out that we should breed a culture whereby speaking your own language should be a symbol of self-esteem, and speaking an indigenous language other than your own, a symbol of patriotism. It is not an altruistic thing only. It will enrich the person doing it.

It behoves all South Africans to not only talk to each other, but to do so in the most understandable way possible. It is a life-skill, which will never be wasted, and one we trust our children will take for granted as they move towards greater social unity in the years ahead. [Daily News, 26 September 2000]

Steyn (1999) states that constitutional determinations and language laws are however, never, sufficient to ensure equal status of languages. It depends on politicians and their officials how language laws will be applied. For decades after 1910 there existed a language struggle for the same reason that there is a language struggle today.

Nelson Mandela, in Andre Brink's novel, *Reinventing a Continent* (1996) pays tribute to all South Africans in countering and breaking the tyranny of silence, the writers and intellectuals of our society were key. Part of the tragic human wastage of the authoritarian and racially divided past we came from, has been that even such potentially

free thinkers were often trapped into and comprised by their group affiliations and sympathies. That so many writes and intellectuals from all sectors of the population did in fact over the span of many decades join combat against that tyranny of silence, is certainly testimony to the indestructibility of the human spirit. They, the writers and intellectuals, documented and analysed; proclaimed, protested and prophesied; narrated, dramatised and sang. The South African struggle for liberation and democracy was always and everywhere – in exile, in prison, in the internal mass movements and the underground- informed and inspired by the rich body of thought and creative work produced by our writers. Their work continued to demonstrate, even in the darkest years, that the South African voices of justice and reason would not be silenced.

The South African language debate has been going on since the country liberated itself from apartheid in 1994. Numerous questions have been raised concerning the language issue, especially with respect to the status of Afrikaans and the other African languages vis-à-vis English in the South African context. Many argue that English should be the sole language of communication. The question should not be whether Afrikaans and the other nine official languages or English should be the language of everyday use; but rather in what ways can English and the other ten official languages function, not at the expense of the latter, but in addition to the former.

The main objective of the government's language policy has been to promote the status of the indigenous languages. Recent reports suggest that the language policy is not working for all the languages in post-apartheid South Africa; and that the tide seem to be turning increasingly in favour of English. The fact that use of all eleven languages is a fundamental human right means that English should be brought to equality with Afrikaans and the other nine official languages.

According to Young (1995) the continued use of English as a predominant language of wider communication will further empower those already proficient in it. The gap between those who can use English effectively and those who cannot may widen. The success or failure of a national language policy having English as the language of wider communication or lingua franca will impact significantly on all other ten official languages. If it is successful, a headlong quest for English could lead to neglect, marginalisation and even ultimate extinction of some or all of the other indigenous languages through their lack of functional demand. Should the quest fail, as has tended to be the case elsewhere in Africa and other formerly British, post-colonial societies, we will revert to socio-political disintegration and ethno-linguistic divisiveness through the lack of a common language enjoying popular support and widespread, proficient use.

REFERENCES

AUTHORED REFERENCES

- Ager, D. 1997. *Language, Identity and the Individual*. Great Britain. Cromwell Press.
- Bosman, D.B. 1916. *Afrikaans en Maleis-Portugees*. Groningen. P. Noordhoff.
- Bosman, D.B. 1923. *Oor Die Ontstaan van Afrikaans*. Amsterdam. Swets & Zeitlinger.
- Brink, A. 1996. *Reinventing a Continent*. Great Britain. Mackays of Chatham Plc.
- Bruynse, I. 1996. *A Radical Shift*. Bua. Vol.10 No. 2. August 1996.
- Burgher, D. 2000/01. *South African Year Book*. Pretoria. Government Printer.
- Chick, J.K. 1992. *Language, Ideology and Social Structure*. University of Natal.
- Cluver, A.D. 1990. *Language Planning Models for a Post – Apartheid South Africa*.
Unpublished article for LiCCA on Language Planning. Unisa.
- Coetzer, A.1993. *South African Journal of Linguistics*. Vol.11. No. 4. November 1993.
- Cope, J. 1982. *The adversary within: dissident writers in Afrikaans*. Cape Province. National Book Printers.
- Crawhall, N.T. 1992. *Democratically Speaking*. International Perspectives on Language Planning. Nation language Project.
- Crystal, D. 2001. *English as a Global Language*. Cambridge. University Press.
- Du Plessis, T. et al. 1999. *Taal en Stryd 1989 – 1999*. Pretoria. Van Schaik.
- Engelbrecht et al. 1995. *Perspectives on Learning Difficulties*. Pretoria. Van Schaik.
- Gardner, R.C. 1985. *Social Psychology and Second Language Learning: The Role of Attitudes and Motivation*. British Library.
- Gardner, R.C. 1985. *Social Psychology and Second Language Learning: The Role of Attitudes and Motivation*. British Library.

- Giliomee, H. and Elphick, R. (editors) 1979. *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652 – 1820*. Cape Town. Longman.
- Glesne, C. & A. Peshkin. 1992. *Becoming qualitative researchers: an introduction*. Longman.
- Herbert, R.K. 1992. *Language and Society in Africa*. Witwatersrand University Press.
- Heugh, K. 1987. *Underlying Ideologies of Language Medium Policies in Multilingual Societies with Particular Reference to South Africa*. MA Dissertation. University of Cape Town.
- Hofmeyer, I. 1987. *Building a nation from words: Afrikaans language, literature and ethnic identity, 1902 – 1924*. Wits University.
- Jenkins, E. 1992 *Fast Facts: Language Planning and The New Constitution*. No.3/92. Braamfontein. South African Institute of Race Relations.
- Kempen, W. 1974. *Taalkunde- 'n Lewe*. Kaapstad. Tafelberg-Uitgewers.
- Khalawan, P. 2000. *Attitudes in the Durban Black Community towards Afrikaans as matric subject*. Unpublished Masters Dissertation. University of Zululand (Durban-Umlazi) Campus.
- Kress, G. et al. 1979. *Language as Ideology*. Great Britain. Unwin Brothers Ltd.
- Kristeva, J. 1989. *Language The Unknown*. Great Britain. Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Leedy, P.D. 1997. *Practical Research – Planning and Design*. Prentice Hall. USA.
- Leon, T. 1998. *Hope & Fear: Reflections of a Democratic*. Johannesburg. Johanathan Ball Publishers.
- Liebenberg, B. J. et al. 1993. *South Africa in the 20th Century*. Pretoria. Van Schaik.
- Luthuli, M.S. 2 000. *Die Afrikaanse Setselgroep. 'n Besthkopname*. Unpublished Masters Dissertation. University of Zululand (Durban-Umlazi) Campus.
- Malherbe, E.F.J. et al. *Aambeeld*. Vol.24. No.1. June 1996.

- Mda, T. et al. (editors) 2 000. *Critical Issues in South African Education – After 1994*. Unisa.
Juta & Co.
- Mersham, Gary & Chris Skinner 1999. *New Insights into Communication & Public Relations*. Heinemann.
- Moleah, A.K. 1993. *South Africa. Colonialism, Apartheid and African Dispossession*. USA.
Disa Press.
- Moodie, T.D. 1975. *The Rise of Afrikanerdom. Power, Apartheid, and the Afrikaner Civil Religion*. Berkeley. University of California Press.
- Msimang, C.T. 1992. *African Languages and Language Planning in South Africa*. Unisa.
- Muysken, P. et al. 1988. *Language Contact and Bilingualism*. University of Amsterdam.
Edward Arnold – Great Britain.
- Nienaber, G.S. 1949. *Oor Afrikaans Eerste Deeltjie*. Johannesburg. Afrikaanse Pers
Boekhandel.
- Nienaber, G.S. 1953. *Oor Afrikaans. Tweede Deel*. Johannesburg. Afrikaanse Pers
Boekhandel.
- Nienaber, P.J. et al. 1976. *1875-1975 Studies oor die Afrikaans Taal*. Johannesburg. Perskor-
Uitgewery.
- Oosthuizen, G.W.T. (Compiler). 1967. *Electrical Dictionary. English – Afrikaans*.
Johannesburg. Railway Language Bureau.
- Pennycook, A. 1998. *English and the Discourse of Colonialism*. London. Routledge.
- Pieterse, H.J. 1992. *Perspektiewe op Taalbeplanning vir Suid Afrika*. Pretoria. Unisa.
- Ponelis, F. 1993. *The Development of Afrikaans*. Peter Lang. Germany.
- Ponelis, F. 1998. *Annale: Standaard Afrikaanse en die Afrikaanse Taalfamilie*. University of
Stellenbosch.
- Prinsloo, K. et al. 1993. *Language, Law and Equality*. Pretoria. Unisa.

- Raidt, E.H. 1976. *Afrikaans en sy Europese Verlede*. Kaap. Nasou Beperk.
- Rajecki, D. W. 1990. *Attitudes*. Sinauer Associates Inc. Publishers.
- Ronowicz, E. et al. (Editors). 1999. *English: One Language, Different Cultures*. Great Britain. Briddls Ltd.
- Sachs, A. 1993. *South African Journal of Linguistics*. Vol.11. No. 3. August 1993.
- Satyo, S and Snyman, H. 1997. *Monday Paper*. Vol.16 No.34. University of Cape Town. Department of Development and Public Affairs.
- Schrire, R. 1990. *Critical Choices for South Africa. An Agenda for the 1990's*. Cape Town. Oxford University Press.
- Schuring, G.K. 1990. *Taalbeplanning vir 'n Nuwe Suid-Afrika*. Research Presentation. Pretoria. HRSC.
- Schuman, H. & S. Presser. 1996. *Questions and answers in attitude surveys: experiments on question form, wording, and context*. Sage Publications.
- Swanepoel, P.H. et al. 1993. *Perspectives on Language Planning for South Africa*. Unisa.
- Terblanche, H.J. 1968. *Chemical Dictionary. English – Afrikaans*. Pretoria. Voortrekker Pers.
- Thieberger, N. 1990. *Language Maintenance: why bother*. Multilingua. Vol. 9 - 4
- Trapido, S. et al. 1988. *The politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa*. New York. Longman Inc.
- Valkhoff, M.F. 1972. *New light on Afrikaans and "Malayo-Portuguese."* Leuven: Peeters.
- Van der Merwe, C.N. 1994. *Breaking Barriers. Stereotypes and the changing of values in Afrikaans Writing 1875 – 1990*. Amsterdam. Rodopi.
- Van der Merwe, H.J.J.M. 1968. *Afrikaans sy aard en ontwikkeling*. Pretoria. Van Schaik Bpk.
- Van der Merwe, H.J.J.M. 1968a. "Die ontstaan van Afrikaans," in Van der Merwe et al, *Afrikaans: sy aard en ontwikkeling*. Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik.

- Van der Merwe, H.J.J.M. 1968b. "*Taalbeïnvloeding en taalvermenging*," in Van der Merwe et al, *Afrikaans: sy aard en ontwikkeling*. Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik.
- Van der Merwe, H.J.J.M. et al. 1964. *Studierigtings in die Taalkunde*. Pretoria. Van Schaik.
- Van Rensburg, C. et al. 1997. *Afrikaans in Afrika*. Pretoria. Van Schaik. Uitgewers.
- Verhoef, M.M. 1991. *Taalbeplanning vir Afrikaans in 'n Multitalige Suid-Afrika*. MA Dissertation. Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education.
- Wardhaugh, R. 1983. *Language and Nationhood – The Canadian Experience*. Vancouver. New Star Books.
- Wardhaugh, R. 1987. *Language in Competition*. Billing and Sons Ltd. Great Britain.
- Webb, N. (Editor). 1995. *Languages in South Africa. An input into language planning for a post-apartheid South Africa*. The LiCCA (SA) Report. University of Pretoria.
- Webb, V.N. (ed) 1992. *Conflict in South African Society and the role of Language*. Duisburg. Laud.
- Weinstein, B. 1980. *Language Planning in francophone Africa*. Language Problems and Language Planning, 4(1): 55 – 57.
- Weinstein, B. 1990. *Language Policy and Political Development*. Alex Publishing Corporation. New Jersey.
- Wiechers, M. et al. 1991. *South Africa in the Nineties*. HSRC Publishers.
- Williams, Frederick. 1992. *The New Communications*. Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Young, D. 1995. *The Role and Status of the First Language in Education in a Multilingual Society*. Heinemann. Johannesburg.

AUTHORED REFERENCES FROM WEBSITES

- Alexander, N. *A Note on the Demand for an Afrikaans University*. (<http://www.litnet.co.za>). 16/11/2002

- Arbeit, W. 1997. *The Effects Of Language Policies On National Identity In German-Speaking Countries*. ([Http://: www.zentrale.freeseerve.co.uk/files/dissertation0.htm](http://www.zentrale.freeseerve.co.uk/files/dissertation0.htm).)
05/04/2002
- Brand, G. 2001. *Boesak se Onderskeid*. (<http://www.litnet.co.za>). 16/11/2002
- Duke, L. 1999. *Statement by President Tahbo Mbeki To the Afrikanerbond*.
([Http://www.icon.co.za/~abond/](http://www.icon.co.za/~abond/)). 22/01/2002
- Giliomee, H. *Die Oorlegplaform se Voorstelle vir 'n Taalbeleid vir die Universiteit van Stellenbosch*. (<http://www.litnet.co.za>). 16/11/2002
- Hartigh, W.D. 2001. *Afrikaans in die "African Renaissance"*. (<http://www.litnet.co.za>).
16/11/2002
- Henrard, K. 2001. *Language Rights and Minorities in South Africa*.
(<http://www.org/most.vl3n2henrard.htm>) 08/07/2002
- Marais K, *Why the necessity for multilingualism*. (<http://www.litnet.co.za>). 16/11/2002
- Muller,P. *Taal en Globalisering: Wat van Nederlands en Afrikaans*.
(<http://www.litnet.co.za>). 16/11/2002
- Steyn, J.C.1999. *Die taalstryd na die Anglo-Boeroorlog* (<http://www.litnet.co.za>).
16/11/2002
- Vosloo, T. 2002. *Afrikaans bind mense saam*. (<http://www.litnet.co.za>). 16/11/2002
- Nodoba, G.D. *Many Cultures, Different Cultures*.
(<http://www.geocities.com/culdif/nodoba.htm>). 26/01/2002
- Schoeman, B. 1999. *Media Release 26 August 1999*. (<http://www.litnet.co.za>). 16/11/2002
- Silva, P. *South African English*. (Http://: www.ru.ac_ra/affiliates/dsae/MAVEN.Html).
08/07/2002
- Van der Walt, A. 2001. *Onmoontlik! Afrikaans SA se derdegrootste taal?*
(<http://www.litnet.co.za>). 16/11/2002

Walsh, J. 2001. *Minority voices show strong instinct for survival*.

http://www.guardian.co.uk/GWeekly/Global_English/.8458.400340.00.html. 22/01/2002

NON-AUTHORED REFERENCES FROM WEBSITES

Afrikaans Crow's Nest at [<http://www.geocities.com/afrikaanse/watis.html>]. 18/01/2002

Lost Tongues and the Politics of Language Endangerment.

([Http://www.fathom.com/feature/122144](http://www.fathom.com/feature/122144)). 05/04/2002

Language Debate: Afrikaans and SU. (<http://www.litnet.co.za>). 16/11/2002

Taaldebat: Afrikaans en die US. (<http://www.litnet.co.za>). 16/11/2002

([Http://www.statcan.ca/english/concepts/definitions/language.htm](http://www.statcan.ca/english/concepts/definitions/language.htm)). 06/07/2002

([Http://www.Afrikanerbond.org.za](http://www.Afrikanerbond.org.za)). 27/01/2002

JOURNAL ARTICLES

Bulletin. Vol.3 No.5. Nov/Dec. 1996.

A Structural History of English. 1976. New York. St. Martins Press.

Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. 1996. Pretoria. Government Printers.

EPU Working Paper. No.17. August 1998. Education Policy Unit (Natal).

Focus 2002. University of Natal.

Language Problems & Language Planning. Vol 26. No.2. 2002. Rotterdam. John Benjamin's
Publishing Co.

Language Projects Review. Vol.4. No.2. July 1989.

Language Projects Review. Vol.4. No.4. January 1990.

Language Projects Review. Vol.5. No.1. April 1990.

Language Projects Review. Vol.5. No.2. 1990.

Language Projects Review. Vol.6. No.1/2. August 1991.

Language Projects Review. Vol.7. No.2. August 1992.

Language Use and Language Interaction in S.A.: A Sociolinguistic Survey. Pansalb. Pretoria.

Mark Data (Pty) Ltd.

People Dynamics. Vol. 15. No. 1. January 1997.

Population Census, 1996. Report No.1: 03-01-11(19996). Pretoria. Statistics South Africa.

South African Journal of Psychology. Vol. 28 No.2 June 1998.

South African Journal of Linguistics. Vol. 12. No. 2. 1994.

South Africa's New Language Policy. The Facts. (Brochure). 1994. Department of National Education. Cape. CTP Book Printers.

NEWSPAPERS & MAGAZINES

Use your language. *City Press*. 14 May 1995.

Speaking the same language. *Daily News*. 26 September 2000.

No language is inferior to English. *Daily News*. 8 March 2001.

Stellenbosch varsity language row rages on. *Daily News*. 2 July 2002.

Fear for the future of Afrikaans. *Daily News*. 2 July 2002.

Afrikaans thrown out of court. *Daily News*. 24 October 2002.

Independent on Saturday. 4 January 2003.

Speaking in tongues but which one. *Mail & Guardian*. 29 July 1994.

Problems of 11 national languages in focus. *Mail & Guardian*. 28 June 1996.

Pukkies: Last of the Afrikaans outposts. *Mail & Guardian*. 23 August 1996.

Bitter row over taal at Stellenbosch. *Mail & Guardian*. 18 October 1996.

No need for a language laager. *Mail & Guardian*. 6 December 1996.

More 'colour' needed in Afrikaans group. *Mail & Guardian*. 6 December 1996.

The death of a 'useless language'. Mail & Guardian. 30 May 1997.

Search for Afrikaner soul falters. Mail & Guardian. 27 June 1997.

Four-language record for Parliament? Mail & Guardian. 21 July 1998.

Creating oorleg out of past oorlog. Mail & Guardian. 24 July 1998.

Is there an Afrikaner problem? Mail & Guardian. 19 March 1999.

The right to use his mother tongue. Mail & Guardian. 25 February 2000.

New group to protect Afrikaans interests. Mail & Guardian. 9 May 2000.

Afrikaans: The product of a racist. Mail & Guardian. 23 June 2000.

We should talk the talk of Africa. Mail & Guardian. 10 August 2001.

A right to mother tongue education. Mail & Guardian. 21 September 2001.

Political defeat puts the 'taal' under big 'druk'. Mercury. 29 June 1998.

Mercury. 17 June 1999

Mercury. 18 June 2002.

I tune you it's all in this lekker book, bru. Mercury. 10 September 2002.

Maharaj, M. (editor). 2001. *Reflections in Prison. A Special Supplement Mercury. June 2001. Reflections in Prison.*

SA has become a language dictatorship. Sunday Times. 4 August 2002.

Their true native tongue is superiority. Sunday Times. 28 July 2002.

TV Bills faults obscure its noble purpose. Sunday Times. 1 September 2002.

Indigenous languages must come first. Sunday Times. 22 September 2002

English part of the solution. Sunday Times. 29 September 2002

Afrikaans. The Citizen. 16 February 1998.

Witness. 1 December 1994.

INDEX

- 2nd South African War, 61
- African National Congress
ANC, 45, 81, 83, 88, 97, 104, 116, 131
Freedom Charter, 131
- Africanness, 99
- Afrikaans, 1, 3, 4, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 27, 31, 32, 37, 39, 46, 47, 49, 50, 51, 52, 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 145, 146
- Abolition of Afrikaans, 80
- Advancement of Afrikaans, 98
- Afrikaans Language Museum and Monument, 85
- Afrikaans leaders, 101
- Afrikaans literature, 69, 71, 72, 73, 74, 81, 88, 89, 99
- Afrikaans pressure group, 93
- Afrikaans was considered a kitchen patois, 49
- Afrikaanse Taalgenootskap, 67
- Afrikaanse Taalvereniging, 67
- Afrikaner literary culture, 69
- Afrikaner nationalism, 59, 60, 72, 79, 84, 112
- Afrikaner poets and writers, 63
- Afrikaner Predikants, 58
- Afrikaner solidarity, 64
- Cape Afrikaans, 51
- Development of Afrikaans, 9, 11, 31, 50, 66, 115
- Die Brandwag*, 64, 67, 70, 71
- Die Huisgenoot*, 70
- Die Patriot*, 56
- Die Stinging vir Afrikaans, 90
- Downscaling of Afrikaans in the television industry, 92
- Eastern Frontier Afrikaans, 51
- Elevation of Afrikaans, 15, 59
- First Language movement, 57
- Function of Afrikaans, 37
- Future of Afrikaans, 12, 75, 77, 78, 82, 89, 96, 145
- Historical baggage, 98
- Kitchen language, 56, 61
- Lord Milner's Anglicization policy towards Afrikaners, 50, 57, 58
- Orange River Afrikaans, 51, 52
- Phenomenon of Afrikaans, 89
- Poor image of Afrikaans, 49
- Reporting of Afrikaans, 94
- Richness of Afrikaans, 100
- Second Language movement, 57, 65
- Survival of Afrikaans, 100
- The Group of 63, 93
- The status of Afrikaans, 1, 3, 9, 13, 14, 15, 16, 63, 79, 134
- Zuid-Afrikaanse Taalbond, 59
- Afrikaner Broederbond, 68
- Afrikaner identity, 71, 79
- Afrikaner Nationalists, 63
- Anglo-Boer War, 9, 50, 59, 61, 63, 67, 112
- Apartheid, 4, 19, 31, 72, 75, 78, 85, 87, 94, 98, 99, 104, 110, 113, 115, 116, 122, 124, 129, 130, 134, 135, 141
- Attitudes, 9, 27, 137, 138, 140
- Attitudes of policy-makers, 47
- Language attitudes, 27
- Boer Republics, 63
- Cape Colony, 53, 60
- Colonial, 21, 39, 45, 47, 53, 63, 112, 114, 115, 116, 124, 135
- Communication, 1, 139
- Anglophone world, 46
- Community identity, 23
- Global communication, 14, 38
- Mass media, 41, 91

- Means of communication, 17, 22, 25, 132, 133
- Culture, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 25, 27, 32, 33, 41, 50, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 63, 74, 75, 83, 89, 90, 91, 95, 114, 127, 132, 133
- Cultural organisations, 57, 70, 74
- Cultural right, 101
- Cultural survival, 99
- Diverse cultures, 100
- Dominant culture, 28
- Static cultures, 19
- Democratic, 10, 11, 12, 13, 62, 84, 111, 112, 118, 119
- Democratic political order, 62
- Education
 - Institutions of higher education, 46, 62
- English, 4, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 32, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 51, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 69, 71, 78, 79, 82, 84, 85, 86, 89, 91, 92, 94, 95, 96, 97, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 108, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 134, 135, 137, 139, 140, 143, 144, 145, 146
- English as global language, 9, 11, 38, 39, 41
- English as language of liberation, 116, 122
- English imperialism, 62
- Ethnic mobilisation, 68
- First World War, 68
- Genootskap vir Regte Afrikaanders, 56
- Great South African war, 65
- Hegemony, 4, 62, 75, 82, 89
- Higher domain language, 13, 14, 15, 16, 31, 49
- Ideology, 19, 20, 21, 23, 26, 31, 72
 - Human rights, 24, 110, 135
 - Ideological changes, 77
 - Ideological shift, 105
 - Political dominance, 62
 - political identity, 22, 25
 - Political ideologies, 21
- Language
 - African language, 3, 4, 15, 45, 79, 81, 82, 92, 94, 98, 100, 108, 110, 115, 116, 122, 123, 124, 125, 127, 129, 130, 132, 134
 - Assimilation policy, 113
 - Barrier to access, 105
 - Changing dynamics of language, 17
 - Colonial languages, 45, 125
 - Common denominator-language, 118
 - Creole, 22, 51
 - Creolization, 50
 - Cultural prestige, 32
 - Culture and language, 19, 57
 - Development of English, 41
 - Dictionaries, 31, 56, 62, 68
 - Dominant language, 40, 42, 46, 113, 120, 123
 - Dutch, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69, 71, 74, 89, 91, 106, 112, 121
 - Economic benefits, 14, 24, 28, 29, 32, 33, 46, 58, 79, 89, 101, 117, 122, 123, 125, 128, 130
 - Eleven official languages of South Africa, 13, 14, 31, 87, 115, 133
 - Ethnolinguistic vitality, 35
 - Functional status, 15
 - Germanic language, 50, 54, 71
 - Griqua language, 56
 - High Dutch, 55, 61
 - Higher status of language, 39
 - Highest manifestation in society, 23
 - Home language, 36, 80, 119, 133
 - Hottentot language, 56
 - Imposed language, 113
 - International domains, 42
 - International language, 45
 - Khoi, 28, 49, 50, 51, 52, 54
 - Khoisan, 51, 60, 86
 - Language allegiance, 34
 - Language and development, 24
 - Language and empowerment, 44, 84, 102, 115, 120, 125
 - Language and identity, 4, 18, 19, 20, 21, 27, 29, 30, 34, 48, 58, 61, 67, 81, 83, 89, 110, 111, 116, 117, 138
 - Language and power, 25, 35, 36, 41, 47, 75, 81, 83, 87, 92, 112, 115, 117, 124, 133
 - Language and solidarity, 61, 114
 - Language as a national asset, 45, 84, 107
 - Language behaviour, 12, 112, 129
 - Language beliefs, 19, 23, 28
 - Language death, 28

- Language diversity, 106
- Language equality, 25, 30, 58, 114, 120, 132, 135
- Language extinction, 23, 93
- Language issues, 101
- Language links, 66, 89, 91
- Language loss, 34, 45
- Language maintenance, 33
- Language norms, 18
- Language of 'modernisation', 47
- Language of authority, 117
- Language of communication, 38, 47, 116, 134
- Language of culture and science, 49
- Language of learning, 13, 62, 122
- Language of protest, 117
- Language of record, 13, 14, 94, 103
- Language of science and technology, 62
- Language of tuition, 100, 108, 109
- Language planning, 29, 30, 31, 123, 141
- Language policy, 16, 27, 30, 95, 100, 104, 105, 106, 107, 109, 119, 129, 130, 131, 135
- Language provides cognitive development, 24
- Language shift, 34
- Language spread, 21, 28, 29, 30, 32, 35, 36, 40, 41, 45, 55
- Language survival, 20
- Language values, 18, 26, 27, 73, 87, 141
- Languages of Africa, 108
- Lingua franca, 13, 40, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 115, 116, 118, 122, 125, 127, 128, 130, 135
- Linguistic diversity, 40, 119
- Link language, 36
- Local language, 9, 11, 49, 114
- Malayo-Portuguese, 50, 60, 140
- Minority language, 30, 33, 34, 39, 40, 101, 117
- Minority languages, 30, 39, 40
- Mother tongue, 20, 33, 38, 44, 46, 47, 79, 85, 86, 88, 91, 93, 109, 111, 119, 120, 121, 125, 146
- Multilingualism, 3, 18, 51, 59, 74, 76, 78, 106, 107, 108, 120, 126, 127, 131, 132, 142
- National languages, 30, 145
- New status of Afrikaans in post-Apartheid South Africa, 89
- Nguni language, 101, 103
- Official languages, 1, 3, 4, 13, 14, 15, 16, 31, 46, 48, 49, 101, 103, 104, 108, 110, 111, 112, 114, 115, 119, 120, 125, 129, 134, 135
- Pidgin, 22
- Political benefits, 4, 14, 16, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 28, 31, 35, 42, 45, 56, 58, 61, 68, 73, 75, 77, 79, 85, 88, 89, 90, 95, 97, 98, 99, 103, 112, 117, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 132, 133, 135
- Regional dialects, 54, 60
- Regional language, 36
- Religious benefits, 24, 29, 56, 64
- San, 28, 52
- Science language, 107
- Second language, 21, 113, 120, 121, 128
- Shared language, 27
- Six-language model, 131
- Social connotations, 18
- Social meanings, 18
- Sotho language, 101, 103
- Southern Nguni, 51
- Standard Dutch, 53, 57, 63
- Stigmatisation, 84
- Strengthening of English, 102
- Third language, 65, 68, 118
- Varieties of language, 34, 126
- Vernacular, 35, 38, 49, 59, 63, 67
- Vitality of a language, 35
- National Party, 68
- National Plan for Higher Education, 105
- Norman French, 40, 47, 54, 55
- Official languages of South Africa
 - Afrikaans, 1, 3, 13, 14, 16
- Orange River Colony, 60
- Pan South African Language Board
 - Pansalb, 31, 128, 144
- Parliament
 - Hansard, 100, 104
- Political power, 90, 97, 99, 117
- Process of transition, 36, 77
- Second Great Trek, 63, 64
- Social systems, 17
- Social traditions, 4, 20, 22, 75, 89, 127
- South Africa
 - Dutch settlers, 52
 - Eleven official languages, 13, 14, 31, 87, 114, 133

English-Afrikaans bilingualism, 113
 Indigenous languages, 3, 10, 15, 21, 31,
 46, 47, 71, 78, 100, 104, 111, 113,
 119, 120, 121, 123, 124, 127, 132,
 135
 Parliament, 13, 99, 100, 103, 104, 116,
 127, 145
 Political agendas to promote particular
 languages, 16
 Political change, 16, 88
 Public debate about SA's 11 official
 languages policy, 16
 South African constitution, 14, 132
 South African Constitution, 101, 112,
 118
 Soweto, 13, 62, 111, 116, 128
 Stellenbosch University, 93, 105
 Suid Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap
 en Kuns en Kultuur, 108
 Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap
 en Kuns, 62
 Transvaal, 60, 80
 Twentieth century, 41, 60, 63, 85
 Vaktaalburo, 31, 62, 113